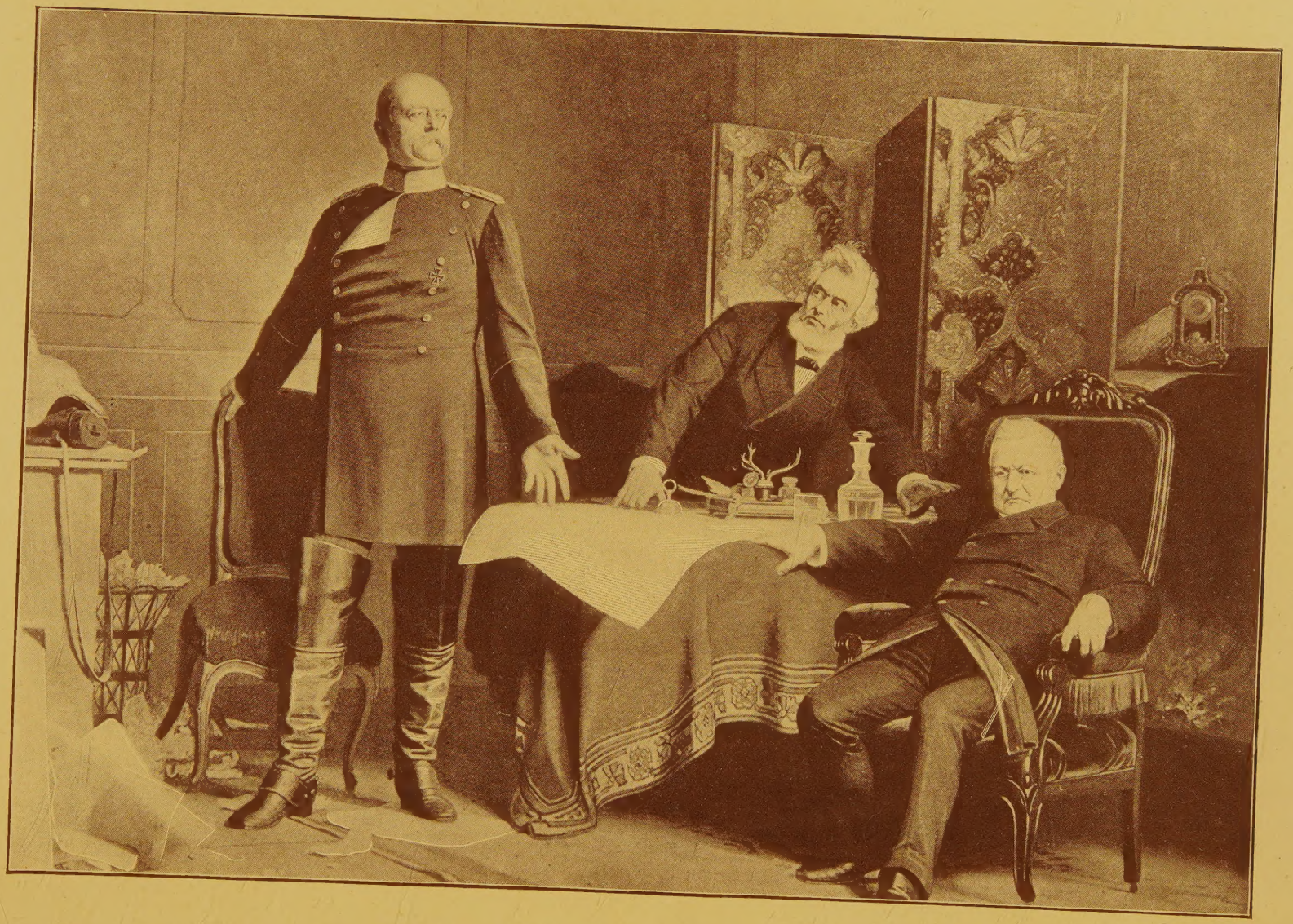

BISMARCK AT VERSAILLES

This strong picture by Carl Wagner represents the great German "Man of Blood and Iron," declaring the terms of armistice and treaty with defeated France. M. Gambetta and Jules Favre in vain sought concessions from the ironhearted Bismarck. France was compelled to pay five billions of francs into the German treasury, and to cede the Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to her conqueror.

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RIDPATH'S

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE CAREER
OF THE HUMAN RACE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF
CIVILIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME

COMPRISING

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

AND

THE STORY OF ALL NATIONS

FROM RECENT AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES

COMPLETE IN NINE VOLUMES

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

AUTHOR OF A "CYCLOPÆDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY," ETC.

VOLUME VIII

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH COLORED PLATES, RACE MAPS AND CHARTS,
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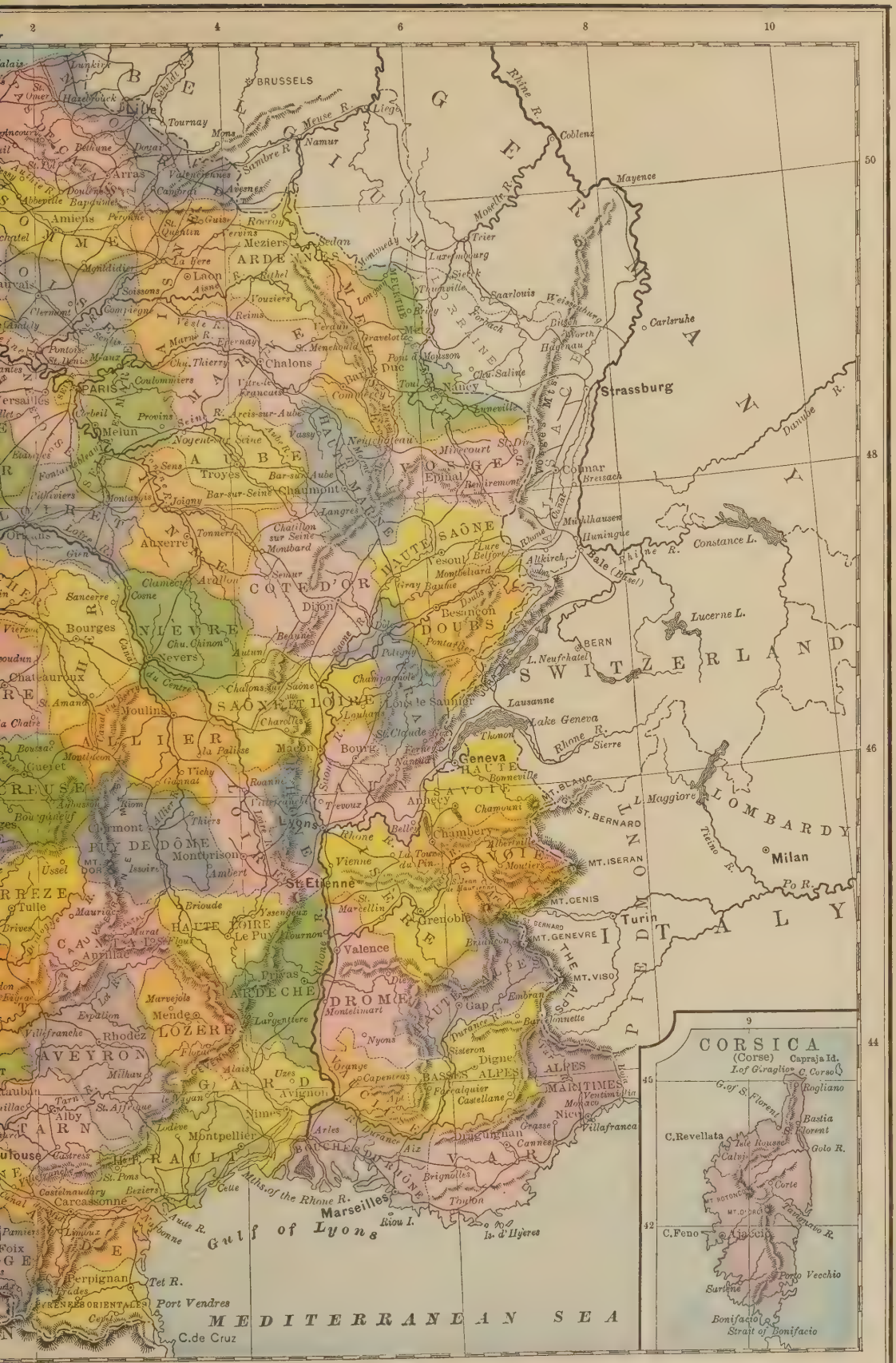
VOLUME VIII

BOOK XXIII. —FRANCE
BOOK XXIV. —GERMANY
BOOK XXV. —ITALY
BOOK XXVI. —EASTERN EUROPE
BOOK XXVII. —MINOR AMERICAN STATES
BOOK XXVIII.—ORIENTAL NATIONS

ENGLAND
Southampton
Portsmouth
Hastings
Brighton
Beachy Hd.
Exeter
Plymouth
Portland Bill
I. of Wight
Strait of (Pas
Lands End
Start Pt.
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Scilly Ids.
Lizard Pt.
Le Tr
English Channel
Alderney Id.
C. de la Hague
Pecamp
Dieppe
Channel Islands
Guernsey Id.
(To England)
St. Anne
St. Pierre
Sark Id.
Jersey Id.
St. Helier
Barfleur
Cherbourg
La Hogue
Bochers de Calvados
Havre
Harfleur
Honfleur
Yvetot
SEINE
Seine R.
Pt. l'Eveque
Bayeux
Caen
Pt. Audemer
Lisieux
Louviers
CALVADOS
Coutances
St. Lo
Bernay
Evreux
Brehat Ids.
Granville
Ayranches
Vire
Falaise
Laigle
Argentan
Ft. Cezon
Lannion
St. Malo
Mortain
Domfront
ORNE
Alencon
Mortagne
Ld' Ouessant (Ushant)
Brest
Pt. S. Mathieu
Guingamp
St. Brieuc
Dinan
CÔTES DU NORD
Douarnenez B.
Raz Pt.
Sein I.
Nantes
Fougeres
Mayenne
Mamers
Quimper
Loudeac
Pontivy
Monfort
Rennes
ILLE ET VILAINE
Laval
Le Mans
Quimperle
Lorient
Ploermel
MORBIHAN
Glenan Ids.
Groix Id.
Vilaine R.
Chateaubriant
Segre
Chateau Gontier
St. Calais
la Fleche
Redon
Bauge
Angers
Belle Isle
Savenay
St. Nazaire
Nantes
MAINE ET LOIRE
Loire R.
Saumur
Tours
Beaupreau
Cholet
Noirmoutier Id.
Le Grand Lieu
Bourgneuf
Bourgneuf B.
Bressuire
Loudun
Chatellerault
Bourbon Vendee
I. d' Yeu
DEUX SEVRES
Parthenay
Poitiers
Les Sables d' Olonne
Fontenay
VIENNE
Montmorillon
I. de Re
Niort
La Rochelle
I. d' Oleron
Rochefort
St. Jean d' Angely
Ruffec
Marennes
Saintes
CHARENTE
Gironde R.
Point de Grave
Verdon
Cognac
Angoulême
Nontron
Barbezieux
Ribérac
Lesparre
Blaye
DORDOGNE
Libourne
Bergerac
Bordeaux
Dardogne R.
La Sauve
Bassin d' Arcachon
La Teste
Marmande
LOT ET GARONNE
St. Symphorien
Bazas
Agen
Sabres
Nerac
Mont de Marsan
Condom
Dax
Adour R.
Aire
GERS
Auch
Mirande
Orthez
Biarritz
Bayonne
Pau
BASSES PYRENEES
Mauleon
Oleron
Tarbes
HAUTES PYRENEES
Bagneres de Bigorre
Argeles
PYRENEES
PIC DU MIDI
MT. PERDU
Gaudens
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF BISCAY
Enghien
Pierrefitte
Ecouen
Sanis
Eaubonne
Argenteuil
Genevilliers
St. Denis
Drancy
Le Bourget
Colombes
Courbevoie
Clichy
Beaubigny
Bondy
Gagny
Asnieres
Ballancourt
Canal de l'Ourcq
Noisy
Rosny
Neuilly
Puteaux
Suresnes
Belleville
Montreuil
Sur Marne
Fort of Mt. Valerian
Passy
PARIS
Fontenay
Bou
St. Cloud
Vincennes
Nogent
Brie
Sevres
Vanvres
Charenton
Champigny
Montrouge
Gentilly
Maisons
Clamart
Chatillon
Arcueil
Vitry
Marne R.
Versailles
Bagneux
Villejuif
Creteil
Bonneuil
Seeaux
Choisy le Roi
Bievres
Antony
Rungis
Orly
DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE ON ENLARGED SCALE
Fortifications shown thus Forts Railways
MAP XXIV.
FRANCE
English Miles
0 10 20 40 60 70
Rail Roads
6
4
2
0
50
48
46
44
Longitude West 2 from Greenwich
Fisk, Eng. N.Y.


BRUSSELS
Lille
Tournay
Mons
Namur
Liege
Meuse R.
Sambre R.
Rhine R.
Coblenz
Mayence
Moselle R.
Trier
Luxemburg
Sedan
Mezieres
ARDENNES
Amiens
Arras
Valenciennes
Cambrai
Laon
Soissons
Reims
Vouziers
Verdun
Metz
Thionville
Sierck
Saarlouis
Weissenburg
Carlsruhe
Strassburg
Danube R.
Chalons
Vitry-le-Francois
Commercy
Toul
Nancy
Luneville
Dieuze
Wurth
Hagenau
Pont a Mousson
Chau. Saline
Chau. Thierry
PARIS
Versailles
Melun
Provins
Nogent-sur-Seine
Arcis-sur-Aube
Neufchateau
Mirecourt
St. Die
Colmar
Breisach
Troyes
Bar-sur-Aube
Chaumont
Bar-sur-Seine
Joigny
Langres
Epinal
Remiremont
Auxerre
Tonnerre
Chatillon sur Seine
Montbard
Vesoul
Lure
Belfort
Altkirch
Mulhausen
Huningue
Bale (Basel)
Rhine R.
Constance L.
Lucerne L.
Sancerre
Cosne
Clamecy
Avallon
Semur
Gray
Beaune
Dijon
Besancon
Pontarlier
Double R.
Bourges
Chateauroux
Chu. Chinon
Nevers
Autun
Belleville
Poligny
Champagnole
L. Neufchatel
BERN
SWITZERLAND
Chalons sur Saone
Louhans
Lons le Saunier
Lausanne
Moulins
Charolles
St. Amand
Montlucon
Vichy
Roanne
Macon
Bourg
St. Claude
Ferney
Thonon
Geneva
Lake Geneva
Rhone R.
Sierre
Bonneville
Annecy
Chamouni
MT. BLANC
ST. BERNARD
L. Maggiore
LOMBARDY
Milan
Tesino R.
Po R.
Clermont
PUY DE DOME
Montbrison
Thiers
Lyons
Vienne
Ambert
Issoire
Chambery
Albertville
Moutiers
MT. ISERAN
St. Etienne
Tulle
Brioude
Ysseingeaux
Le Puy
Tournon
Grenoble
MT. CENIS
Turin
Valence
Privas
Die
Gap
Embrun
MT. GENEVRE
MT. VISO
Montelimart
Nyons
Digne
Barcelonnette
Rhodez
Villefranche
Milhau
Uzes
Avignon
Alais
Capentras
Forcalquier
Castellane
BASSES ALPES
ALPES MARITIMES
Ventimiglia
Monaco
Nice
Villafranca
Grasse
Cannes
Draguignan
Montpellier
Lodeve
Arles
Aix
Brignoles
Toulon
Marseilles
Riou I.
Is. d'Hyeres
Gulf of Lyons
Mouths of the Rhone R.
Carcassonne
Castelnaudary
Beziers
Ceue
Aude R.
Limoux
Perpignan
Tet R.
Port Vendres
PYRENEES ORIENTALES
C.de Cruz
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CORSICA
(Corse)
Capraja Id.
I. of Giraglion
C. Corso
G. of St. Florent
Rogliano
Bastia
St. Florent
C. Revellata
Isle Rousse
Golo R.
Calvi
Corte
Tavignano R.
C. Feno
Ajaccio
Porto Vecchio
Sartene
Bonifacio
Strait of Bonifacio
2
4
6
8
10
50
48
46
44
42
9
45
East 2 from Greenwich

Book Twenty-Third.

FRANCE.

CHAPTER CXXXV.—BOURBON RESTORATION.

TO France the catastrophe of Waterloo was incalculable. No other such cataclysm had been known in the history of modern nations. To the State it was an instantaneous paralysis. Perhaps Bonaparte himself, who might well be supposed to have received the bolt on his very forehead, was least stunned of all by the shock. The world knows well how, for a brief period, he stood up against Fate itself, proposed and advocated further defense, sought to rouse from coma the elements of national life, and to direct them once more against the enemy.

It was all in vain. Destiny had closed the career of that illustrious warrior, the stroke of whose sword had shattered so many thrones, the decree of whose genius and autocratic will had spoken into form so great a part of the history of his own epoch and of the epoch following. The First Empire went down with him. In spite of all, he bore away with him to his solitary island the scepter and sword, the crown and potency, if not the very insignia of that tremendous Imperialism which he had created. And, notwithstanding the decrees of all the banded kings, notwithstanding what seemed to be the fathomless oblivion into which they had hurled their mighty antagonist, it can hardly be doubted, in the light now thrown, after the lapse of three quarters of a century from Waterloo, on the situation of affairs in Europe, that, had Napoleon lived to a fair old age, he would, in all probability, have again become the thunderer of the scene.

We are here concerned to renew the narrative of French history from the Restoration of the House of Bourbon, in the year 1815, and to trace the course of events from that reäctionary crisis down to the present day. This plan will bring us, of course, to consider first of all the Restoration itself. On the day of Waterloo, Louis XVIII. was within a few months of sixty years of age. With the exception of a short "reign" in the previous year, during the absence of Napoleon at Elba, Louis had not seen Paris or France for more than twenty-three years. He had fled from the country with the great Revolution in 1791, had lived at Warsaw until 1807, and afterwards in England until the first banishment of Bonaparte. He had become, in a great

measure, a foreigner; but the Princes of Bourbon could never, by any emergency or any discipline, be turned from their historical character as the representatives of the Past, the apostles of unforgetfulness.

Doubtless Louis came back to the throne of France expecting to find the world even as it had been of old. Doubtless he hoped that the Ancient Régime would revive from the very earth in the moment that the Revolution and the Empire were blown away. But in all this, he could but be grievously mistaken. It is but fair to say that Louis XVIII. was the most liberal-minded of all the Princes of the Elder Branch of Bourbon; that he was a man not wholly incapable of human sentiments; that he had even read books, and knew something of the channels in which human thought had been flowing like a torrent during the Revolutionary epoch; but he was, nevertheless, a Bourbon, and that sufficed. He had the antecedents and traditions of his House, and these he must necessarily bring back with him from his long exile.

Great, indeed almost insurmountable, were the difficulties with which the king found himself surrounded when reseated by the Allies on the throne of France. It was a forcible and galvanic restoration of ancient conditions which, in the aggregate, hardly constituted a respectable pageant. The embarrassment of the whole situation was extreme. Here lay, spread from the English Channel to the Mediterranean, a New France, which could never by any possibility be again transformed into the Old France which Louis had known in his youth. There was absolutely a new atmosphere, charged in every breeze with the Rights of Man, pervaded in every part by the burning actinism of human freedom. Therefore, to the French people, Louis appeared not only as the impersonation of the Past, an obese specter of unfamiliarity, but as a reminder of the humiliation of the French arms, the eclipse of French renown. As he went abroad among the people, it was as though a herald should forerun the royal equipage crying out, "Here comes Waterloo!"

THE FIELD OF WATERLOO.

Personally, moreover, the well-meaning old king was the embodiment of infirmity. Unwieldy, shaking with fat under his regalia and decorations, too weak to stand upright, his figure and manner were as shocking to the Parisian sense as the system which he represented was disagreeable. His almost necessary expressions of gratitude to England for the long courtesy of a residence in that safe country, and for the assistance which the Prince Regent had lent him in the restoration of his House, sounded to his subjects precisely like a vote of thanks to Wellington and Blücher! The soldiers of France who had lost their arms or legs on the plateau of Mont Saint Jean were not yet able to leave the hospitals when the mummery of this restored Past was celebrated in the streets of Paris. The reäppearance of the spotted-and-white banner of Bourbon, in place of the tri-color under which the French armies, singing *La Marseillaise*, had snatched glory from the mouths of five hundred batteries, still further heightened the dislike in which the antiquated Louis was held by the French people. Finally, it was perceived by all that the Government thus reïnstituted in France was contrived abroad; that it was devised as a house built of card-boards by foreign diplomatical architects, and now brought into France to be set up by foreign kings and generals in the very place which had so lately echoed with the significant footfalls of the Corsican! The humiliation could go no further.

Never was any monarch, any court, any Government, subjected to greater pressure than that which was immediately brought to bear on the restored king of France. The Emigrant Nobles and their descendants, children born to them in exile, but now grown, after a quarter of a century, to maturity in foreign lands, came back in swarms, and settled, like birds from strange regions, about the places sacred to the ancient feudalism. They at once reclaimed everything—lands, titles, privileges, honors, and even revenge. They looked to the king for the restoration of estates and properties which had long since been stuffed into the mouths of cannon and discharged by the Revolution at the enemies of France. A Government was organized under the patronage and direction of the Allies in the French capital. In the Chamber of Deputies, the Royalist Party, led by the Duke of Angoulême, was in the ascendency, and it was the ill-concealed purpose of this faction to regain as speedily as possible all that they had lost by the revolutionary processes of more than twenty years.

We may here pause for a moment to note the condition of France under the settlement which the allied leaders saw fit to impose. The terms were hard in the extreme. On the 20th of November, 1815, the Congress of Vienna completed its work, and France was informed of the conditions. It was seen at a glance that nothing had been spared to complete her humiliation. An enormous war indemnity was exacted. She was obliged to consent that her frontiers should be garrisoned for five years by foreign armies, under com-

LOUIS XVIII.

mand of a foreign General, and that the expenses of the occupancy should be met from her own exhausted treasury. The fortresses along the Rhine—Philippeville, Sarre-Louis, Marienburg, Landau, Huningue—should be given up to allied garrisons. It was as though the power of banded Europe had been laid without compunction, not only on the head and limbs, but on the very heart and spirit, of the proud land whose victorious armies had so recently carried the banners of the Republic and the Empire from the coasts of Portugal to the borders of Lithuania.

It must needs be that a reäction from this state of intolerable depression and overthrow should speedily come. Hardly had Louis XVIII. obtained his seat on the ancestral throne; hardly had the Royalists, who crowded around and obtained a temporary control of the Chamber of Deputies, begun to clamor for the restoration of the ancient absolutism which they had enjoyed before 1789, until ominous symptoms of reäction were visible in the nation. The foreign protectorate, under which the king had regained the crown, were quick to perceive the necessity which rested on their *protégé* to moderate the zeal of the Royalists, and to curb them of their hot desires. Louis himself had at least a half-understanding of the situation in which he was placed, and made some prudent efforts to keep the Emigrants from retaking all France as their personal property. Within the very first year the king was obliged to dismiss the Chamber and to order a new election. The French people had now come to understand that they constituted the real Nation, and that their voice would be heard above all the artificial din of Royalism and reäction. The election resulted in the choice of a Liberal majority. The Legitimist Party was overthrown, and the Duke of Richelieu, grandson of the great Richelieu, who had been the Minister of Louis XV., became the leader of the Chamber.

This brief revival of popular influence, however, promised more than might be fulfilled. In what possible manner could Liberalism flourish under the reign of a Bourbon king? Richelieu and his Liberal majority at first struck out for some radical reforms which were found to be too salutary for the diseased times in which they were projected. He kept up the struggle for more than a year, and was then obliged to retire from office. He was followed by the Marquis Dessoles, who, at the close of 1818, became President of the Council of Ministers. The great contest between the two parties was with respect to the franchise and the law of election. To have the first restricted and the latter drawn in the interest of the reviving aristocracy, was of course the main spring of the Loyalist policy, while to extend the suffrage and popularize the election laws was an equally vital principle with the Liberal party. On this question the Marquis Dessoles and his ministry went to pieces. He and two of his fellow-ministers resigned their offices in November of 1819, and the Duke Decazes succeeded to the presidency of the Council.

Closely related with the question of franchise and election, was the struggle for the freedom of the press. In this particular France was still lamentably behind the necessities, if not the spirit, of the age. Since the first years of the Revolution there had been little essential freedom in French journalism and literature. The Empire deemed a censorship of the press a stern requisite of order and good government. There was in the Napoleonic system much that was repressive, much that savored of despotism. What, therefore, should be expected under the restoration of Bourbon? Nevertheless, the spirit of free speech and free publication had gone abroad, and would not be hushed. Under the Decazes Ministry an act was passed establishing the freedom of the press; but the measure created alarm, not to say consternation, among the Loyalists, to whose imagination and in whose traditions the printing-press was a more horrid specter than the guillotine itself. It was not long until another of the rapidly recurring reactions of the times swept the Act away, and the old censorship, especially so much as related to political writings was rëestablished. At the same time the law of arrest was enlarged and extended to new kinds of offense. This was supplemented with an alteration in the law of elections, whereby the suffrage was again restricted, and the Government strengthened at the expense of popular influence.

While measures such as these were carried during the ascendency of one party in the

Chamber, and annulled by another as soon as it came into power, the king sought to steer between the extremes. The Ministry thus came to constitute the leaders of the *Center* of the Chamber, while the Liberals and Democrats swayed the *Left*, and the old extreme Royalist party the *Right*. Such was that political phraseology of the day, which for nearly three-quarters of a century has continued in use to denote the divisions of party in the legislative bodies of France.

It was soon found that the pompous Treaty of Vienna was of poor application to the condition of affairs which immediately ensued. Not three years had gone by until it was clearly seen that another Congress of the Powers must be called to alter and amend the agreements which the diplomates had made in their assemblage of 1815. Accordingly, a new convention of monarchs and ambassadors was called to meet at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818. The convention was attended by the Emperor of Austria, the Russian Czar, the King of Prussia, and by Prince Metternich, Lord Castlereagh, the Dukes of Wellington and Richelieu, and by the Counts Hardenberg, Bernstorf, Nesselrode, and Capo d'Istria. We have already seen that one of the works devolved upon the Congress was the determination whether or not the principles of the Holy Alliance should be reäffirmed and practically maintained in the affairs of Europe. This question was decided in the affirmative; but history itself soon rendered a negative decision of much greater importance. To France the conference was of great moment. It was determined that, the period of three years having elapsed since the foreign occupancy of the French forts—the same being the minimum determined by the Allies after the overthrow of Napoleon—the garrison and soldiery of other Powers should be withdrawn from the territory of France. This was accordingly done, and the French dominions were once more freed from foreign control.

The inquirer will naturally look with close scrutiny at the history of the French Government in the first years after the Restoration, to see if by any salutary measures of national or international policy that Government endeavored to justify its existence. In one respect a feeble effort was made on which an advocate of the Administration might base some claim of energy and enlightenment. On the solicitation of Great Britain, Louis entered into an agreement on the subject of the slave-trade, in which it was stipulated that hereafter France and England would coöperate in the confiscation of both ship and cargo in the case of any vessel engaged in the inhuman traffic. The French king also agreed to send a squadron of cruisers to the western coast of Africa to secure the natives against the horrid invasions of kidnapers and slave-merchants. At about the same time the French court made provisions, with the aid of the Chamber, to create a sinking fund for the liquidation of debts which had been contracted by France with the citizens of other States. But for the rest, the king found himself so compressed between the forces of a revived loyalism on the one hand, and the impact of liberal opinion on the other, that little opportunity was afforded for the exercise of the small political and governmental talents which Louis may have possessed.

As a Prime Minister, the Duke of Richelieu had many qualities which in a calmer and more conservative age would have shone in the high places of statesmanship. He had never cast in his fortunes with the Revolution or the Empire. He had remained faithful to the French royal family, and yet was not wholly devoid of popular sympathies. He was thorough in his patriotism, and of large abilities as a diplomatist. It was through his influence in behalf of his country, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, that the severe terms prescribed by the Allies for France, in 1815, were so favorably modified. It might well be supposed that the French Nation would have and express a sense of gratitude to one who had been so signally efficient in securing the liberation of the country from foreign domination. The French Chambers only voiced the public opinion when a pension of fifty thousand francs was proposed for the duke, and the latter was consistent with his own character and record when he diverted the annuity thus provided for the founding of a hospital at Bordeaux.

It was very difficult, however, for any Ministry to steer the French ship through the chopping sea and cross currents of the years succeeding the Restoration. Richelieu fairly

represented the king in attempting to hold a middle course between the extremes of sentiment which now clashed throughout France. As leader of the Center and of the Monarchical Party, the Prime Minister sought to stay the rampant Royalism which rushed around the court by conceding something to its demands. In 1820 he attempted to hold his ascendency by admitting certain Royalist leaders into the Ministry. The most prominent of the partisan statesmen thus brought into the Government was the Count Villèle, as Minister of Finance. His principles, however, were so extreme and reäctionary as to make it impossible for him to proceed smoothly with the body to which he had been admitted. After a short and distracted connection with the Ministry, he withdrew, but not until he had secured to himself the leadership of the Aristocratic Party. The agitation brought on a crisis in which Richelieu was himself constrained to resign his office. For the time being, the control of the Chambers passed into the hands of the Aristocrats; and, in December of 1821, Villèle himself was made Prime Minister.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

It was at this juncture that the antecedents were prepared for the disgraceful interference of the French Government in the affairs of Spain. Reference has alerady been made, in the history of Great Britain, to the part taken by that power with respect to the Spanish insurrection of 1820. In the present connection, it will be proper to amplify somewhat the conditions under which the Spanish revolt occurred, leading to the precipitation of a French army on the Peninsula. It will be remembered how the Corsican had dispatched the Spanish Bourbons by an intrigue, perhaps the least reputable of all his international transactions. After a four years' captivity, namely, in 1814, Ferdinand VII. came back to Madrid, and was king again. This alleged sovereign was one of the weakest and withal one of the most depraved of all the living products of the House of Bourbon. It might justly be said that for the office of king he was unfitted by every disqualification personal and political. No sooner had he regained the throne than he fulminated a sort of mediæval muttering against the Liberal Constitution of 1812, which had been promulgated under the patronage of Joseph Bonaparte. That instrument, so favorable to the people and to the revival of Spanish nationality, was abrogated, and every abuse of the old absolutism brought back in full force.

It is in the nature of the modern peoples,

when they have once sipped the nectar of civil liberty, not to forget the taste. It was so in Spain. True, the aristocracy was exempted from taxation. True, the monasteries were revived. True, the Inquisition was set aglow with its ancient heat. True, the Jesuits were called home from exile to begin again their work of intrigue and corruption. True, the sword of authority was put to the breast of all liberalism. True, the Government, the Administration, fell into the hands of an abominable cabal called the *Camarilla*, consisting of political priests and the extreme faction of Loyalists. True, that for six years a sort of White Terror was established, in which the Republicans and the adherents of the late Government of Joseph Bonaparte suffered all manner of persecutions. True, that this miserable clique of spendthrifts and corruptionists squandered the last pistole of the Spanish treasury in Quixotical attempts to reconquer and reduce from their newly gained independence the Spanish States of South America. But, nevertheless, the taste of freedom which the Spaniards had enjoyed under the Constitution of 1812 remained in the mouth, and only the opportunity was wanting for an uprising against the Government of Ferdinand and his Councilors.

It is in the nature of such situations to bring forth secret political societies. Organizations of this kind began to abound in different parts of the kingdom. The army became at first disloyal, and then mutinous. In the year 1820 an expedition, under command of the Generals Riego and Quiroga, was equipped for the South American war. But those two officers, then at Cadiz, raised the standard of revolt against the Government. The insurrection spread to the other principal cities, including the capital; and the king, in order to save his crown, gave way before it. The Royalist Ministry was dismissed from office. The Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed anew as the law of the land. The Cortes was convoked, and on its meeting, in July, great reforms were at once instituted. The Inquisition and the monasteries were abolished. Entails were swept away. The tithes by which the clergy were supported were confiscated, and it appeared that the day of redemption for Spain had really come.

The event was less auspicious than the beginning. It might soon be perceived, what has been so many times noted in the history of France, that the spirit of Liberalism and political progress had its home in the municipalities, while the country regions and remote districts, inhabited immemorially by a Catholic peasantry, remained the strongholds of bigotry, reäction, and Bourbonism. It was to the support of this class of his subjects that Ferdinand and his fellow-spirits now must look. Counter insurrections were accordingly fomented in the outlying countries, and the Liberal Government soon found itself beleaguered by the ancient army of ignorance, servitude, and despotism. Perhaps the supporters of the free constitution might have been able to stand against the counter revolution, had it not been for the fact that the extreme Radicals, who were for an ideal republic or nothing, broke with the conservative Liberals, and actually combined with the party called the *Serviles*, to overthrow the Government.

This somewhat expanded account of the situation, extending over the years 1820–22, has been inserted in this connection to make clear the nature of the intervention in Spanish affairs about to be undertaken by France. No sooner had the popular movement in Spain declared itself, no sooner was the noise thereof heard in the capitals beyond the Pyrenees, than the Holy Alliance was aroused from its pious reverie to make a practical application of the principles which Madame Krüdener and Czar Alexander had devised for the government of Europe. If history might be truthfully said to have any amusing features, one of the most marked would be that attitude of uncertainty and vacuous perplexity in which the contrivers of some great historical theory stand when the day arrives for its practical application to human affairs! The rulers of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and of other European States of lesser rank, had solemnly agreed that they would henceforth combine for the maintenance each of the other, and all of each, in the Government of their respective peoples, in accordance with the principles of brotherly love, Christian fidelity, and patriarchal paternalism—all of which meant the principles of Hereditary Absolutism

in the control of States and kingdoms. Certainly the doctrines and theory of the Holy Alliance had been signally set at naught by the Republicans and Constitutionalists of Spain. What, therefore, should the parties to the Holy Alliance do? We, the kings, must again meet and solemnly consider this question, in October of 1822, in a Congress at Verona. We have already had the Treaty of Vienna, and our great convention at Aix-la-Chapelle, to determine the meaning of our articles; and now, after four years passed, we must convene again to determine whether indeed this Holy Alliance of Krüdener and the Czar shall really be applied to the startling state of affairs in Spain.

CHATEAUBRIAND.

The Congress of Verona had this significance—no more: It must be decided whether the monarchs of Central and Eastern Europe will send their armies to the support of Ferdinand VII. in his contest with the Spanish people. True, the Congress was called for the ostensible purpose "of restoring peace;" but the real purpose was to crush the reviving independence of Spain, and to provide against the recurrence of like disastrous phenomena in the other States of Europe. Yonder in Naples a movement very similar to the popular insurrection of the Spaniards is already taking place. That also must be suppressed in the cause of absolutism. The question, notwithstanding the stout protests of the Duke of Wellington, ambassador of Great Britain, was decided in the affirmative. In France the Villêle Ministry was now in power. The French ambassadors at Verona were the Viscounts Montmorency and Chateaubriand, the latter of whom has left to posterity a proper account of this, the gloomiest and most reäctionary hour and event in the diplomatical history of modern Europe.

Though the Congress recommitted itself, in spite of the British protest, to the doctrine of intervention, the sovereigns did not venture, as allied powers, to apply the doctrines of the Holy Alliance in overthrowing the Liberal Government of Spain. That work was remanded to France alone. It appears that Chateaubriand and the Government which he represented were only too willing to celebrate the restoration of the Bourbons by a sort of political *auto da fé*, at which the Spanish Constitution of 1812 was to be bound to the stake. Notwithstanding the fact that England had now abandoned the necessary inferences from the Treaties of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle, and had gone over to the cause of mankind against despotic rule, she nevertheless made her protests at Verona in such a manner as to seem to consent and permit, while she forbade. France, therefore, morally supported by the decisions of the Congress, and thoroughly in sympathy, so far as the king and the Government were concerned, with the Holy Alliance, took upon herself the pleasing work of forceful intervention in the political affairs of Spain. The beginning of the year 1823 witnessed the monstrous spectacle of an army of Frenchmen marching into the Spanish Peninsula to put down the liberties of the people! On the 10th of May the Duke of Angoulême, who commanded the expedition, entered Madrid, and

the popular movement was speedily suppressed by force of arms. Cadiz was also taken, and the authority of Ferdinand VII. restored throughout Spain. Returning to Paris, the duke left behind him an army of occupation, which was not wholly withdrawn from the peninsula until 1828. Loud were the congratulations to which the Royalists of France gave utterance over this ridiculous and disgraceful episode of tyranny. France, forsooth, had again become a conqueror! Only eight years from Waterloo, and she had dictated a peace—*to Spain!* The eagle had swooped down beside the rook, and forbidden that dangerous bird to caw! The Duke of Angoulême became for a season the lion of the French aristocrats. Meanwhile, the bones of the Spanish Bourbons, in the solemn vaults of the mausoleum of the Escurial palace, were glorified as of old.

THE ESCURIAL.

The effect of the Spanish invasion was immediately felt in the conduct of the Home Government of France. If such havoc could be wrought on so small a provocation with the Liberal policy in Spain, why should not a like quietus be given to all those popular elements which continued to vex the restored Bourbonsm of France herself? The reäction now set in in earnest, and the leaders of the Right came boldly to the fore, resolved to profit by the popularity and success of their cause in the Spanish Peninsula. They determined to make Louis XVIII. as good and absolute a king, in his greater kind and degree, as Ferdinand VII. Indeed, it might well be considered a preposterous policy to overthrow, by force of arms, the popular institutions of a sister kingdom, and leave the more monstrous offense of Liberalism intact at home. It was resolved to ply the axe at the root of the tree. Measures were immediately brought forward to change, in several important particulars, the existing Constitution of France. The French Republic had set the example of short elections and short terms of service for all legislative officers. It can not be doubted that, however much commotion and political agitation may attend the institution of annual elections, the system has the great merit of keeping the legislative assembly, by whatever name it may be called, close to the heart and impulse of the people. The Constitution of Great Britain, on the other hand, furnishes the example of the long term for representatives. This feature now commended itself to the party in power as a needed innovation, and it was accordingly proposed to substitute the plan of septennial elections for members of the French Assembly. It was thought by this means that the Royal-

ists now in power, and feeling themselves able at that time to secure a majority in a new Chamber of Deputies, might deem themselves and their authority secure for a period of seven years; after which time, in the language of the abandoned courtiers of the last century, they might say, "After us the deluge!"

In other ways also the Royalist Party sought, by constitutional changes, to shore up and buttress the monarchy. It was evident to all observers that, by degrees, and as rapidly as prudence would permit, the French

CHARLES X.

crown on the head of Louis was to reclaim and repossess its long-lost prerogatives. The conviction prevailed more and more that the oaths of constitutional observance, favorable to the maintenance of the Liberal institutions which the Revolution had planted and the king had found in full growth at the date of the Restoration, rested but lightly on both him and his Ministry. But the reäction, whatever it was or was intended to be, was cut short by the reaper. Louis could go no further. After wearing the crown of Bourbon for nine years, he was called to his account, on the 16th of September, 1824. His reign had been distracted by every species of political inharmony, beginning with the disputes of Talleyrand and Richelieu, and ending with popular conspiracies, some of which aimed as high as the life of the king.

History has little to do with fancies—nothing at all with conceits. It may be cited, however, as a peculiar phenomenon attendant upon decaying dynasties, that in the day of imminent extinction the crown, by some fatality, seems to shoot off collaterally, by a descent through two or three childless brothers, until, by a sidelong bound, it reaches the earth, to be claimed or gained by the representative of some other line. The student has only to stand before a series of diagrams representing the Royal Houses of Europe, to be struck with the frequent recurrence of this odd phenomenon. A fair type of it is furnished in the case of the oft-married Henry VIII. One may notice with interest the slipping of the crown sidewise over the heads of his three childless heirs and successors. The diagram bears a similar shape in the case of the Stuarts. Several like examples have already been given in the history of France. Louis XVI. was unable, from the Place de la Revolution, to send the crown down his own line. After Napoleon, the scepter of Bourbon went to the brother of the beheaded monarch, and that brother now died childless, transmitting the crown in turn to his younger brother, the Count of Artois.

The new king came to the throne in September of 1824, taking the title of CHARLES X. Like his brother Louis, he had, from his youth, been subject to the strangest vicissitudes. In boyhood he had acquired a character scandalous for every excess and dissipation. At the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789 he had visited several European courts, soliciting aid for the tottering throne and cause of his brother, Louis XVI. Afterwards he held command of a Royal regiment; but in 1793 he gave over the hopeless struggle with the Republic, and went into Russia. Two years later we find him associated with the king's party in La Vendée. After the

collapse of that fiery and bloody insurrection, Charles retired to England, living for a while at Holyrood Palace, and afterwards with his elder brother in exile at Hartwell. Under Louis XVIII., the count of Artois was constantly prominent in the Government, being the leader of the ultra-Royalist Party. On his accession to the throne he had at least one advantage over the late king; he was *older!* Not much enthusiasm can be expected to attend the coronation of a monarch at the age of sixty-seven. It should be said, however, and his Government. It appeared that in the order of nature the crown would soon descend to the line of Ferdinand, Duke of Berry, the late popular son and representative of the king's House. This prince, of open demeanor and cordial habits, had in his life-time won not a little upon popular esteem, and those who favored the legitimate monarchy as against the Republic and the Empire, might well point with some pride to the child of the Prince of Berry, as the expectancy and rose of the fair State. The life of the Duke of

CORONATION OF CHARLES X.

what in manners, address, and dignity, as well as in general capacity for affairs, this last representative of the Elder Branch of the House of Bourbon was the superior of his predecessor. In politics, however, he was as hopelessly wedded to the traditions which have made the term Bourbonism odious to the friends of civil liberty in all the world, as had been any representative of his ancestral line from the days of Henry of Navarre.

One circumstance at least tended to popularize, in some small measure, the new king Berry had been cut short four years before the accession of Charles to the throne. On the evening of the 13th of February, 1820, when the duke was coming out from the opera-house, an assassin, named Louvel, sprang upon him and stabbed him to death. But the hope of his family was justified seven months afterwards, when his wife, the Duchess of Berry, Marie Caroline of Palermo, gave birth to a son, upon whom was conferred the title of Duke of Bordeaux and the prospective heirship of the French crown. To this remaining scion of the

ancient house all the Legitimists now looked, in the fond belief that he should one day flourish as a great king of the old and glorious pattern.

Meanwhile, Charles himself must be tested with a reign of six years' duration. It fell to M. Villèle to carry the Government over the hiatus between the two reigns. It was soon discovered by the king that this statesman was not extreme enough in his Royalism to meet the demands of the throne. But before any change was introduced in the Ministry, the existing Administration was called upon to continue the work of reäction which had been too feebly prosecuted during the late reign. Charles and his Government now sought openly to bring back and to make absolute the odious methods of Government and principles of statecraft which had prevailed under the Ancient Régime. In the first place, it was felt that some emphatic and unmistakable policy must be adopted with respect to those loyal Emigrant Nobles who had suffered so great contempt and hardship during the Republican and Imperial ascendencies.

CHARLES FERDINAND, DUKE OF BERRY.

The student of the French Revolution will not need to be reminded of the complete shattering and dissipation of the feudal land-system of France by the Republic. Nor will the democratic peoples of to-day fail to commiserate the hardships and woes of the French nobility, brayed as they were in the Revolutionary mortar. These hardships and miseries were inflicted under that peculiar form of unjust justice which history is wont to impose on the descendants of those who have sinned against humanity and the freedom of mankind. The noble estates of France were swept away like autumnal leaves in the whirlwind of November. The nobles themselves, their families and dependents, fled for their lives into strange regions, where they became wanderers, refugees, exiles, in distress and poverty. They were obliged to bow their proud necks to the yoke of calamity. Some taught school to obtain the means of subsistence; some went to work in vineyards and orchards; some trimmed hedges; some blistered their small, soft hands with the rough tools of workshops; some made shoes; some became peddlers, and strove, by petty sales made at the doorways of the common people, to gather the means of living.

It was a hard but wholesome discipline. For a long time hope seemed to be dead in the breasts of the Emigrants. Children born after the exile grew to manhood and womanhood in foreign lands, never having once gratified their eyes with the sight of *La Patrie*. With the reäction, hope immediately revived, and the Emigrants came home from almost every civilized country of the world. At first

it was found impossible by Louis XVIII. and his Ministers to satisfy, or even appease, the hunger of the returned nobility. The king, perhaps, had wit enough to perceive that the aristocratic system was hopelessly shattered, and that nothing better than compromising expedients could ever be adopted with the representatives of that feudal caste now become a memory.

Under Charles, however, the case was different. He had the true faith of the Bourbon. He fulfilled completely the Napoleonic definition of learning nothing and forgetting nothing. At the very beginning of his reign, the Loyalist majority in the Chambers was set free to do its will, and the first important measure was there directed to the relief and rehabilitation of the Emigrants. A bill was introduced, and passed, appropriating a thousand million francs for the recompense of those who had lost their estates and properties by the Revolution. The heirs of the aristocracy now came in to recover from New France what their fathers had lost in the wreck of that Old France which had gone down at sea. At first it was the program of the aristocrats to reclaim and recover the actual—that is, the same—estates which had been wrested from their ancestors, confiscated by the Republic, and consumed in war with the Republic's enemies. But those estates, in such manner confiscated, had long since been regranted or resold to the people of the new French Nation. Most of the lands had been divided up into small holdings. Vineyards had been planted, hamlets built, roads constructed, dividing hedges run upon and through the great estates which had formerly been held in solidarity by the Nobles. To dispossess the present owners of such properties, to retake them for the representatives of the past, was now impossible. Such action would be to undo the Revolution, and to convert the French people themselves into Emigrants and adventurers. The plan of compensation was therefore adopted, and the sum of a thousand million francs was named by the Chamber as the total recompense for the losses of the old aristocracy. Those who had purchased the lands of the defunct Nobility were allowed to retain them, but the scions of the former owners were to be compensated with annuities, pensions, and sums in gross. The measure was so devised as to be received with favor by both classes of claimants. The present occupants of the lands might well be willing, under such a Chamber, such a Ministry, such a king, and in the midst of such reäctionary tendencies, that the heirs of the past might receive their pensions, if they themselves, on the other hand, should be permitted to remain in undisturbed possession of their homes.

As soon as the question of settlement with the Emigrants was thus answered in the affirmative, the Government gave its attention, as far as practicable, to the rehabilitation of those institutions having their foundation in Jesuitism. The expulsion of the Jesuits will be recalled as one of the incidents of the early Revolution. They were now encouraged to return to France and to renew their subtle relations with society. Law again took the Roman faith and practice under its patronage. Mere superstitions were revived, and mummery was heard in the ancient accents. The question of sacrilege was taken up. Theft of any article from consecrated ground was made a felony punishable with death. The profanation in any way of the elements of wafer and wine used in the sacraments of the church was declared a crime equal to parricide!

In the next place, the king and his ministers turned their attention to the press, that pernicious instrument of enlightenment and emancipation. It must be remembered that the real political power of France had now fortunately passed into the hands of the middle or burgher class of citizens. The career of modern French journalism may be said to have begun soon after the Restoration, and to have been directed to that great intermediate citizenship on which the State was builded. A class of public political teachers appeared, who henceforth used the press as the vehicle of their doctrines and advocacy. Men like De Barante, Guizot, and Villemain arose as true journalists, standing midway between the extremes of party, and turning the tremendous influence of journalism to the defense of a truer popular liberty than had hitherto found a voice. The continuance of this system was inconsistent with the existence of that kind of absolutism which the Government of Charles X.

sought assiduously to reëstablish in France. A censorship was accordingly adopted for the repression of the freedom of the press. At the very moment of his accession, when the king, like most monarchs under similar circumstances, sought for the passing hour to secure the favor of his subjects, he had relaxed the censorship which had been established under the reign of his predecessor. But the restriction was now reïmposed, and the freedom of journalism was put down by statutory enactment.

Then came the measure of making men great by patent. In 1827, seventy-six new Peers of France were created. The project was similar in character and intent to that which we have frequently seen attempted, and sometimes carried out, under the stress of political exigency in England. In instances not a few, the party dominant in the British House of Commons has found itself so seriously impeded by an adverse majority in the House of Lords as to be under the strongest temptation to reverse that majority by the creation of a sufficient number of Peers. This expedient was now unhesitatingly employed by Charles X. and his Ministers. The predominance of the king's party, in the Upper Chamber at least, was thus effectually, if not permanently, secured. For who could vote against his maker? In the Chamber of Representatives, however, the Opposition still held its own, and in order to free himself from the pestiferous annoyance of this body, the king soon dismissed the House and ordered a new election. The event showed, however, that he had made a fallacious calculation, for the Liberal forces in the new Chamber were increased instead of diminished.

The result of the election greatly shocked the king and his advisers. It was now necessary either that the Government should itself become revolutionary, by refusing to recognize the new Chamber of Deputies, or else that it should accept the result with a consequent change of the Ministry. The latter alternative was taken. The Royalist Ministers resigned their offices, and Charles was constrained to appoint new members more in sympathy with the popular will. But how could a Liberal Ministry survive under the shadow of a Bourbon throne? The experiment was tried, and proved abortive. In August of 1828 the Liberals went out of office, and the Ultra-Royalist, Prince Jules de Polignac, was ordered to form a new Cabinet after the king's own heart. It had already become apparent to every reflective mind that the whole political structure was unstable in every part, and that sooner or later it must end in cataclysm and new creation.

Before proceeding, however, to notice the concluding events of the reign of Charles in the home kingdom, we may well glance abroad at the only foreign drama of these years in which France bore any conspicuous part. The Greek Revolution had now reached its first stage of fulfillment, and the Greeks, as a semi-independent people, were at war with the Turks. In July of 1827 the protocol, signed at St. Petersburg the year before, determinative of the condition of settlement between Greece and the Porte, was expanded into the Treaty of London, in which England, Russia, and France entered into a solemn compact to end, by force of allied action, the war in the East. The mediation of the Powers was accordingly offered to the Sultan, with the suggestion of an armistice until what time the true conditions of a Turco-Hellenic peace might be discussed and defined. The Sultan scornfully rejected this interference with his affairs, and a break between the Ottoman Empire and the Powers was at once precipitated. At this time Ibrahim Pasha, commander of the Ottoman squadron, was assembling his forces at Navarino, preparatory to an expedition against Hydra. Suddenly the allied fleet appeared in the Bay, and on the 20th of October, 1827, the great battle of Navarino was fought, in which the combined fleets of Turkey and Egypt were destroyed. The maritime power of the Sultan was ruined. England presently withdrew from the contest; but France, continuing in the intervention, proceeded to occupy the Morea until the Sultan was obliged to concede the independence of the Greeks.

The appointment of Polignac as Prime Minister of France marked the acme of Bourbon reäction. The prince was, at the time, French ambassador at the court of St. James, where his intimacy with the duke of Wellington had excited much comment in both kingdoms. In France especially such a relation could but create the greatest popular odium.

That the friend of Wellington should become Prime Minister in the Government of a restored Bourbon king, was sufficient to excite universal disgust. Only the blindness of the Government failed to perceive the anachronism and impossibility of an Administration under such a leader. When Prince Polignac returned to Paris, rumor and suspicion flew before him, and his accession to power was the provocation of fierce opposition on the part of the Liberals. He became President of the French Council in November of 1829, and the event was the signal for open resistance, which soon sprang full-armed from the ground.

It will be remembered that the Chamber of Deputies was dominated by the Liberal Party. In pursuance of its own policy, that body had chosen as its President, the statesman Casimir Perier, who, while not himself a conspicuous Radical, was thoroughly devoted to the cause of the people. On the 2d of March, 1830, the President of the Chamber replied in a most defiant temper to the king's speech from the throne. The crisis was at the door. Charles at once dissolved the Assembly, and sought to allay the excitement by making certain salutary changes in the Ministry. The French Nation at once construed the king's concession as an act of weakness and apprehension, and no sooner had this thought taken possession of the public mind than the fate of the Government was sealed. In the election which now ensued for new members of the Chamber, the Liberals gained greatly, and presented a bold and hostile front to the king and his party. It was evident that as soon as the legislative body should reassemble, Prince Polignac and his Ministry would be driven ignominiously from office.

Only one circumstance now appeared from the whole horizen favorable to the cause of the king, and that was an achievement of the army. Victory in the field always goes to the credit of the Government. Nor is any other fact in history more likely to gain at least a temporary popular support for the existing order than is military achievement, particularly victory abroad. It was the good fortune of Charles, just at this juncture, to have victory. The French arms in Africa had been crowned with complete success. As far back as 1827, serious difficulties had arisen between the French Government and the half-barbarian Dey of Algiers. The immemorial con-

CASIMIR PERIER.

duct of the Morocco States toward the people of Christian nations, had already aroused many governments to war. The Algerians had been conspicuously criminal in the maltreatment and enslavement of Christians who chanced to come within their power. As early as the beginning of the century, the guns of the young Republic of the United States had thundered a cheerful sound along this part of the African coast.

The present Dey of Algiers had pursued the policy of his predecessors, and it remained for the dying House of Bourbon to bring him to his knees. Charles X. was guilty of the

commendable action of sending out a squadron to demand of his Algerine Majesty an ample reparation for the wrongs done to the sailors and merchants of France. Early in 1830 an army of nearly forty thousand men was sent to the African coast to compel the dey to yield to the demands of civilization and humanity. Landing near the city of Algiers, the Count de Bourmont, who commanded the expedition, marched against the robber-capital of the country, and was about to carry the city by storm, when the dey, taking counsel of discretion, sent out a flag of truce and surrendered to the French. The African monarch was expelled from the country, and afterwards took up his residence in Naples.

ALGIERS.

MAP XXV.
AFRICA
English Miles
0 100 300 500 700 1000
Longitude West 10 of Greenwich
Fisk & Bee, N.Y.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF GUINEA
SAHARA OR GREAT DESERT
SUDAN
Bight of Benin
Bight of Biafra
Meridian of Greenwich
Tropic of Cancer
EQUATOR
Azores Is. (To Portugal)
Madeira Is. (To Portugal)
Canary Islands (To Spain)
Cape Verde Islands (To Portugal)
Ascension I. (British)
St. Helena I. (British)
SPAIN
LISBON
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
Constantine
Fez
Tafilet
Atlas Mts.
Tuat
Timbuctoo
Walata
Gundam
Kabara
Gogo
Agades
Air or Asben
Tintellust
Asben Mts. 5000
Azaher Mts. 4000
Ghat
Ghadames
Hamada
Zariba
Ain Salah
Agalby
Ilmen Pk.
Hogar
Ideles
Asiu Wells
Jehaya
Aoulef
El Arib
Sakiet el Hamra
Bel Abbas
Grona
C. Bojador
C. Blanco
Arguin
Adderer
Wadan
Hoden
Arawan
Portendik
Teleg
Taudeny
Mimsina
Tatta
C. Nun
Tarodant
Agadir
Mogador
Mequinez
Fighig
Segelmessa
Golea
Wargla
Gardaia
Tugurt
El Wad
Biskra
Cabes
Hamm
Kairwan
Mouna
Kark
Phillippville
Bona
Bougah
Dellys
Algiers
Oran
Malaga
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Str. of Gibraltar
C. Spartel & Tangier
Tetuan
Mellila
Sallee
Rabat
Mazagan
C. Cantin
Saffee
Funchal
Desertas
Madeira L.
Pto. Santo
Flores
Fayal
Pico
Terceira
S. Michael
C. St. Vincent
Lazarote
Fortaventura
Palma
Ferro I.
Tenerife
Gd. Canary
Portugal
Cadiz
Gulf of Cadiz
Oran
Bougie
Philippeville
Bona
Djerba
Tunis
C. Bon
Hammamet
Kairwan
Mouna
Karkenna
Cabes
Gafsa
Tebessa
Biskra
Wargla
Golea
Gadames
Hamada
Ghat
Ideles
Hogar
Ilmen Pk.
Asiu Wells
Jehaya
Azaher Mts. 4000
Tintellust
Asben Mts. 5000
Air or Asben
Agades
Gogo
Kabara
Timbuctoo
Walata
Gundam
Arawan
Hoden
Adderer
Wadan
Arguin
C. Blanco
Portendik
Cape Verde Islands (To Portugal)
S. Antonio
Sal
S. Nicolas
Bonavista
Fogo
S. Iago
Cape Verde
Ft. St. Louis
R. Senegal
Sedo
Kasambara
Yowaru
Massina
L. Debo
Hamdallahi
Jenneh
Sansanding
Kulfela
Nungu
Bussa
Yauri
Tabra
Yakoba
Rabba
Nikki
Eyeo
Egga
Abomey
Dahomey
Abbeokuta
Idah
Wukuri
Eboe
Old Calabar
Cameron Mt.
Biafra
Fernando Po (To Sp.)
BIAFRA
Princes I.
Fan
Naonga
St. Thomas I.
R. Gaboon
C. Lopez
Annobon
Mayumba
Kilonga
Loango
Cacongo
Cabinda
R. Congo, Zaire
C. Padrone
Ambriz
Icollo i Bengo
S. Paul de Loanda
R. Coanza
Massanga
Novo Redondo
Quicombo
S. Felipe de Benguela
C. Martha
Port Alexander
C. Negro
Gt. Fish B.
Tiger Pt.
C. Frio
Cape o
Walwish
Hollams
Ichab
Angra P
Gt.
Bamba
Bambarra
Bambuk
Kamalia
Bafulabe
Kankan
Kankari
Timbo
Falaba
Mt. Loma
Kong Mts.
Kong
Sierra Leone
Freetown (Br.)
Monrovia
Tradetown
Gt. Sestres
C. Palmas
Ivory Coast
Ashantee
Coomassie
Gold Coast
Accra
Lahu
Basaam
R. Assinie
C. Three Points
Binliu
C. Coast Castle (Br.)
Christiansburg
Whydah
Badagry
Lagos
Benin
Warri
Meha
R. Nun
R. Formosa
Bonny
Old Calabar R.
Cameroons Mt.
Abo
Ogowai
Aquilla Country
Mt. Ab
Adamawa
Yola
Bornu
Kanem
Lake Tchad
R. Chadda
Mandara
Logone
Kotoko
Kousseri
Angorno
Kabbi
Kabogum
Birnie
Kouka
Kano
Gando
Sackatoo
Sokoto or Gando
Damerghu
Zamfra
Kafsena
Housa
Timbuctoo
Sego
Niger R.
Gogo
Kabara
Tenda
Gundam
Walata
Timbuctoo
Mts.
Atlas
Mts.
Fezzan
Ghadames
Tripoli
Mesurata
Bengasi
Derna
Barca
Augila
Siwah
Egypt
Nubia
Darfur
Wadai
Baghirmi
Bornu
Kanem
Lake Tchad
Kotoko
Logone
Kousseri
Mandara

MAP OF THE
SUEZ CANAL
Miles
0 50 100 150
Alexandria
MEDITERRANEAN
Damietta
Port Said
L. Menzaleh
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
El Arish
Petra (Rs.)
SUEZ CANAL
Ismailia
Desert of
CAIRO
Ghizeh
Pyramids
Suez
Et Tyh
Akaba
Memphis (Rs.)
EGYPT
SINAI
GULF OF AKABA
GULF OF SUEZ
Nile R.
Aboo Girgeh
Minieh
RED SEA
TURKEY
ATHENS
Smyrna
Ionian Is.
Candia
Rhodes
Cyprus (Br.)
Beirut
Damascus
SYRIA
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Acre
Jerusalem
Port Said
Suez
Suez Canal
Alexandria
Barca
L. Mareotis
CAIRO
Ghizeh
Faioum
Benisouef
Minieh
Siwah
Aujila
Maradeh
Mt. Sinai
Libyan Desert
Western Oasis
Girgeh (Rs.)
Sioot
Cosseir
Thebes
Edfoo
1st Cataract
Assouan
Yamboo
Medina
Mecca
Jidda
Derr
Ipsambool
Selimah
NUBIA
Nubian Desert
Berber
Shendy
Halfayeh
Khartoum
Bara
KORDOFAN
El Obeid
DARFUR
Kobbe
Fasher
Jebel Marra
Ten Tony
Kaikabia
Abeshi
Kenga
Runga
El Hotrah
Fertit
Shega
Dorbo
Dilling
Shir
Berri
Mofios
Kifa
Mundo
Gondokoro
Doko
Dufli
Fatiko
Albert Nyanza
Ukere
Muta
Nzige
Watwa
Mt. Mfumbiro
Alexandria Nyanza
Manyuema
Ujiji
Nyangwe
Uzinza
Kagehyi
Mt. Kenia
above the Sea 21000
Kilimandjaro
Mt.
Msene
Unyamuezi
Unyanyembe
Taborah
Fuga
Ugogi
Usagara
Zungamero
Rukwa
Liemba
Kondi Mts.
Moero L.
Cassembes
Bembe
Lindye
Quiloa
Aldabra I.
Providence I.
Farquhar Is.
Agalegas Is.
Saya de Malha Bank
Juba
Mt. Kenia
Lamo
Patta
Formosa B.
Melinda
Mombas
Pemba I.
Pandani
ZANZIBAR I. & TN.
Bagamoyo
Dares Salaam
Monfia I.
Amirante Is.
Seychelle Is. (British) (Br.)
Mahe
Swift Bank
Rose Galley Rks.
Gananeh
Barderah
Galween
Magadoxo
Brava
EQUATOR
Somauli
Ganale R.
Webbe R.
Harar
Behera
Dollo
Bad
Ankobar
Shoa
Zeyla
Tajurrah
Str. of Bab-el-Mandeb
G. OF ADEN
Aden (Br.)
Perim I. (Br.)
Mocha
Sana
Makallah
Lohela
Massuah
Dhalac Is.
Konfodeh
Hali
Suakin
Arkiko
Adowa
Antalo
Sokota
Obok
GONDAR
ABYSSINIA
Dembea
Magdala
Azuan
Sennaar
Abyssinian R.
Blue Nile
White Nile
Atbara R.
Gurkab
Azur (Meroe)
Marraka or New Dongola
Old Dongola
Nubian Desert
R. Nile
Wun
Yen
Korku
Wara
Kaikabia
Abeshi
Kenga
Runga
Bahr R.
Sumat R.
Bahr Kuta (Kabanda)
Niam Niam
Welle R.
Mangala R.
Kibali R.
Uele R.
Lake Chad
Lake Fittri
Bahr Arab R.
Bahr el Ghazal R.
Lake Rudolph
Kora
Kamasia
Lake Baringo
Lake Korahim
Ripun Falls
Victoria Nyanza
Lake Kioga
Lake Dibbindi
Mburo R.
Kagera R.
Ruanda
Urundi
Uganda
Unyoro
Lake Albert
Semliki R.
Lake Edward
Ruwenzori Mts.
Mountains of the Moon
Lake Victoria Nyanza
Nile R.
Victoria Falls
Cataracts
Above the Sea
Kenia
Kilimandjaro
Mt.
Mt. Kenia
Juba

Algiers was at once colonized by the conquerors, converted into the most flourishing and important foreign dependency of France, and held as a permanent outpost of the kingdom.

These events took place in the beginning of July, 1830, and on the 9th of the month the news reached Paris. It was in the heat and acme of the political crisis. No other news could have been so grateful to the tottering form and failing heart of Bourbonism. It was foolishly believed by the king and the Ministry that the success of the French arms over the Algerians might be turned to the glorification of the Government. The army of Louis had dictated peace by the suppression of a Liberal constitution in Spain. The army of Charles had won a victory over the half-wild African Islamites of Algiers. How great therefore are the abilities, how vast the energy and skill of the French Government, which has directed all things to these great ends! Therefore shall we be gloriously perpetuated and sit on our throne, not only *Dei gratia*, but by the common acclaim of the French Nation. Was not such the result when the news came home to France of Jena and Austerlitz and Friedland? But never was the logic of *mutatis mutandis* more strikingly applied. Encouraged by the idea that his African success would bear him through, Charles, on the 26th of July, proceeded to issue five Royal Ordinances, every one of which was leveled directly against the liberties of his subjects. The first article declared a suspension of the freedom of the press, or of whatever remained of the *fiction* of freedom. The second act dissolved the new Chamber of Deputies, *which had not yet convened!* The third prescribed a new system of elections, by which the absolute power of the king might be secured. The fourth convoked a new Chamber, and by the fifth some Ultra-Royalists were appointed to high places in the Government. The first knowledge which the people had of these proceedings was through the official newspaper in which the public decrees were promulgated. Marshal Marmont, who commanded the troops in the capital, knew nothing of what was done until apprised thereof by the publication of the king's intention. Having sent forth his edicts, Charles went hunting, and the Ministers shook hands gleefully over what they supposed to be the final solution of all their troubles.

But the solution was not even a respectable fiction. There now appeared on the scene a new force in the person of Louis Adolphe Thiers, a young journalist from Marseilles, who, as editor of the *National* newspaper, took up the cause of the people in a memorable manner. We have already spoken of the appearance of the spirit of free journalism under the previous reign. It remained for the year 1830 to present the new fact of an outspoken press as a distinct force in the public life of France. Thiers boldly put himself at the front, and became at once the recognized leader of the Liberal journalists of Paris. He had for his coadjutors Armand, Carrel, Mignet, and several others who wielded free lances against the buckler of Bourbonism. Thiers drew up, and with other Liberal editors signed and published, a vigorous and patriotic protest against the Royal Ordinances. The act, as matters then stood, was audacious in the extreme; but the event soon justified the course of the Liberal leaders. Public opinion at once went into insurrection against the Government, and it could hardly be doubted that the rattling insurrection of arms would soon follow in the train.

The pronunciamento of Thiers came sharp after the issue and publication of the king's edicts. On the 27th of July it was known that Marshal Marmont had been intrusted with the defense of Paris. The city took fire in an hour. She became suddenly glorious with indignation. Even on the day following the publication of the king's ordinances the people poured by thousands into the streets, and the city, as of old, began to put on her revolutionary garments. Volleys of musketry were heard where the multitudes were assembled. The people fell back before some unsteady charges of the guards, and by nightfall a silence which was ominous, rather than reassuring, rested over Paris. With the coming of the morning light, however, the agitation broke out afresh, and at nine o'clock the tricolor of the Republic was flung out from the spire of Notre Dame. Shortly afterwards the same inspiring banner was run up on the Hôtel de Ville. Many citizens arrayed them-

selves in the uniform of the old National Guard, and the Revolution of 1830 was fairly on.

The king and the Ministry were now thoroughly alarmed, and Marshal Marmont, commandant of Paris, was ordered to clear the city. At first he hesitated, and advised pacific measures with the populace. But the Government well knew that the time for pacification had passed, and that it must now conquer or perish. So the contest began, and in many parts of the city the firing of musketry and the rattling of iron hail along the streets announced the outbreak of revolutionary violence. The people became furious under the assaults of the soldiers, and hesi-

MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

tated at nothing which promised the overthrow of the Government. They fought from the windows and house-tops. Every kind of weapon was brought into requisition. Stones, tiles, billets of wood, and every species of missile were hurled down upon the troops crowded into the narrow streets. Women poured hot water and boiling oil on the heads of the soldiers. Chairs, tables, and piano-fortes were thrown out of the windows by frenzied amazons, more furious even than the men, and more irrational in their rage. The guards were driven back to the Hôtel de Ville, and thence to the Tuileries. Nor can it be doubted that most of the soldiers were from the first at heart with the insurgents.

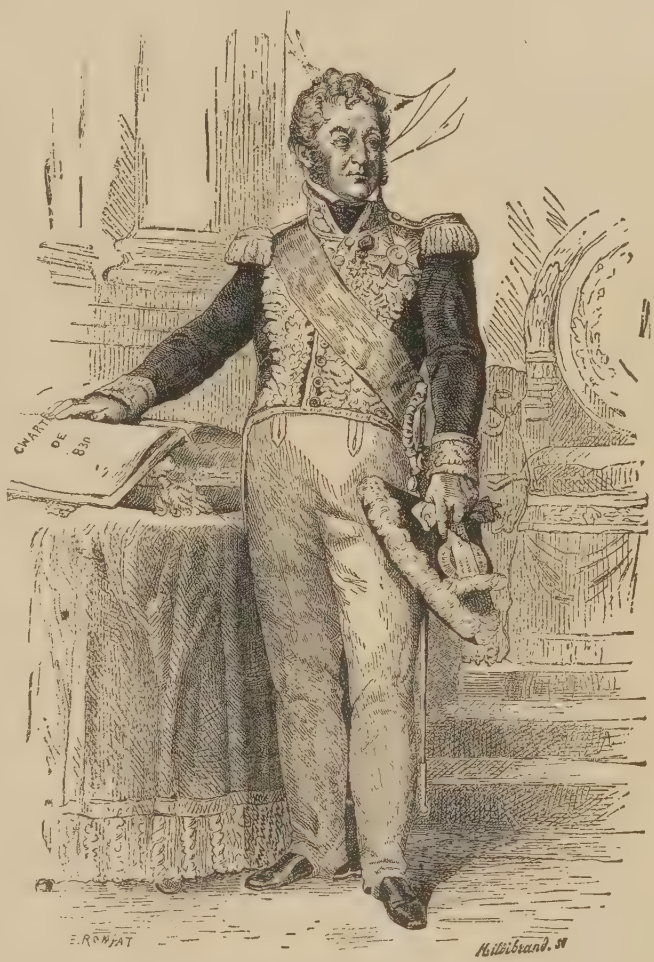
In the meantime came hurriedly together the new Chamber of Deputies. On the 28th of July the committee from the House entered into conference with Marmont, who endeavored to persuade them to pacify the people.

But the Deputies, from a constitutional point of view, quickly saw their advantage, and refused to attempt the pacification of Paris until certain reforms, virtually revolutionary in their character, should be made in and by the Government. On the night of the 29th the insurrection became general. The people tore up the boulevards and constructed barricades upon the principal streets. When it came to carrying these defenses, the soldiers showed themselves to be as lukewarm as the people were determined. During the day two full regiments of the line deserted and went over to the insurgents. Marshal Marmont perceived the defection, and could place no further reliance on the fidelity of any of the soldiers to the cause of the king. At this juncture the people made a universal rush, and swept everything before them. The Louvre was taken first, and the Tuileries soon afterwards. Into the latter palace the crowds burst as in the days of the Great Revolution. The Royal Chambers were sacked, and the insignia of the House of Bourbon trampled under foot. It was noted that in the midst of these excesses there was neither theft nor any other personal crime. It was again seen that the Parisian sansculotte was a true patriot, scorning to pillage for his own sake, but capable as a Hun to destroy the whole apparatus of monarchy. It is not known that a single person in these wild assaults on the Louvre and the Tuileries was murdered by the infuriated rioters. It was but another example of the excess and terrorism which may be expected under the dominion of that force which Paris herself has named the "sacred right of insurrection."

These things done, Marshal Marmont hastily withdrew from the city on the road to St. Cloud, and Paris was left in the hands of the Revolutionists. Charles himself, and all that was left of the Government, were swept out in the same direction. Vainly did the flying king attempt to stem the torrent. He hastily

abolished his Five Ordinances, by which the crisis had been precipitated. He dismissed the Royalist Ministry, and named another composed of Liberals. But he might as well have parleyed with a cyclone or made concessions to an earthquake. The French whale, now wallowing in the angry seas, would accept no tub of smaller proportions than the House of Bourbon itself. The Chamber of Deputies immediately came to an organization in the city, and resolved that Charles X. should reign no longer. The veteran General La Fayette was appointed to the Military Command at Paris, and on the reäppearance of the aged patriot in the streets the agitated sea at once fell to a calm. The Revolution was accomplished with but little bloodshed and small loss of property. Only three days, ever afterwards known in the phraseology of French history, as the "Three Days of July," had been occupied in the transformation; and it is said that many foreigners resident in Paris were not aware of the nature of the tumult until the work was ended.

We may here pause to note in a word the destinies of the wrecked dynasty. On the 2d of August, 1830, Charles X. gave over the hopeless struggle, and abdicated the throne in favor of his posthumous grandson, that young boy called the Duke of Bordeaux, son of the assassinated Duke of Berry. Of this child, to whom the remaining hopes of the House of Bourbon now turned, we have already spoken. He was at this time ten years of age, and was known henceforth as the Count de Chambord. His father, the Duke of Berry, was a younger son of Charles X. The elder son, the Dauphin, Duke of Angoulême, was childless—another circumstance in that fateful condition by which the crown of Henry of Navarre was sliding laterally to the ground. Under the circumstances, the Duke of Angoulême also renounced his claim to the throne of France in favor of his nephew. Of course the Royal Family must at once depart from that hot-tempered France which had borne through many generations so much of their insulting tyranny. Charles and his court made first a brief pause at St. Cloud, and then retired to Trianon, from which presently they removed to the Hôtel de Rambouillet. Even this refuge was but temporary. Under the circumstances, England was the best and safest retreat. Thither the representatives of the shattered House betook themselves and found residence at Holyrood Palace, near Edinburgh, where Charles had lived during the larger part of his first exile. He lived for six years, and died at Görtz, in Austria, on the 6th of November, 1836.



LOUIS PHILIPPE.

Meanwhile, events were whirling rapidly in the French capital. The Chamber of Deputies devoted themselves to the work of selecting a new ruler for France. At this juncture.

Thiers and Mignet again asserted their strength and influence by nominating for the throne Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, representative of what is known as the Younger Branch of the Bourbon dynasty. The prince himself was not loath to present himself at the crisis, and to offer his services to the nation. In so doing, he was favored greatly by his character and antecedents. He was the son of that Philippe Egalité, or Equality Philip, who was so conspicuous a figure—conspicuous for his Liberalism—in the early days of the First Revolution. At the first, the Chamber voted to place him at the head of the kingdom with the title of Lieutenant-General. The prince accepted his election, met the Chamber of Deputies and members of the Provisional Government at the Hôtel de Ville, and there solemnly pledged himself to the most liberal principles of administration. His accession to power in his military relations was hailed with great delight by the Parisians, who waved the tri-color flag before him as he came, and shouted to their heart's content.

At this stage of the revolution the representatives of the overthrown House and of the Old Royalty sought assiduously to obtain from Louis Philippe a recognition of the young Count de Chambord, under the title of Henry V. But the Duke of Orleans was too wily a politician to be caught in such a snare. He at first suppressed that part of the letter of abdication signed by Charles and Angoulême in which reference was made to the succession of the Duke of Berry's son; but a knowledge of that clause was presently disseminated in the city, and the tumult broke out anew. Then it was that a great mob, rolling out of Paris in the direction of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, gave the signal of flight to Charles and those who had adhered to the toppling fortunes of his House.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.—THE CITIZEN KING.

THUS did the Younger Branch of the House of Bourbon supplant the Elder. The Chamber of Deputies proceeded at once to undo the despotic acts of Charles X., and then to elect Louis Philippe king, not of *France*, but of the *French*.[1] The popularity of the new sovereign was shown in the fact that he received two hundred and nineteeen out of the two hundred and fifty-two votes in the Chamber. His elevation to power was another most striking example of the strange personal vicissitudes through which the princes of France passed in the Revolutionary epoch. Nothing could more strongly illustrate the possible height and depth of aristocratic life at this era in history than the career of this same Louis Philippe. Carlyle, with his keen insight of men and events, caught quickly and well the panorama of this eventful life: "The brave young Egalité," says he of him on the night when Madame Genlis effected his own and his sister's escape from France to Switzerland, "has a most wild morrow to look for; but now only himself to carry through it. . . . Brave young Egalité reaches Switzerland and the Genlis cottage with a strong crabstick in his hand, a strong heart in his body: his princedom is now reduced to *that*." Certainly such a prospect is not cheering. Young Egalité at length becomes M. Corby, in his exile, and is a village school-master in Switzerland. He suffers hunger, hardship, all the pangs of poverty and deprivation, but bears up bravely through more than twenty-one years of wandering in exile. Returning to France in 1814, his military rank was revived, and the property which his father had lost by execution and confiscation was restored to him. Now, on the 9th of August, 1830, he is elected, by an almost unanimous vote of the deputies, King of the French, and for eighteen years to come shall wear the crown, which he

[1] Napoleon the Great had, on his accession to power, drawn the same distinction. He had himself crowned as Emperor of the French, not of France. The Feudal principle was made to give way to popular sovereignty.

is destined to lose at last in the Republican Revolution of 1848.

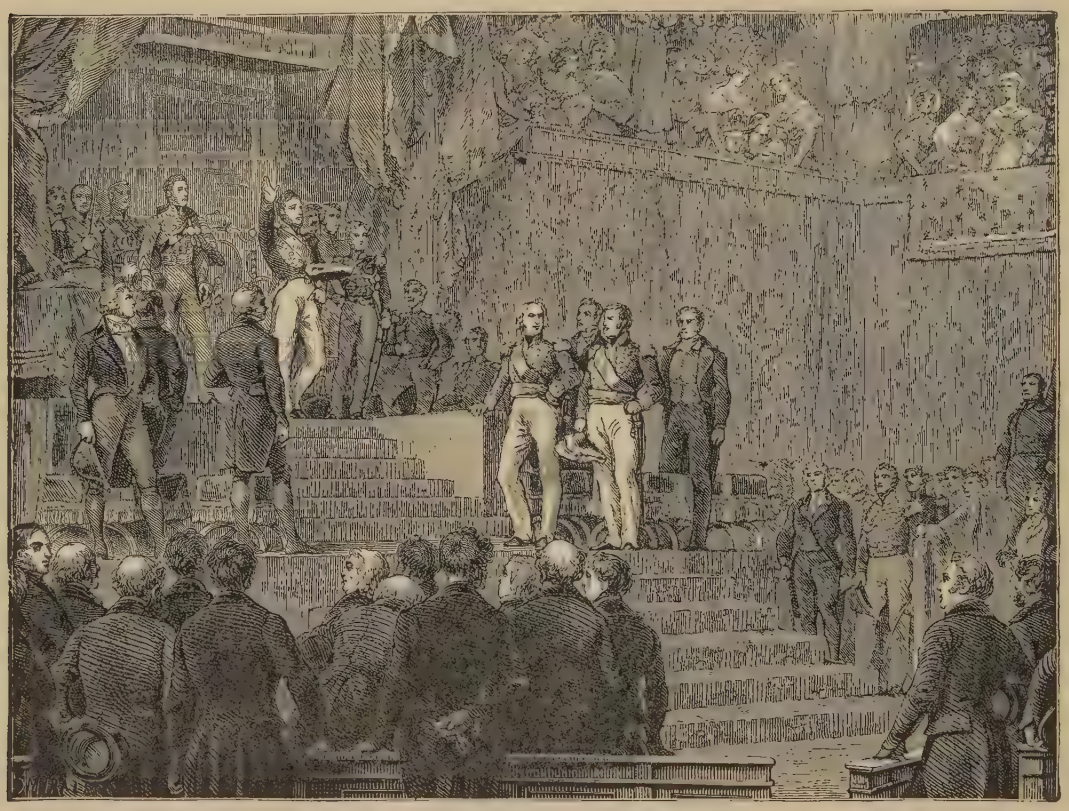
On the whole, the events which we have just described, the nearly bloodless Revolution of 1830, the elevation of Louis Philippe to the throne of a moderated monarchy, resembled, and are indeed the analogue of, the English Revolution of 1688. In many respects William of Orange and the first and only Orleans king of France stand in like relation to the civil history of their respective countries. There was now a general effort made by the Liberal monarchists of France to introduce such constitutional reforms as might tend to make possible the coëxistence of the kingdom and the public liberty. The new court and Government proved to be the most virtuous and able which the French Nation had known since the days of the Consulate and the Empire. In his personal character, disciplined as he had been by adversity, the king was unexceptionable. During his reign of eighteen years, the inner life and outer reputation of the Tuileries was as fair as that famous abode of power had ever known. Indeed, the monarchy now established in France was of a new kind—a peculiar blending of Imperial force with Republican simplicity. The popular voice well expressed the spirit of a new *régime* in the sobriquet which it conferred on Louis of "The Citizen King"—a compliment not undeserved.

One of the first measures promoted by the Orleans dynasty was the prosecution and completion of the conquest of Algiers. After the capture of the city of that name by the Duke of Angoulême, and the return of the latter to France, a new figure had appeared in the African horizon, in the person of the famous Arab General, Abd-el-Kader. This Mohammedan prince was a native of Mascara, born in the year 1807. He was well educated in the lore of Islam, and, when only twenty-four years of age, was chosen Emir of Mascara and chief of the dependent tribes. He had already a great reputation as a soldier—a wild cavalry leader of the desert, brave and rash as Mohammed himself. To him now fell

ARRIVAL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN PARIS.

the task of rescuing Algiers from the grasp of France. For quite awhile after the accession of Louis Philippe, Abd-el-Kader, with his barbarian cavalry, held the French in check, and not until the latter had sacrificed a vast amount of life and treasure did they succeed in reducing him to submission. The war continued for many years. At last, however, in August of 1844, a combined army of Moors and Algerians was met and disastrously routed at the great battle of Isly, by the French forces under command of Marshal Bugeaud.

Government stood for moderation and order. It may be said to have been the Government of the Middle or Burgher class against the two extremes of society. Under it the Royalist and the sansculotte were alike discredited. Its strength consisted in this, that it had the support of those monarchists who had abandoned the theories and practices of the Elder Bourbonism—who had at length decided that in modern Europe an absolute king had no part or place. The new Government was also supported by that kind of Gironde-Republican-



LOUIS PHILIPPE TAKES THE OATH.

Abd-el-Kader still kept in the field, but his forces dwindled to a handful, and at last he was captured by the Duc d'Aumale, on the 22d of December, 1847. It appears that the pledge made to the captive, that he should be allowed to retire to Alexandria, was broken by the French Government, and Abd-el-Kader was imprisoned in the castle of Pau.

We must, however, return to the French capital, and note the progress of affairs under the auspices of the new Government. That

ism which inclined to mere order and practicality in society, as against the cloud-built structures of idealism and dreams.

The imperfection of the system thus introduced and thus supported, was the fact that it did not reach to the bottom of society, that it did not include the under man in its scheme, that it did not consider the absolute rights of man as the real beginning of human order and development. For the time, however, the two great classes of Limited Monarchists, represented by Guizot, and of respectable Repub-

licanism, represented by Thiers, gave a cordial support to the Citizen King and the Administration, and though the views of the one may be said to have inclined to the stronger monarchy, and the views of the other to a more liberal republic, thus disturbing the stability of the theory on which the Government was founded, if not the Government itself, yet the equilibrium was such for a season as the most rational, and we might almost say the most successful, attempt ever made to apply English constitutionalism to the civil society of France.

From many points of view the Revolution of 1830 and its immediate results in France are interesting as a general fact in European history. The Three Days of July and the election of Louis Philippe mark the border-

BATTLE OF ISLY.

to promise permanency and awaken considerable enthusiasm. Lafayette gave in his adhesion to the monarchy under this form, believing that the republican doctrines—in a broad sense—which he and his fellow-patriots still accepted, were shared by only a minority of the French, and that under such circumstances the monarchy was expedient. On the whole, the Government of Louis Philippe was lines and set up the termini of the monarchical reäction which followed the great Revolutionary Age. Thus far the reäctionary pendulum swung, but never further. With the collapse of the Napoleonic Imperialism, society was for a brief season given up to the Past. The Past recovered the throne. The Past plumed itself, and looked complacently around the horizon with ancient and filmy

eyes. The Past dreamed of reöccupation, of repossession, of redistribution and recovery. The Past supposed itself young again, not knowing that the very marrow in its bones had dried into dust. The Past looked for the moment into the ancient mirror, put on its wigs, its regalia, its ancient decorations, and repeated the mummery of *L'état c'est moi.* Until 1830 such pretensions were not only possible, but respectable. After 1830 they were not only impossible, but ludicrous. It is the twisted face of the ludicrous that completes all revolutions. The last act of all iconoclasm and destruction is a smile. All the snow-giants of the world, whether built by the red hands of playing children in their winter caps, or by the idolatrous architecture of great nations, melt down finally under a smile. The Government of Louis Philippe marked the beginning of that epoch throughout Europe at which men regarded the ancient system of monarchy with a simple smile. True enough, Imperialism may still come. It may come here—and will come—even in France; but the ancient Bourbonism is now dead, never to revive.

We have already seen how, even in stoical England, the dethronement of Charles X. produced, by sympathy, a wholesome reäction and led to that great reform agitation which, under Earl Russell's direction contributed so healthful a change to the British constitution. Now it was, also, that the Belgians felt the warmth of the excitement in France, renounced their subordination to Holland, declared their independence, and conferred a constitutional crown on Leopold, their chosen king. If, in 1823, Angoulême and his French army had gone into Spain to put down the Liberal Constitution of 1812, another army of French was now sent forth to the aid of the insurgent Belgians, forcing the surrender and evacuation of Antwerp, and contributing to the independence of the new kingdom.

CAPTURE OF ABD-EL-KADER.

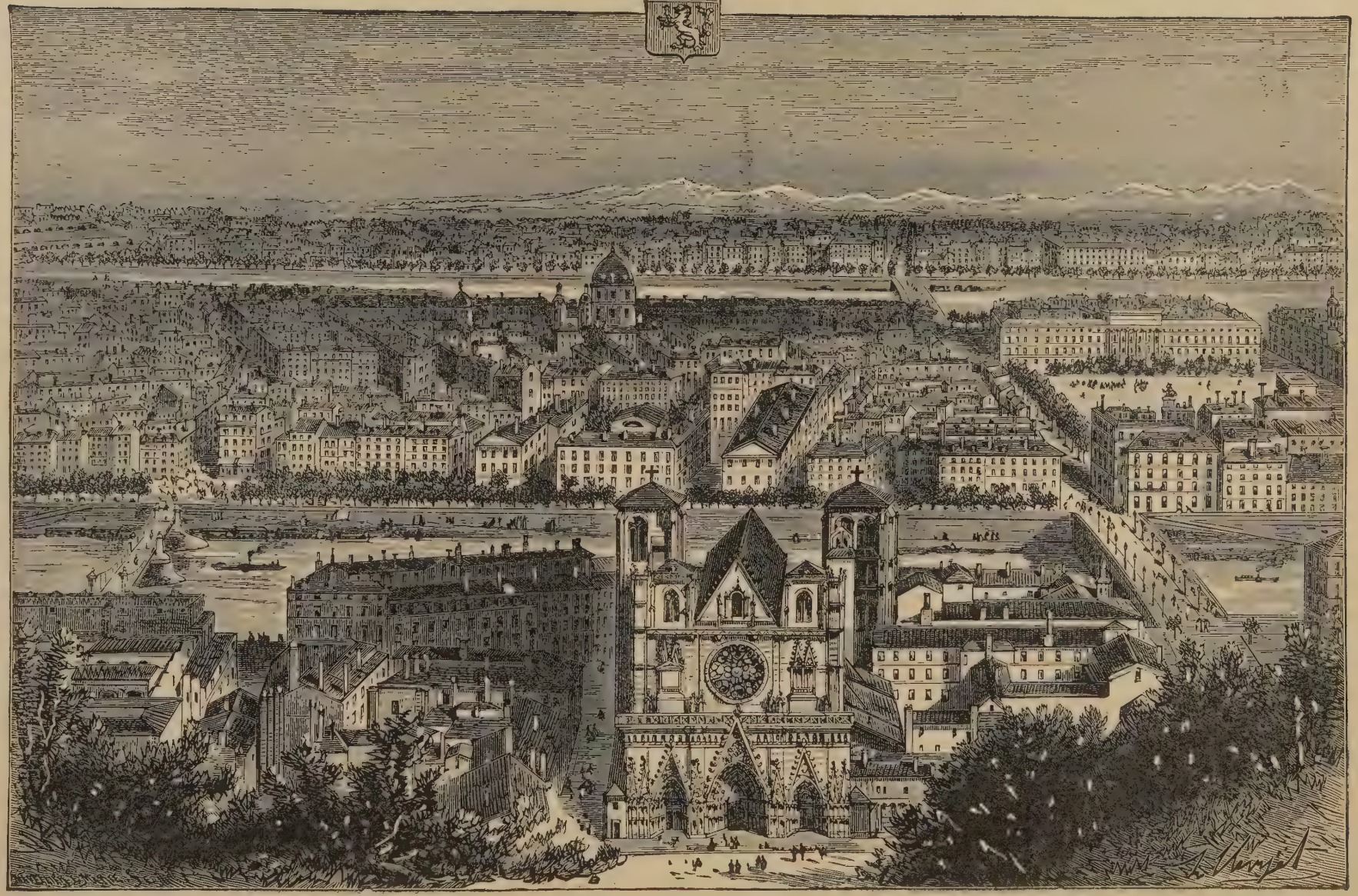
Nothing could better illustrate the unkingly and unnational reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X. than the fact that, during their whole continuance in power, they neglected

utterly to attend to the defenses of France. Common prudence would have suggested that as soon as the foreign occupation had ended, the Government should at once devote its whole energies to the task of making the country secure against a possible repetition of the inroads and humiliations of 1814–15. The Allies had trodden France under foot. They had traversed more than half the kingdom. They had been twice in full possession of the capital, and had quitted Paris at their free will. But the Restoration did not restore. The last two Bourbons were satisfied with their cushioned seats and couches in the Tuileries. For fifteen years Apathy was king. In an interval fully sufficient to have strengthened the kingdom in every part, particularly to have made the capital secure against the possible recurrence of foreign occupation, the opportunity was allowed to pass unimproved, and 1830 found the kingdom almost as unprotected from invasion and seizure as it had been after Waterloo.

With the incoming of the new Administration, however, the protection of Paris and France from the return of the fate of 1815 became a prominent question with the Government. Now were begun around the city those tremendous and well-planned fortifications against which the victorious Germans were to throw themselves in the Franco-Prussian War. Beneficial as such a line of defenses must undoubtedly prove against the assaults of foreign foes, the work was regarded with great distrust by the people of France, who, long disciplined in the school of treachery, suspected that the real purpose of the fortifications was to protect the Government again against its own subjects!

We may here recur to the marriage complication involving the Spanish Royal Family, some account of which has already been given in the history of England. Louis Philippe was by no means devoid of kingly ambition. He naturally considered such questions as related to the permanency and strength of the dynasty which he hoped to establish. The House of Orleans was in one sense as new to Europe as though it had just been molten and cast from the fire. This circumstance was prejudicial to the new Government, particularly in the minds of those ancient Royal families under whom the greater part of Europe lay parceled out. The Citizen King sought to make himself at one with the old dynasties, and to ally the fortunes of his House with theirs. One of his favorite measures was accordingly the intermarriage of members of his family with the principal Houses of Europe.

It was in pursuance of this policy that Louis Philippe at length encountered the serious opposition of England, and incurred the personal displeasure of the Queen. As his reign wore on, the French king decided that his youngest son, the Duc de Montpensier, should take in marriage the Princess Maria Louisa, sister of Queen Isabella of Spain. To American readers it is hardly conceivable that so simple a matter should, in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, have so seriously excited the political apprehensions of Great Britain. The objection raised by that Government to the project of Louis Philippe, was that the Queen of Spain *might* never marry. In that event the Spanish crown *might* be given to Maria Louisa; or, if Isabella should marry, the union *might* bring no heir to the crown of Spain. Should that occur, the crown, as before, *might* go to the Queen's sister. Moreover, the Duc de Montpensier *might* inherit the throne of France; and should the duke become king, which he *might* do, and Maria Louisa receive the Spanish crown, which *might* occur, and a son be born of the marriage, which *might* happen, then the prince so born *might* inherit the kingdoms of both France and Spain. Amazing possibility! For in that event, the balance of power *might* be disturbed, and the political fabric of Europe *might* go to ruin. The inner councils of Great Britain were, as we have already shown, so shaken by these multiplied potential moods, that emphatic protests were made against the French king's plan, and that monarch was constrained to secure the marriage of Queen Isabella to her cousin, Don Francisco de Asis, a Spanish grandee, in order to remove, or at least abate, the objection to his own program. The whole transaction, however, considered from a European, rather than from an American, point of view, assumes a greater significance. It may well be admitted that the political order of Europe



GENERAL VIEW OF LYONS.

still rests on that balance of power which, beginning in the Italian diplomacy of the sixteenth century, has expanded until it constitutes the virtual frame-work of the whole system. Thus much being granted, the protests of England against that project of the French king which involved the possible union of the crowns of France and Spain, was not only natural, but prudential and salutary.

In speaking of this feature of the policy of Louis Philippe, we have run forward to its consequences at a late period in his reign. We may now resume the narrative in chronological order, and note some of the domestic aspects of France in the years immediately following the Revolution of 1830. The Government, at the very outset, was confronted by a serious financial crisis; and this in its turn was followed by alarming troubles and insurrections in different parts of France. The most portentous of such movements was in the old Loyalist, manufacturing city of Lyons. In November of 1831 the Lyonnaise workingmen, distressed by the hardships which came in the train of the crisis, struck for higher wages, and a terrible insurrection ensued, in the course of which the rioters seized the Hôtel de Ville, and for a season made themselves masters of the city. Not until the Government had sent to the scene a French army under Marshal Soult and the Duke of Orleans, was the revolt suppressed. Even then the spirit of the insurrection was not extinguished. In April of 1834 the rebellion broke out anew, and for several days the insurgents and the forces of the Government battled in the streets. Nor was the disturbance quelled and quiet restored except by the sword and military occupation.

INSURRECTION IN LYONS.

Other parts of the kingdom also were the seats of various conspiracies. In the western part of the kingdom an insurrection was fomented by the Duchess of Berry, who, among the Loyalists of La Vendée, sought, by her personal influence, to secure the recognition of her son as king. At one time she had gathered to her side a considerable remnant of the old Bourbon

interest; but she fell at length into the hands of the Government, and it was then divulged that for some time she had been secretly married to an Italian nobleman, to whom she had borne a daughter. The revelation destroyed the romance. The Legitimist cause was completely discredited, and the princess herself was imprisoned in the Fortress of Blaye. At Grenoble, also, the old capital of Dauphiny, a popular insurrection occurred, which had to be suppressed by force of arms.

MARIE CAROLINE, DUCHESS OF BERRY.

It has been the misfortune of France that what may be called political reason has been of late birth and development in that country. The other faculties of the French mind have forerun the political sense, and, as a consequence, many brilliant activities have been exhibited in the midst of political adolescence and folly. Those political experiences, through which the English race passed with so much pain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were postponed in France for fully a hundred and fifty years. The thoughtful mind may clearly discover in the condition of French opinion and practice at the epoch which we are now considering, the rudimentary character of the institutions of the country, the inexperience of the people, the unwisdom of their statesmen. Though the Government of Louis Philippe had been accepted by the nation as a whole, it was really in the favor of but few. Political parties existed of every shade. Each party had its own governmental ideas, and each believed that the salvation of France rested upon the central thought which it professed. By this thought each faction tried the kingdom and the Administration as by a standard. In every instance discrepancies were found between the existing order and the ideal plan which each several party had prepared. It is in the nature of the French to force the government of facts by ideas, to press human society into the mold of theory, and to be angered at any refusal or any want of fitness.

The result is—the result was—in the case of the Government of Louis Philippe, that a great majority of the French, while accepting it, disliked it, contemned it. Hardly any faction was heartily in sympathy with the Citizen King and the system which he represented. Even the Orleanists themselves were divided into parties. In the Assembly there was not only a Right, a Center, and a Left, but an Extreme Right, a Right Center, a Left Center, an Extreme Left, *et cetera*. At the first the king's party had had its best representative

in Casimir Perier, who stood at the head of the Government. But after his death, in 1832, Thiers and Guizot became the leading spirits of the arena. Then began that life-long rivalry between the two statesmen which, though resting on different grounds, may well remind the reader of the similar contemporaneous antagonism between Disraeli and Gladstone.

The tentative character of political science in France was further illustrated in the many vicissitudes and transformations through which the Government of Louis Philippe rapidly passed. The king at length placed Marshal Soult at the head of the Cabinet, thus calling to the rescue the military spirit and the recollection of the Napoleonic Era. With the Marshal were associated as leaders of the Administration, the Duc de Broglie, Guizot, and Thiers. The Cabinet was thus not wanting in great abilities, but the diversity of opinion prevented unity of purpose and steadiness of action. A succession of Governments followed each other like a panorama, until finally, in January of 1836, Thiers came to the head of the Ministry, and for a short time impressed his character and policy upon the Administration. This, however, only lasted for a few months. The Premier strongly urged the king to interfere in the affairs of Spain; but the latter, remembering the unfortunate experience of his predecessors in the prosecution of such a policy, declined, and the Cabinet was broken up. Count Molé was then called to the conduct of affairs, and the positions of Guizot and Thiers were reversed in the new Ministry.

It might well have been expected that hatreds and enmities, deep as the foundations of life and death, would find expression with respect to the king. With him and his methods, no radical republican could be content. Even the Bonapartists had accepted Louis Philippe as a *pis aller*, and bided their time. The Legitimists also hated the king and his Government, because both he and it seemed to mock their own memory and deeds. For twenty years the whole service of France had been like the sea after the tempest has subsided. The winds blow no longer, but the surface still heaves with the unexhausted energies of the storm. The breaking of the billows here and there was expressed in tumult, riot, insurrection. Here and there on the surface was seen a spot of intense whiteness, which marked the cumulative rage of some individual breast, breaking into foam. Plots were made against the king's life. The most notable example of such business was that of the Corsican conspirator, Joseph Marie Fieschi, who, with the purpose of destroying Louis Philippe, invented a sort of infernal machine capable of vomiting forth death from twenty-five barrels at once. Fieschi had been a member of the Corsican Legion, at Naples, under the Empire. He had stood by Murat in his attempt to recover the crown, and had been sentenced to death. Prosecuted for other crimes, he fled from his native Island to France, and drifted into Paris. After the Revolution of 1830, he obtained a pension from the Government, and did police duty in the city. The loss of this place was, perhaps, the exciting cause of his attempt against the life of the king.

MARSHAL SOULT.

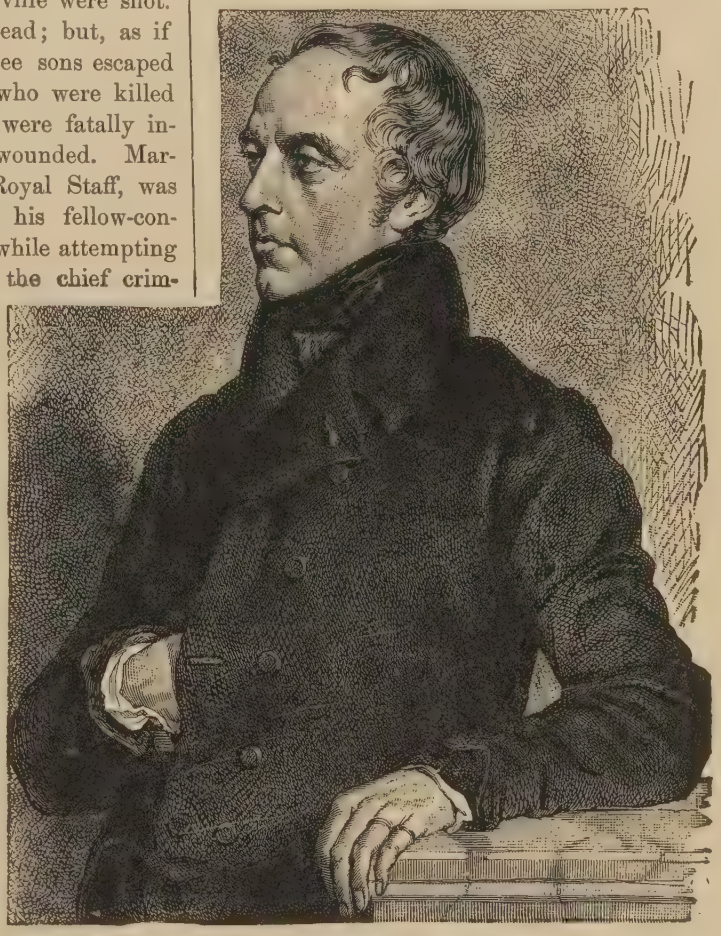
Fieschi and his accomplices first hired an apartment in the Boulevard of the Temple,

and there made careful preparations for the intended tragedy. A notable opportunity for the accomplishment of their purpose was at hand. On the 28th of July, 1835, the quinquennial anniversary of the Revolution and the accession of Louis Philippe was celebrated.

FIESCHI'S ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE LOUIS PHILIPPE.

The fête was in the manner of the Parisians. A splendid procession was formed, which had as a part of its course the Boulevard du Temple. Fieschi and the conspirators took their place, with their death-dealing machine arranged at the window. The king and his staff rode by. At the opportune moment Fieschi discharged his terrible volley, and eleven persons of the cavalcade were killed on the spot. The king's horse and those of the Duke of Nemours and the Prince de Joinville were shot. A ball grazed the king's forehead; but, as if by a miracle, he and his three sons escaped unhurt. Besides the eleven who were killed at the moment, seven others were fatally injured, and twenty-two others wounded. Marshal Mortier, Chief of the Royal Staff, was killed outright. Fieschi and his fellow-conspirators were at once seized, while attempting to escape. It was found that the chief criminal had himself been severely wounded by the discharge of his infernal apparatus; but he was saved alive, brought to trial, and condemned to death. On the 19th of February, 1836, he was brought to the scaffold, where he died after the manner of a revolutionary bandit performing an act in a theater. Two of his accomplices were also put to death, a third was sentenced to imprisonment, and the fourth was acquitted.

The first years of the reign of Louis Philippe were noted for the reäppearance of certain symptoms of Imperialism. The Bonaparte family had gone down in the gulf which swallowed the First Revolution. The members of that family were either dead or scattered in foreign countries. Some of the great Napoleon's brothers were still living. Louis, formerly king of Holland, was residing in Italy; Jerome, once king of Westphalia, was living at Florence; Lucien was spending his last days at Viterbo. But the chief interest of the family and of the dynasty centered at this time in the Duke of Reichstadt, son of Napoleon the Great, called and entitled by his father the King of Rome. It was in his favor that Napoleon had abdicated the throne. At the time of the downfall of Charles X., the Duke of Reichstadt was resident in Vienna, where his military education was just then completed. He was appointed Colonel of one of the regiments of Hungarian infantry at the Austrian capital. When the Revolution of 1830 was toward its close, some spasmodic efforts were made in France to arouse the Imperialists in favor of Napoleon's son. But the time had not come for the success of such an enterprise. Soon afterwards the Duke of Reichstadt went into a decline, and died of phthisis, at Schönbrunn, on the 22d of July, 1832.[1]



GUILLAUME GUIZOT.

[1] An auto-epitaph of the Duke of Reichstadt is sufficiently satirical:

DUKE OF REICHSTADT.
He was born King of Rome and died an
Austrian colonel!

This event cast a deep shadow over the prospects of the Bonapartists, out of which they never fully emerged. But they were sufficiently vital to transfer their allegiance at once to another representative of the Napoleonic family. The law of heredity pointed out the candidate in the person of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, afterwards Emperor of the French. It was at this time that the prince just named made his first ludicrous bow on the stage of French history. We shall not in this connection refer to the previous career of Louis Napoleon, but merely give an account of the fiasco which introduced him to the knowledge of mankind.

As soon as it was known that the Duke of Reichstadt was dead—when it was remembered that Joseph Bonaparte, eldest brother of Napoleon, and actual head of the family, had no son—the index finger turned at once to Prince Louis Napoleon, and he came promptly to the fore. He began immediately to lay plans for the subversion of the Government of Louis Philippe. It seems that from the first he cherished the belief that the Bonaparte *name* was of itself sufficient, whenever it should be proclaimed, to arouse France from the intermediate state in which she now existed, to drive the Orleanist dynasty beyond the borders, and to introduce the new Imperialism of the future. In any country other than France, such a dream would have been a mere chimera; but in that country the chimera was destined to pass by way of possibility into reality.

Louis Napoleon chose the latter part of 1836 as the date of his first experiment. On the 28th of October in that year he arrived at Strasburg. Here was stationed, on the Rhine frontier, a division of the French army. Prince Louis entered into communication with Colonel Vaudrey and a few other officers, and on the following day went in person to the quarters of the Fourth Artillery, of which Vaudrey was the commanding officer. He showed himself to the soldiers, read a proclamation, and was answered with a few cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" He then passed on to the barracks where the infantry were quartered, and with them he attempted the same manœuver; but the soldiers looked at him in amazement, and the whole affair ended in sheer absurdity. The prince was arrested and put into prison. But the Government appears to have regarded him with some contempt, and he was presently liberated without trial, and sent to the United States. Such was the first apparition of that strange personage who was destined, after the lapse of twenty eventful years, to become the tallest figure, not only in France, but in all Europe.

While these events were enacted, Count Molé remained at the head of the Ministry. The antagonism between Guizot and Thiers had now become fully developed. The former represented the monarchical principle and, to a certain extent, the gravitation of the kingdom backward towards the ancient condition. Thiers, on the other hand, stood for Liberalism. He was a republican in principle, and accepted the monarchy only as a necessity. The attitude of the two principal parties into which the statesmen and people of France were divided was to be inferred from the attitude of the two great leaders. Between these two forces, one reäctionary and conservative, the other progressive and liberal, the Government of Louis Philippe was reduced to a state of unstable equilibrium. It was held in place, not so much by any breadth and solidity of foundation as by the opposing forces which held it for the time on the two sides, and prevented it from slipping from its place.

In the Government itself the conservative principle gradually gained the ascendency. The political life of Guizot at this epoch marks almost precisely the dispositions, tendencies, and abilities of the monarchy. At the same time the outside drift of public opinion was against Louis Philippe and the system which he represented. This was true especially in the peasant districts, where the influence of the Catholic clergy was in the ascendant, and where political opinion was a strange mixture of rudimentary republicanism and imperialism. These two tendencies, the one in favor of the monarchy and the other against it, grew apart, and the Government was often hard strained between them. In two instances, and two only, did Thiers and Guizot coöperate in the Administration. In 1832, soon after the accession of the king, the two rivals, soon to be, followed for a brief season the same political path in support of the Government. They then diverged in the directions already

indicated, and continued in opposition until 1839. In that year Guizot combined with the parties of the Left and Left Center in order to secure the overthrow of the Molé Ministry, a movement which resulted in sending Guizot as French Ambassador to London. On his return from this place, in the fall of 1840, the Guizot Ministry was formed, which was destined to be conterminous with the Monarchy itself.

It will be remembered that just after this event the relations between Great Britain and France became strained. Guizot was accused of English sympathy, and was greatly prejudiced in the esteem of his countrymen by his partiality for the British Ambassador, Lord Aberdeen. It was Guizot's theory of administration that the peace and dignity of France were to be secured rather by tranquillity within her borders, by the development of home industry, by the quietude of society, and the growth of humane arts, than by foreign transactions, however glorious. He refused to humor the nation in its passionate and patriotic whims. The general result of his policy was his own extreme unpopularity and a constant advantage to the Opposition, ever ready to attack him and his measures for their unpatriotism. His course was viewed in France with the same popular disdain, and was subjected to the same reproaches, as was that of Lord Aberdeen in England. Each statesman was accused of being subservient to the enemies of his country. The denunciations of the French Ministry knew no bounds, and these Guizot met with a like disdain. "You may," said he, "raise the pile of calumny as high as you will, but you never can reach the height of my own contempt."

The policy of cultivating friendly relations with England was steadily continued. Louis Philippe paid a visit to the Queen of England, at Windsor Palace, and, in 1843, the Queen returned the compliment at the Chateau D'Eu. There were several years of "good intent" expressed and implied in the relations of France and England. But at length, in 1846, the Government of Sir Robert Peel was overthrown, and Lord Palmerston was made British Secretary for Foreign Affairs. It was the signal, so far as France was concerned, for general distrust. Now it was that the conduct of Sir Henry Bulwer at the court of Madrid, and of Lord Palmerston himself, led to the belief, on the part of Guizot, that the engagement of the French Government relative to the Spanish marriages had been annulled by the course of Great Britain herself. It was suspected at Paris that the Ministers of Victoria were concocting a scheme to place one of her own kinsmen, of the House of Coburg, on the throne of Spain. It was under these beliefs and apprehensions that Guizot and the king were led to that course of conduct with respect to the marriage of Isabella and her sister, which in England was ever afterwards regarded as perfidious. Slight as the circumstance was in itself, the effect was to break off the intimate relations which had existed between France and England, and to substitute for the Anglo-French alliance a Franco-Austrian friendship, which the Government of France could better have spared than cultivated.

The household of Louis Philippe was not without its sorrows. Already, in 1839, a deep gloom had been spread over the court by the death of the Princess Marie, the accomplished and popular daughter of the king. More disastrous by far to the dynasty in its prospects was the accidental death of the king's son, the Duke of Orleans, heir to the crown. On the 13th of July, 1842, this popular and highly cultured prince, upon whom the expectations of the Orleanist party were centered, now at the age of thirty years, was journeying in his carriage from Paris to Neuilly. The horses became ungovernable from fright, and the Duke, jumping from the carriage, was thrown on the pavement, fracturing his skull. He was conveyed to a house in the vicinity of the accident, where he lingered unconscious for a few hours, and died. The accident was irreparable. The House of Orleans, robbed of its present expectancy, must now look to Adelaide, Princess of Orleans, for a successor to the crown. The Government, as well as the king, felt the irremediable wound.

It was during the reign of Louis Philippe that the rivalry of France and England was renewed with respect to the affairs of Egypt On the whole, the French Government was not favorable at this time to that policy which at length became chronic among the Western

Powers relative to upholding the autonomy and independence of the Ottoman Empire. France was more than half willing, on the contrary, that the "Sick Man" might recover or die according to his own vitality. England, on the other hand, was already deeply wedded to the theory of upholding the Turkish Power. As a result, France took one view and England quite another view of the conquering progress of Mehemet Ali and his son Ibrahim, in Syria. If this movement of

DUKE OF ORLEANS.

conquest should not be arrested, Egypt would become independent, and Syria would also be wrested from the Sultan. The English theory prevailed. Guizot, at that time French Ambassador at the court of St. James, was left in ignorance of the real policy which the British Government was pursuing. Great Britain quietly entered into a quadruple alliance with Prussia, Austria, and Russia to restore the *status quo* in the East. A treaty to this effect was signed before France was aware of what was done. Lord Napier was sent out with a squadron, and Beyrout was taken under a bombardment from his guns. Alexandria also was suddenly shut up by a blockade, and Mehemet Ali was obliged to recede from all his Syrian conquests, and to content himself with the Viceroyalty of Egypt. In this important international affair, France was ignored, and the mortification and anger of the French people were extreme, on account of the secondary rank into which France seemed to have been crowded by the Powers.

At this epoch an episode occurred illustrative of the strange mistakes which Governments are wont to make in estimating the effects of measures. Louis Philippe and his Ministers had the discernment to know that the Catholic peasantry of France, and a large following of the French people besides, were wedded irrevocably to the memory and name of Napoleon Bonaparte. That warrior had now for nineteen years been sleeping the sleep that knows not waking, under the weeping willows by the fountain, in Slane's Valley. Had he been buried in the center of the earth, the magic of his memory would have still played in fiery harmonies through the heart-strings of France. It appears to have been a project of the king himself to bring home to Paris the body of Napoleon. It may have been believed that the Government, by thus patronizing the project, would reap some of the mournful glory which was certain to be shed on the country by the reïnterment of the national idol. So the measure was carried out. The ashes of the Emperor were brought home, were received by the nation as no living king would have been welcomed, and, on the 20th of December, 1840, were laid to their final rest in the sublime sarcophagus under the dome of the Hôtel des Invalides. Instead of a conclusion favorable to the Government, the popular logic was simply this: "If Napoleon had been with us, France would not have been humiliated in Egypt or anywhere. O that he were with us!"

From this event and from this day forth Bonapartism revived, expanded. True, the time had not yet come for its formal and suc-

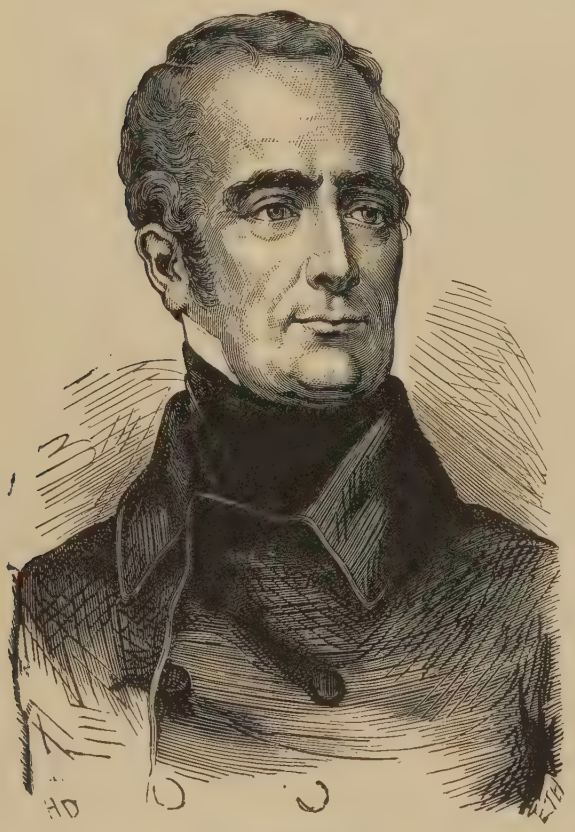
cessful declaration. The established order was not yet sufficiently decayed to break at a single stroke. The event, however, gave occasion for another attempt on the part of Prince Louis Napoleon to provoke an Imperialist insurrection in his own behalf. After his first exile he had for a while resided in New York, and had thence gone to London. In 1839 he published a political treatise, entitled *Des Idées Napoleoniennes*, which attracted considerable attention in both England and France.

DOME OF THE INVALIDES.

In the following year, while the body of the Corsican was in conveyance from St. Helena to Paris, he deemed the occasion opportune for re-presenting himself to the French people. With about fifty persons, chief among whom was Count Montholon, who had been a companion of Napoleon I. in exile, the Prince sailed in a chartered ship and landed at Boulogne. Here the Strasburg farce was re-enacted. Louis Napoleon's tame eagle refused to perch on his standard, and the whole business ended in ridicule. There was no uprising. Louis Napoleon was taken, was tried before the Chamber of Peers, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the Castle of Ham, on the River Somme. The Government might, for the time, well flatter itself that Imperialism and its foolish representative had been extinguished together in the same act of absurdity.

An account has already been given of the rather absurd complication of England and France at this time relative to the affairs of Otaheite; nor need we here recount the story of the appeal of Queen Pomare to Victoria, the arrest of Pritchard by the French, and the assumption of a French protectorate over the Island. We need not dwell on the completion, in 1841, of the elaborate system of fortifications which the engineers of Louis Philippe had surrounded Paris withal. The French Government remained under direction of Guizot until the ship of State entered the breakers of another

revolution. Perhaps no Administration was ever more unpopular. It would appear that neither the king nor the Ministry sought in any proper manner to cultivate the good opinion of the French people. The feeling that France had, under mismanagement and through want of spirit, been relegated to a subordinate place among the Western Powers, grew into a conviction, and it was only a question of time when such a conviction would prove fatal to the existing order.



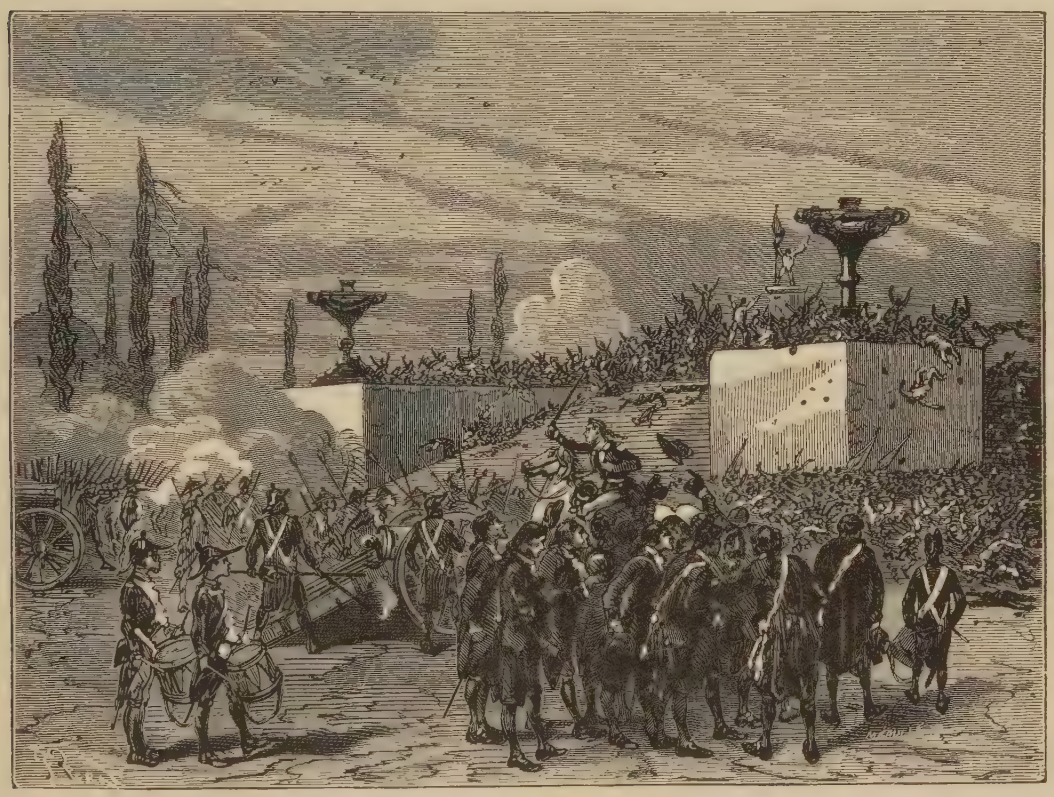
LAMARTINE.

It can not be doubted that, as time wore on and the king grew old, he fell more and more into the habits of thought which had furnished the mainsprings of action to his two immediate predecessors. On the other hand, the Liberal and Republican sentiments of the French, particularly of the Parisians, grew stronger, bolder, more aggressive. In opposition to all this the friends of the Government and of the Orleans dynasty could only point to the prosperity of the kingdom. It was true that France had been rehabilitated, and that the affairs of Government were for the most part conducted in an orderly and manly manner. But there was no spectacle, no illusion, no pageant, no splendor. The Administration was cold and colorless. On the one hand, it might have been said and thought that the bloody waves of Revolution had sunk to a final calm; but on the other, there was deep-seated discontent.

A critical student of this period of French history will not have far to seek until he shall discover that profound vice in the principle of the Administration which prevented its cordial acceptance by the people. This vice lay on the side of the suffrage. The State was essentially an aristocracy. There were, at this time, only about seventy thousand voters in all France—these out of fully thirty-five millions of people. Even the Chamber of Deputies, which was the expression of all that there was of French Republicanism, rested upon this restricted suffrage. It lay within the power of the king and the Government to have remedied and reformed this gross abuse; but they did neither. Louis Philippe might have put himself without reserve upon the confidence of the nation, but in so doing he would have risked all to gain something. Such a course would have involved the extension of the elective franchise to the people at large. If the king had been a greater, a stronger man than he was—at any rate, if he had been a man of the intellectual grandeur and self-assertion of the first Napoleon—he would doubtlessly have thrown himself without hesitation into the arms of the people. But from the day of his accession he adopted and pursued the opposite policy. He sought to make all things secure merely by strengthening and fortifying the system which he had brought with him at his accession. All of these ideas were shared, accepted, defended by Guizot and his Ministry, who, during the last seven years of the reign, were the mainstay of the throne.

There was thus in the system of Louis Philippe a fatal flaw. It is in the nature of things that such a flaw will always be discovered by the people. The French people at this juncture came to perceive, with their quick insight, that, though their *influence* in the Government was considerable, their *power* was

nothing. Individual men may, in the order of the world, be satisfied with influence only—may not crave power; but the people will have power. They distrust that kind of Government which concedes to them influence and nothing more. The French now caught at the salient points of disagreement between themselves and the Administration. They began to demand the removal of the restrictions on the elective franchise. The word *Reform* was heard in the land. Then came agitation. At the opening of the Chambers in 1848, the tone. New histories of the Great Revolution, by Lamartine and Louis Blanc, were published, and the people re-read the story of the thrilling events of that tremendous epoch. Finally, a great reform banquet was called to be held in the Champs Elysées, on the 22d of February, 1848. It was the significant birthday of Washington. The Government forbade the gathering; but the temper of the Parisians would no longer brook such dictation. The people went on with their preparation for the banquet. Then the king ordered out his



PARIS INSURRECTION OF 1848.

Opposition, the Extreme Left, led by Odillon-Barrot, spoke out boldly, vehemently, against the Government. In the cities public meetings, known as Reform Banquets, began to be held, and these were straightway interdicted by the alarmed Government.

Many circumstances added to the distracted condition of the country. In the preceding year the crops had failed, and high prices came on, with scantiness of provisions. Bread riots broke out in various districts. The Liberal newspapers became audacious in their troops; but his call to the soldiers was answered by them with shouts of *Vive la Reforme!* The paving-stones were again torn up and heaped into barricades. The National Guard was ordered to clear the streets. But most of the regiments went over to the people. It was thought at first by the Government that the insurrection could be quelled; but as all Paris heaved up in revolt, the delusion of the Ministers was dispelled. Guizot resigned his office, but the concession was a day too late. On the evening of the

23d, some of the troops fired on the rioters, and a few were killed; whereupon the bodies of the dead were gathered up, laid on catafalques and borne, a ghastly spectacle, through the streets.

After this the soldiers refused to respond to their orders, and the mutiny was general. Louis Philippe felt the throne sinking under him. He hurriedly called for Thiers, and

ADELAIDE, PRINCESS OF ORLEANS.

ordered him, in connection with Odillon-Barrot, to form a new Liberal Ministry. A proclamation was also made that the troops would be immediately withdrawn from the city. It was all in vain. The Regulars threw down their arms and fraternized with the people. Once more there was a rush for the Tuileries. The king hastily abdicated the throne in favor of his grandson, the young Count of Paris. He then entered a hackney-cab, and, under the name of William Smith, took to flight. All was over so quickly that the people in the remote parts of Paris could scarcely apprehend what was doing. Two or three days sufficed to complete the Revolution. As to the king's abdication in favor of his grandson, it was no better than a sop to Cerberus. The victorious Revolutionists pulled down the throne of Louis Philippe, and publicly burned it in the Place de la Revolution. The Chamber of Deputies met, and passed a resolution abolishing the monarchy.

It was on the 24th of February that Louis Philippe and the remnants of his Government fled from Paris, and on the following morning he heard of the proclamation of the Republic. The House of Orleans followed the elder Bourbons into hopeless banishment. The fugitive king and queen managed to cross the Seine and to reach Havre, whence they escaped across the Channel, took up their residence in the palace of the king of the Belgians, near London, and there passed the rest of their lives. As for the king's sister, the popular Princess Adelaide, who for the greater part of his reign had exercised a benign influence on the tendencies and reputation of the court, she had died in the year preceding the Revolution. Louis Philippe himself died in August of 1850. Thirty-two years afterwards his remains were taken to France and reburied at Dreux. So, in a comparatively bloodless collapse, ended the Orleans dynasty in France.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.—REPUBLIC AND COUP D'ETAT.

IT could hardly be doubted that the Parisian Revolutionists were astonished at their success. It appeared scarcely heroic, or even hazardous, to overthrow a Government of mere paper, bombazine, and fustian. As soon as the king's flight was known, a Provisional Government was instituted, pending the call for a National Convention to prepare a Republican Constitution. The Party of the Republic, having a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, took control of everything. The tide of Liberalism flowed bank-full, and the Revolutionary watch-words of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," again echoed on every hand. The temporary Presidency of the new Government was given to Dupont de l'Eure. The other leading statesmen who controlled the affairs of state were Lamartine, for Foreign Affairs; Cremieux, Minister of Justice; Ledru-Rollin, Minister for Home Affairs; Arago, Minister of the Marine; Bedeau, Minister for War; Carnot, Minister for Education. The tri-color flag was again adopted as the emblem of the Republic, and on it was placed a *red* rosette, as a hint to the extreme Republicans of the sympathy of the new system with them and their political theories.

Thus, after the lapse of half a century since the Great Revolution, France had at last come around to her place of starting. The new frame of Government was very similar, in most respects, to that which had been established by the French patriots of 1792. But political wisdom had now been gained by experience, and greater care was taken to give stability to the new Constitution. It was plain to all observers that the example and model of the United States were now to a considerable degree uppermost in the minds of those who formulated the French institutions of 1848. In addition to the Legislative department of the Government, the Constitution provided for a President, to be chosen by popular vote. On the whole, the new constitutional forms were well adapted to the needs of Republican France, and were accepted on proclamation by the enthusiastic multitudes.

The reader, however, must understand, in following the history of France during the last century, that the many transformations of civil society which arise for his consideration, have displayed their chief activity and accomplished their main results in the French cities. Many times, while the municipal population have been agitated to the last degree by the revolutionary movements of the times, the Provinces have scarcely felt the disturbance. In no other civilized country are the sentiments, political and other, of the citizens properly so-called and the provincial peasantry so strongly contrasted as in France. This was illustrated in the Revolution of 1848. That great change in political society was virtually the work of Paris and of the other principal cities. True, the Government of Louis Philippe had been intensely unpopular in the Provinces as well as in the capital. True, the country accepted with cheerfulness and some show of sympathy the new Republican order. But, as we have already had occasion to remark, the Imperialist sentiment was extremely strong in all the provincial parts of France, and the presence of such a sentiment was soon destined to be demonstrated in a marvelous manner.

For now it was in the very beginning of the new *régime* that a shadow, sphinx-like and historic, stole out of the horizon and stood up in the midst. It was the Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of King Louis of Holland and Hortense de Beauharnais, daughter of Josephine. Of him we have recently had occasion to speak under the suggestion of two successive apparitions, one of exile and one imprisonment. We may now look more closely at him who was so soon to become the great actor of his day. The apparition came out of England, sharp on the heels of the Revolution of February. The strange personage marked by destiny for so important a part in

the subsequent history of France and Europe, had had the career of an adventurer. He was born in the Tuileries, on the 20th of April, 1808. Napoleon I. stood as his godfather, with Maria Louisa as godmother, at the baptism, at Fontainebleau. He was thoroughly educated, first under the Imperial Government, and afterwards in a Republican fashion in Switzerland and Germany. In the years of the reign of Charles X., the Prince lived with his mother, Hortense, at Arenenberg. Subsequently he joined the patriots of Italy, and in 1831 came back to Paris. But he was at once ordered by the Government of Louis Philippe to leave the country.

PROCLAIMING THE REPUBLIC IN 1848.

At this juncture, Prince Louis was elected to command the Polish Army, in the Revolution of that year; but the fall of Warsaw made it useless for him to accept. In 1832, as we have already stated, the Duke of Reichstadt, son of Napoleon I. and Maria Louisa, cousin of Prince Louis Napoleon, died in Schönbrunn, and Louis became the recognized head of the Bonaparte dynasty. Four years later, namely, in October of 1836, he made his abortive attempt to start a revolution at Strasburg. The ridiculous fiasco ended in his arrest, a brief imprisonment in the citadel of L'Orient, his conveyance to Brazil, and thence to New York. It was now the nadir of his existence. He was not any longer even noticed. For a while he lived in complete obscurity. His means were exhausted. His associates were the young men of the New York Bowery, and he is said to have run foot-races for a wager in that thoroughfare! In 1837 we find him at the death-bed of his mother in Switzerland, and soon afterwards taking up again his life of adventure in London. We have already seen him in that metropolis where he served as a policeman. Soon, however, he won the attention of the public, and was recognized by several distinguished members of the nobility. He associated much with the Countess of Blessington and Count d'Orsay; lived with Madame Howard — by whom he had several

children — published in 1839 his *Des Idées Napoléoniennes*, which was largely circulated, read, and pondered in both England and France. In 1840, taking advantage, as we have seen, of the bringing home of the remains of Napoleon the Great from St. Helena, Prince Louis returned to the Continent, landed at Boulogne, and undertook the seemingly quixotical project of recovering the throne of France by a popular uprising in his favor. But his poor, drabbled pet-eagle refused to perch on his shoulder, and the business ended in another collapse as absurd as that of Strasburg, and somewhat more disastrous. The Prince was seized, was tried by the Peers, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He was confined in the Fortress of Ham, where he remained until the 25th of May, 1846, when he succeeded in making his escape in disguise, and returned to England. He was thus for six years a prisoner; and he was wont, in after life to describe the Fortress of Ham as his university, where he took his course and *gained his honors!* It is well known that his equanimity and courage were equal even to the trying ordeal of a long imprisonment. He studied assiduously, and composed much in his solitude. It was here that he wrote his remarkable pamphlet entitled *L'Extinction du Pauperism*, which was published in England, largely circulated in France, producing a profound impression. In the treatise, he proposed that the waste lands of France should be colonized, and that the communities established thereon should be instituted on a socialistic or semi-socialistic basis. It appears that the authorship of the project for cutting through the Isthmus of Panama for a ship canal is also due to a paper published by Louis Napoleon during his imprisonment.

As soon as the Prince heard of the dethronement of Louis Philippe, he hastily went back to Paris and offered his services to the Revolutionists. But his proffer was rejected, and he was sent back to England. He was soon afterwards elected from four several departments to membership in the Constituent Assembly.[1] He accepted his election for the department of the Seine, and on the 12th of June was admitted to the Assembly. Trouble immediately ensued on account of some of the Prince's declarations, and, resigning his seat, he returned to London. Later in the same year, however, he was reëlected from five departments, and the decree of banishment against him was at once revoked. On the 26th of September he entered the Constituent Assembly, where he was from the first viewed with distrust, and, it must be confessed, treated with unfairness by the Liberal party, with which he claimed to be in sympathy. His attempt at public speaking in the Assembly was attended with little success, and there was a movement on the part of Thiers and other Republicans to send him down the wind with ridicule. A project was actually concocted *in advance* to exclude Louis Napoleon from the list of those who should be voted for at the ensuing election for President of the Republic.

Meanwhile the Prince himself became silent. He stood aloof from all entanglements. His enemies knew well the magic of the charmed name, and feared from the first that Louis Napoleon might reach the Presidency of the Republic. The results soon showed how well founded were their apprehensions. The new Constitution prepared by the Assembly provided that the executive office in the Republic should be assigned to a President for the period of four years, the occupant to be ineligible for reëlection until after the lapse of a quadrennium from the expiration of his own official term. The new Government was to be supported by a Council of State, who were to be chosen by the Assembly, and to hold office for six years. The Legislative department was to consist of a Senate, and of a popular Assembly to be composed of seven hundred and fifty members. The 10th of December, 1848, was selected as the date for the first Presidential election.

For some reason or other, Lamartine was passed over by the Republicans, who selected as their candidate, General Cavaignac, who during the summer had won considerable popularity by his suppression of the great revolt in the eastern division of Paris. Louis Napoleon appeared as a candidate, under such declarations as these: "I know how to fulfill the duties which the people may impose on me." "My name is the symbol of order, nationality,

[1] It could but be noted that one of Louis Napoleon's elections was from *Corsica!*

and glory." He might also have added with still greater effect that his name was *Bonaparte.* The election was held, and Louis Napoleon was triumphantly chosen President of the Republic, receiving for that office nearly five and a half millions of votes, against less than a million and a half for General Cavaignac. He was accordingly inaugurated for the Presidential term of four years, and the Republic seemed to have begun under favorable omens.

It would appear that the overwhelming success of the President was immediately used

GENERAL CAVAIGNAC.

in augury against him. He was from the first, notwithstanding the tremendous popular majority in his favor, made an object of distrust by the Republicans. He was a man of silence; and this fact gained for him the reputation of being a schemer. It is the truth of history, however, that, as far as schemes were concerned, his enemies were more prolific than he. During the first years of his administration it would be difficult to point out any specific act of his—except the suppression of the political clubs in Paris—which seemed to savor of anti-republicanism. His first appointments indicated a preference for the new Consitution. Odillon-Barrot was placed at the head of the Ministry; Drouyn de Lhuys was made Minister of Foreign Affairs; Falloux, of Education; Bixio, of Agriculture and Commerce; Maleville, of the Interior. The great Republican leaders, however, were omitted from the appointments, and most of those named for office had been at some time in the past allied with the monarchical party.

Within a few months from the accession of Louis Napoleon to the Presidency an opportunity presented itself for his intervention in the affairs of Italy. We shall hereafter give an account of the political conduct of Pope Pius IX.; of his start under the banner of Liberalism; of the impossibility and consequent failure of his scheme; of his retiracy from the Quirinal, and of the institution of the Roman Republic. The Pope lost his temporal authority, and was obliged to content himself with a spiritual reign, maintained with difficulty by the pontiff at Gaëta. In such a situation of affairs, it was natural that Pius should cry out to the rulers of the Catholic countries for support and restoration. To no other was this appeal likely to come with greater weight than to the Prince President of the French Republic. None knew better than he that his own elevation to power had been effected by the Catholic peasantry of France. It was almost inevitable that he should repay the obligation by some signal act, grateful to the head of the Church. Moreover, it is in the nature of things that a ruler, situated as was Louis Napoleon at his accession, would be anxious to achieve something abroad in the way of glory.

It should be known, moreover, that the project of supporting the Pope had already been patronized by the French Assembly, and by such Republican leaders as Cavaignac and Ledru-Rollin. No sooner, however, was the policy of Italian intervention announced by the President, than these same Republicans of the Left violently opposed the measure. Nevertheless, a French army under command of General Oudinot was sent into Italy with orders to suppress the Roman Republic, and

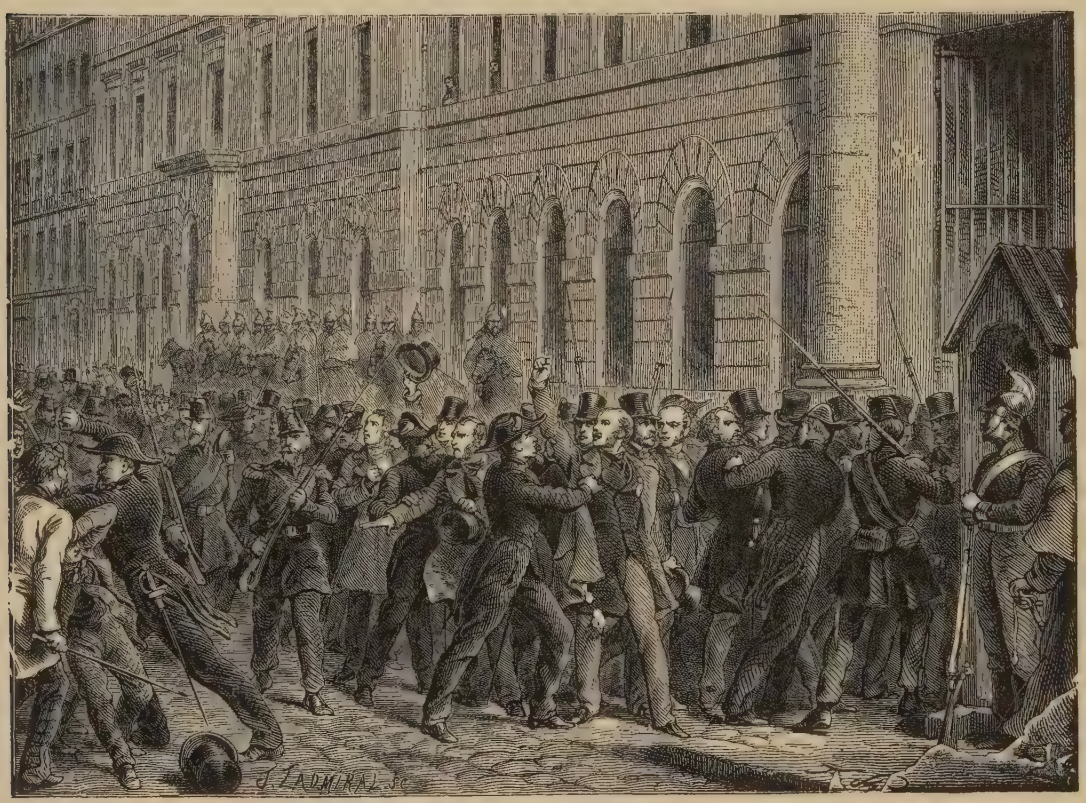
to restore the temporal authority of the Pope. The expedition was attended with complete success. Austria and Spain moved on Italy at the same time, and with the same purpose. But the efficient cause of the overthrow of the Republicans in Rome, and of the recall of Pius IX., was the intervention of France. The Italians made a brave stand in defense of their ancient capital; but all resistance was overborne, and, on the 1st of July, 1849, the French army made a triumphal entry into the Eternal City. The Pope was brought home with exultation from his banishment, and was restored to his authority. This measure of the President of the French led to an attempt on the part of the Republicans, under the leadership of Ledru-Rollin, to impeach Napoleon; but the latter was sustained by a strong majority.

On the other hand, the Ultra-Conservatives, the old Bourbonists, the Orleanists, *et id omne genus*, were offended by many liberal acts on the part of the President, and in May of 1850 the Assembly sought to break his power by passing a restriction on that universal suffrage to which Napoleon owed his elevation. It was one of the strange, and we may say mean, features of French Republicanism at this juncture to see it joined with the Conservatives, and engaged in an effort to rid itself of Louis Napoleon by a method so unrepublican in its character as to meet the condemnation of every Bonaparte. It must ever appear one of the inexplicable aspects of political power in our century, that the Bonapartes, both the Great Napoleon and his Nephew, never showed the slightest hesitancy in appealing to the voice of the nation by the mighty organ of universal suffrage. At the same time that the restriction was passed, the Royalist element in the Assembly busied itself with the appointment of a committee to stand guard over the public interests during the recess of the National Legislature. No other act could have demonstrated more clearly the prejudice and distrust of the Legitimists than this committee *ad interim* to watch the President. With the army, however, Louis Napoleon stood in great favor. Many demonstrations were made by the soldiers in attestation of their devotion to the Government. These things could but offend the Republican *par excellence*, and they sought every opportunity to cast odium on the Administration, and particularly on the Executive. General Changarnier, commandant of the troops in Paris, issued a formal order forbidding the demonstrations in favor of the President. For this act he was removed from office; and this, in turn, led to a vote of censure in the Assembly against the Government.

A careful study of the social and political divisions of France at the time of the Second Republic would show that one extreme of public opinion was occupied by a socialist and the other extreme by a monarchical, that is, a king-desiring, party. It was between these counter forces in the politics of France that Napoleon was placed midway. He had for his support, as a matter of course, all that unreasoning mass of the French people whose chief inspiration came down from the First Empire and was administered by the Roman Catholic clergy. The situation of the President, though subject to many assaults, was strong. It rested on the broad basis of that Imperialism from which the glory of Modern France had been so largely derived. His interference with the affairs of Italy, and the suppression, under his direction, of the incipient Republic of Rome, was a source of many animadversions on the part of the Liberals, not only in France, but throughout Europe. But the movement was on the whole popular with the European Governments. It showed that the President of the French Republic was desirous of aligning himself with the other rulers, and that his policy was not likely to distress them by its encouragement of the insurrectionary spirit.

In these first years of Louis Napoleon's administration of the Government of France, the qualities which he was afterwards to display as a "Man of Order" were seen in the patronage which he was disposed to extend to public works and industrial enterprises. His policy in this respect drew to him the strong support of the burgher class, with whom order is prosperity and prosperity is everything. As the quadrennial term of the Presidency drew on apace, the opinion began to prevail, and was, perhaps, cultivated by the strict Republicans, that it was the intention of the President, in the face of the constitutional provis-

ton to the contrary, to present himself for reëlection. This opinion ripened into a conviction, and was assiduously disseminated. To what extent the party of the President favored the giving out of such a notion it were difficult to tell. But when the Republicans circulated the charge, the friends of the Administration were not slow to take advantage of the suggestion. In truth, the Constitution of France was not yet so old as to be sacred against the proposal to amend it, as to the as a necessity to France. At this juncture, namely, in 1851, the Opposition found reason in its own suspicions, some of which were perhaps well founded, for assailing the President with every species of political missile. It was assumed as a matter of fact, and declared in advance, that he intended to subvert the liberties of the Republic. Whatever he proposed his adversaries bitterly antagonized. The whole thought of the country became directed to the contest going on between the President



ARREST OF THE DEPUTIES.

length of the Presidential term and the ineligibility of the occupant.

From these considerations the agitation arose relative to the reëlection of the President, and this long before the expiration of his term of office. Petitions, many of them genuine and some doubtless factitious, began to pour in, requesting Louis Napoleon, even against the constitutional provision, to stand for reëlection. The President's speeches, under the inspiration of a rising public opinion, began to show that he was not indisposed to regard himself, and to have himself regarded, and the Assembly. Justice to him demands the statement that he displayed greater equanimity than they. He went straight ahead with the discharge of his official duties and in carrying out the policy of the Administration. He proposed that the restriction on the right of suffrage should be abrogated, with an additional clause extending the franchise to all citizens who had had a six months' residence in the precinct. But this just and popular measure was voted down by the irate Assembly. His propositions for the amendment of the Constitution in several particulars met the same fate.

At length the Assembly proceeded to pass a law by which the command of the troops in Paris was to be taken from the President and given to the presiding officer of the Legislature.

Now it was that the Deputies found that they were not, in this instance, dealing with a man of straw. The act transferring the command of the troops precipitated a crisis. It may be frankly confessed that the measure itself was revolutionary. None can reasonably deny that it gave the President a plausible, if not just, excuse for resisting one revolution with another. At any rate, he at once appointed M. de Maupas as Prefect of Police, and General Magnan, Commander of the Guards in Paris. At the same time the principal offices of the Government were transferred to men upon whom the President might implicitly rely. Already the army and the municipal powers were strongly in his favor. The Legislative Assembly suddenly awoke to the fact that the Sphinx had become a master. His will, now thoroughly aroused, and acting through such agents as Count de Morny, General St. Arnaud, M. de Maupas, Commandant Magnan of the Police, and the two adventurers, Fleury and Persigny, reached out in every direction, and could not be counteracted by the turbulent factions in the Assembly.

VICTOR HUGO.

Such was the condition of affairs in the last year of the President's Administration. As the winter of 1851 came on, the crisis rose to a climax, and broke in a marvelous manner. It appears that, at length, whatever may have been his antecedent cogitations, the President made up his mind to conquer the Assembly by force. He planned what is known in modern history by preeminence as the *Coup d'Etat*. He, and those whom he trusted, made their arrangements secretly, silently, that the stroke should fall on the night of the 2d of December, 1851. On that evening the President held a gay reception in the palace of the Elysée, and after his guests had retired, the scheme was perfected for immediate execution. During the night seventy-eight of the leading members of the Opposition were seized at their own houses and taken to prison. The representatives of the people were hurried through the streets, and suddenly immured where their voices could be no longer heard. At the same time a strong force of soldiers was stationed near the Tuileries. The offices of the Liberal newspapers were seized and closed, and the Government printing-presses were employed all night in printing the proclamation with which the walls of the city were covered before morning. With the coming of daylight, Paris awoke and read:—

1. The National Assembly is dissolved;
2. Universal suffrage is reëstablished;
3. The Elective Colleges are summoned to meet on December 21st;
4. Paris is in a state of siege.

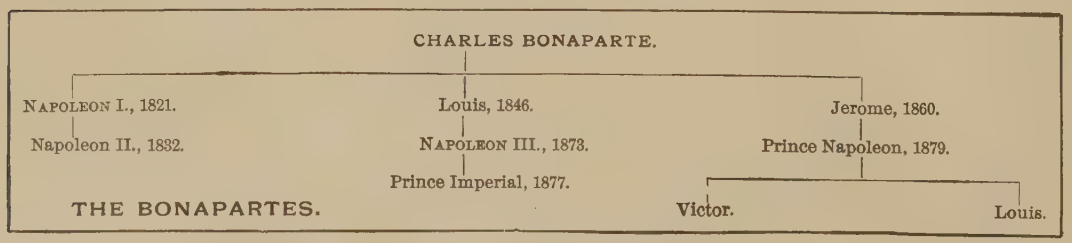
By the side of this proclamation was posted the President's address to the people. He proposed the election of a President for ten years. He referred the army to the neglect which it had received at the hands of former Governments, and promised that the soldiery of France should re-win its ancient renown.

As soon as those members of the Assembly who had not been arrested could realize the thing which was done, they ran together and attempted to stay the tide of revolution by

passing a vote deposing the President from office. But the effort was futile. A republican insurrection, under the leadership of Victor Hugo and a few other distinguished Liberals, broke out in the city. But there was in the nature of the case no concert of action, no resources behind the insurrection, and no military leadership. General Canrobert, Commandant of the Guards, soon put down the revolt in blood. Order was speedily restored throughout Paris, and the victory of the President was complete. It only remained to submit his usurpation to the judgment of the people, and the decision in that case could, under existing conditions, hardly be a matter of doubt.

In accordance with the President's proclamation, a popular election was held throughout France, on the 20th and 21st of December, at which the *Coup d'Etat* was signally vindicated. Louis Napoleon was triumphantly elected President, for a period of ten years. Out of eight millions of votes, fewer than one million were cast against him. He immediately entered upon office, backed by this tremendous majority, and became Dictator of France. In January of 1852, sharp on the heels of the revolution which he had effected, he promulgated a new Constitution. The instrument was based upon that of 1789, and possessed but few clauses to which any right-minded lover of free institutions could object. On the 28th of March, Napoleon resigned the Dictatorship, which he had held since the *Coup d'Etat*, and resumed the office of President of the Republic.

It was not long, however, until the *After That* began to appear. If Louis Napoleon had stopped short with what he had already accomplished, and consented to serve out his term as President of the French Republic, and had handed over to his successor an orderly and well-developed Government, posterity would, in all probability, have reversed the judgment, somewhat hard, which it has formed and is forming of him and his career. Already in the summer and autumn of 1852 it became evident that the *Empire* was to be reëstablished. It is but just to say that, in this tendency, the President was borne on the tide. It would not be fair to allege that he had created in France the tremendous Imperialistic sentiment which was now forcing all before it. He was himself rather the product of that sentiment than its creator—the effect rather than the cause of the existing conditions. But he rode on the top of the billow. In the autumn of this year the President made a tour of the country, and was received with cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* In his own addresses, particularly in that which he delivered at Bordeaux, the sentiment of Empire was cautiously given back to the people. The consummation was soon reached. On the 7th of November, 1852, a vote was passed by the French Senate for the reëstablishment of the Imperial order, and for the submission of the proposed measure to a popular vote. The event showed conclusively that the French Nation, as then constituted, was Bonapartist to the core. Louis Napoleon was almost unanimously elected to the Imperial dignity. Of the eight million suffrages of France, only a few scattering thousands were recorded in the negative. Thus, in a blaze of glory that might well have satisfied the ambition of the First Bonaparte, did he who only twelve years before, at Boulogne, had tried most ridiculously to excite a paltry rebellion, by the display of a pet-eagle to his followers, mount the Imperial throne of France with the title of NAPOLEON III.



CHAPTER CXXXVIII.—SECOND EMPIRE.

WE thus reach the beginning of what is known in France as the Second Empire. In the midst of the republican tendencies of the nineteenth century, the establishment of such a Government, under such circumstances, at such a time, has been greatly deplored, greatly censured, greatly denounced as an abominable intrigue, brought to accomplishment by means as foul as they were dastardly. Nor could it be well expected that the so-called usurpations of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte would find favorable criticism in the pages of an American history. But this one principle must be candidly and steadily averred; that is, that the people of a great and civilized nation have a right, as it respects their civil constitutions and their rulers, *to do as they please.* The principle is absolute. Our American Declaration of Independence conceded to the people the indefeasible right to alter and amend their institutions and methods of Government at their own option. The French people had a right in 1830 to expel Charles X. from the throne of France. They had a right to annul the very dynasty which he represented. They had a right to choose the Citizen King, and to bear with him and his mixed and doubtful policy so long as they might choose. Then, again, they had a right to the Revolution and the Republic of 1848. They had a right to send Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to the Constituent Assembly and to make him their President. They had a right to support him, to encourage him, to bear him on, and, finally, to ratify him or condemn him, as they might elect, at the *Coup d'Etat* of 1851. They had a right, in the following year, to substitute Imperialism for Republicanism. It is folly to speak of the tremendous majorities which the President was able to command as merely factitious expressions prepared by himself for himself. It was the voice of France; and the pen of history, even of the most strenuous republican history, if such there be, is constrained to record the fact that the Second French Empire was as thoroughly founded in political legitimacy as any other Government of the current, or indeed of any century. It was the will of the people.

The Administration which we are now to consider was destined to cover a period of eighteen years. On the whole, it was an able

NAPOLEON III.

Government. A better order than hitherto was introduced into the civil society of France. At the beginning, we may perceive in the mind and actions of the Emperor Napoleon III. a certain degree of anxiety relative to the dynasty which he represented, and which he must now perpetuate. As yet, he was unmarried, at least unmarried in any authorized and Imperial fashion. As soon as he was firmly seated, as soon as his Government was recognized—as it was—in a friendly way by the neighboring sovereigns of Europe, as soon as England had conceded the legitimacy of the new Empire and its head, Napoleon began to canvass the question of his marriage.

It had been observed that the Prussian

kingdom was less favorably disposed towards the new Emperor than were some others; but negotiations were nevertheless opened with respect to a Hohenzollern Princess for the throne of France. If any such proposition was made by the Emperor, it was rejected. It is said that he then sought an alliance with the House of Sweden, which movement resulted in another failure. It is not unlikely that at this juncture the Emperor, who was not without philosophy, determined to pursue a course different from that so fatally adopted by his Imperial uncle. He came to perceive that an alliance with one of the old European dynasties was, on the whole, a doubtful expedient. He therefore adopted the opposite policy, and had it given out that in the matter of choosing an Empress he would be guided by personal preference and affection. At this time his attention was turned to the celebrated and beautiful Eugenie Marie de Téba, Spanish Countess of Montijo; and it was presently known that she was to become Empress of the French. To her Prince Louis Napoleon had been introduced during his residence in London, and her, on the 29th of January, 1852, he took in marriage to the Imperial throne. As the motto of his Government he adopted the famous aphorism, *L'Empire c'est la Paix*—"The Empire is Peace."

EMPRESS EUGENIE.

The marriage was, in its political effects, of a contradictory character. The Empress, by her beauty and accomplishments, soon created the most brilliant court in Europe. She drew to her the fashion of the world, and became the dictator of all refinement, as much as her husband was dictator of affairs. It was a part of the Imperial *régime* that Eugenie should be, by indirection, a power in the State, attracting the admiration and swaying the hearts of men. This expectation she fulfilled in the highest measure, and the Emperor might never complain that the court was unbalanced by a deficiency of fashionable splendor and Imperial effulgence on Eugenie's side. At the same time, however, the Empress brought into the Government certain elements of weakness. She was a Spaniard. She was a devoted Catholic, and brought to the court a large measure of Jesuitical influence. It was not long, as for instance in the relations of France to Italy, until the Empress's fair hand was seen at work, tracing legible results on the scroll of international politics. Moreover, if there was an excess of fashion, there was also an excess of extravagance about the court of Eugenie, which infected first the high life of Paris, afterwards the whole of French society, and then the world. There was not wanting a certain kind of criticism which at the first deprecated the passing over by the Emperor of the queenly ladies of France by preference for a Spanish Countess for the throne. This sentiment continued in the public mind to the end of the reign; and after the day of Sedan, Eugenie, more than ever before, felt in full force the demerit of being a foreigner. But as in the case of the First Napoleon, the event was successful in the critical matter of an heir to the throne. The Empress bore to her lord a son, the Prince Imperial, whose ultimate fate in the land of the Zulus we have already recounted in a former chapter.

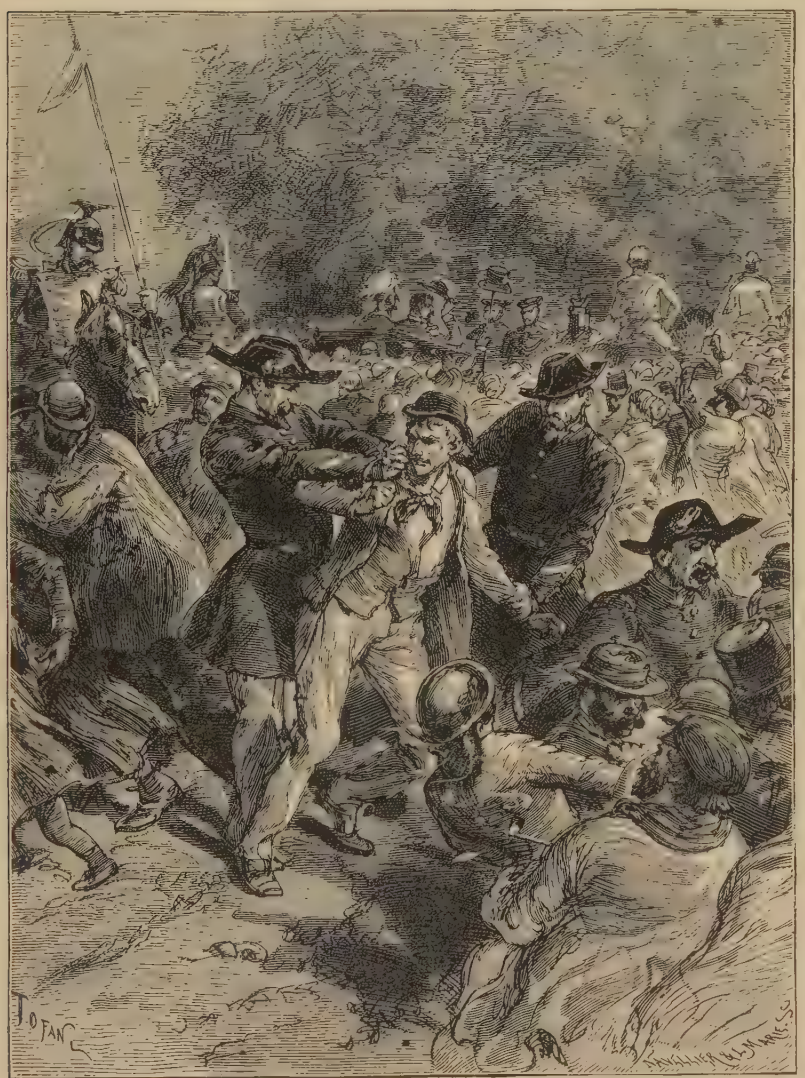
So, the Empire was Peace. But the course of events soon satirised the motto, and mocked the maker. Within two years from the founding of the Imperial system, France became a leading party to the Crimean war, of which a full account will be given in a succeeding chapter. It suffices, in the present connection, to note the fact that the French Government has never in recent times supported the Ottoman Empire with the same enthusiasm and for the same international reasons as have prevailed in the policy of Great Britain. As an independent proposition France has generally been willing to let the Sultan shift for himself. She has not had the same interest in the East to defend, the same policy to uphold, as has Great Britain. There is no French East Indian Empire, with its unprotected borders and its millions of subject populations. In the instance of the Crimean war, the Emperor Napoleon took his stand with England and Turkey against Russia for other reasons than those which moved the allies to declare war. The prevailing motive with him was, perhaps, the wish to demonstrate the Napoleonic character before the world; to bring France again to the fore in the field of foreign warfare; to show that French armies could again win glory as in the days of Napoleon I.; and, finally, to make himself felt as a new force in the diplomacy of Europe.

Nor could it be said that the event failed to justify the expectation. The French arms were again distinguished. France emerged from the conflict with Russia with a marked revival of her military reputation. The important Treaty of Paris, in 1856, was virtually dictated by Napoleon III., whose prestige seemed now to increase with every turn of fortune's wheel. A few days before the treaty was concluded, while the ambassadors were basking in the sunshine of Paris, namely, on the 16th of March, 1856, the Prince Imperial was born, and the upholders of the dynasty gave themselves and the city to inordinate rejoicing. As for Paris, she might well glorify the Empire; for the Empire, under Napoleon's direction, made Paris glorious. The improvements and public works which he projected served the double purpose of beautifying the capital and of furnishing profitable employment to that element of Parisian society which is always mobocratic when hungry.

After the war with Russia, the French Emperor sought to establish himself in the good opinions and esteem of his fellow-sovereigns. He paid a visit to Queen Victoria, and in 1857 had an interview with the Czar. All the while he devoted his energies to improving the army and navy, especially the latter, on account of the weakness of which the French had long been sensitive. In the next place, in the year 1858, he united with England in her war with China. He sent out expeditions to Japan and Cochin China, and succeeded in making French influence predominant in the latter country. The abilities of the Administration could not be doubted. It was evident everywhere that a strong hand was working among the forces by which for the time the destiny of France was directed. It only remained that a few attempts should be made to destroy the Emperor's life, in order to add the climax to his popularity.

Even this condition was not long wanting. As early as 1855 two would-be assassins, Pianori and Bellamare, made unsuccessful efforts to murder Louis Napoleon. Nearly all such nefarious enterprises originated with Italians. The exiled patriots of Italy, wandering in political vagabondage in foreign lands, had become frenzied with the loss of their cause, and with the repeated treacheries of those by whom it had been upheld. Of Napoleon, as President of the French Republic, they had expected much, and been rewarded with ashes. At the epoch of which we speak, the Italian refugees had come to a clear belief that the Imperial system of France was against the freedom of their country. Under this belief, they reached a degree of madness against Napoleon III. which made not a few of them willing to hazard their lives in the attempt at his destruction. Of Felice Orsini, the Italian revolutionist, of his doings in England, and of his return to Paris, we have already said something in a former chapter. On reaching the French capital, he made a conspiracy against the Emperor's life. The bomb was adopted as the weapon. With three confederates, Orsini stationed himself near the entrance to the Grand Opera-house, and on the evening of the 14th of January, 1858, awaited the arrival

of the Imperial cortege. When the latter drew near, the assassins threw three bombs under the Emperor's carriage. A terrific explosion followed, and several persons were killed or wounded. But Napoleon and the Empress Eugenie escaped unhurt. Orsini, Pieri, Rudio, and Gomez were seized and



ATTEMPT OF ORSINI TO ASSASSINATE NAPOLEON III.

brought to trial. The first three were condemned to death, and the last to imprisonment at hard labor for life. Orsini went to his death with a composure and heroism worthy of the noblest cause, not failing before his execution to send a letter to the Emperor, exhorting him to become the Liberator of Italy. Such is the murderous but beautiful insanity of patriotism!

The natural effect of the attempts against the Emperor's life was to heighten his popularity. In the meantime, his domestic policy had also increased his influence with the French Nation, particularly with the bourgeoisie. Great commercial activity and financial ease had been acquired by the creation, in the first years of the reign, of two systems of public credit called the *Credit Foncier* and the *Credit Mobilier*, under the stimulus of which important public works were prosecuted and the general material condition of the country greatly improved. In order to procure the means for the prosecution of the Crimean War in the easiest and most popular manner, two public loans to the Government were negotiated in the open market, thus creating an interest even among small bondholders in the perpetuity and success of the existing order. The prestige of the Empire was improved by several advantageous circumstances. A number of the European monarchs, including the Sultan Abdul Aziz, came to Paris on visits of ceremony and friendship with the Emperor, and he began to be named as arbiter in settling certain disputed questions arising among the Powers. Thus by a policy, partly warlike and partly pacific, Napoleon III. extended, established, and made secure the dominion which he had acquired by the doubtful and dangerous expedient of the *Coup d'Etat*.

It is not necessary to remind the reader of

the deep-seated race antipathy existing between the French and German nations. The River Rhine marks the boundary against which, from the opposite sides, the billows of ethnic animosity have immemorially broken into a long line of foam. Of all the French Governments, none have more emphatically expressed the national dislike of the French to the Germans than have the First and Second Empires. It were difficult, indeed most difficult, for a Bonaparte to be at peace with an Austrian or Prussian king, and equally difficult for either to be at peace with him. A hundred historical memories have aggravated and intensified the innate prejudice of race. The Great Napoleon had ground all Germany under his heel; and nothing which he ever did was more grateful to the senses of his countrymen. It was to be expected *á priori* that, under the Second Empire, France would again become embroiled with the German States, and the Napoleonic precedent pointed to Austria as the first power with which the break was likely to occur.

Thus much being granted, Italy was the field, and the liberation of Italy must needs be the motive. On the 1st of January, 1859, a great sensation was produced in diplomatical Europe by the Italian Minister, Count Cavour, who, at the Emperor's fête, expressed to Baron Hübner, Ambassador of Francis Joseph at the French court, his regrets at the "altered relations between France and Austria." Nor was it long until the difficulty between these two Powers relative to the affairs of Italy broke into open war. The event soon showed that Cavour and Napoleon had prepared a scheme far-reaching in its consequences and revolutionary in character, with respect to Italy. The plan contemplated the making of Victor Emanuel, of Sardinia, King of Italy, while Nice and Savoy, the ancient home of the House of Sardinia, were to be given to France. It was the first of those many stages by which the modern kingdom of Italy, with its unity and splendid prospects, was to emerge from the wreck of the Italian principalities. Since most of these States were under the dominion or influence of Austria, it could not be expected that she would willingly see them pass through the stage of momentary independence into the solidarity of an Italian Kingdom. The affair between the French Emperor and Cavour was so managed as to put the onus of hostilities on Francis Joseph. In April of 1859 the Cabinet of Turin, one of the Italian States, was ordered by Austria to reduce its army, and to dismiss a force of volunteers which had been organized. This demand was of course refused, and the Austrian Government took immediate steps to enforce compliance. The Austrian declaration was made on the 30th of January, and on the 3d of May, the French Government, in the midst of great enthusiasm at the capital, issued its declaration of war.

A French army was at once thrown into the field, and of this the Emperor took command in person. He declared it his purpose in undertaking the war, to make Italy "free from the Alps to the Adriatic." The energy with which the conflict was begun by France gave token of her purpose to make good the Emperor's declaration. The Italian invasion was initiated under favorable auspices. Victor Emanuel entered the field, and made himself subject to the Emperor of the French. The army of France was led into the peninsula by way of the pass of Mont Cenis, while a squadron was brought by sea to Genoa. The two engagements of Montebello and Palestro opened for the French the passage of the Po. On the 4th and 24th of June were fought the great battles of Magenta and Solferino, by which the military power of Austria was completely broken and the Emperor Francis Joseph obliged to give a hasty assent to the Treaty of Villafranca, which, on the 11th of July, 1859, was concluded between the two Emperors, without a witness on either side.

In the meantime the effect of the French victories had been decisive. Milan was relieved from Austrian domination, and went over to the side of Italy. The French troops entered Tuscany, and the Duke fled from the country. In like manner the Duke of Modena took to flight, and Victor Emanuel was proclaimed in his stead. The Legations of the Northern States of the Church renounced the sovereignty of the Pope, and accepted Victor Emanuel. Parma also gave its adhesion to the national cause. A French fleet appeared before Venice, and it was known that the Venetians were at fever heat for the revolution. Great, therefore, was the astonishment

when it was published that the French and Austrian Emperors had met and settled the dispute. All Europe was astounded at the outcome; and Italy was mortified and disappointed. Napoleon had not made her free from the Alps to the Adriatic, and, for the time, it could not well be understood why he had stopped so suddenly the work in the midst of his conquests. It soon transpired, however, that an ominous rumor had reached his ears of a purpose on the part of Prussia to enter into an alliance with Austria. It was, therefore, eminently prudent for the French Emperor to pause with the glory of Magenta and Solferino on his crest.

The Treaty of Villafranca was a treaty only in words. It was simply an oral agreement between the two Emperors as to the terms of settlement. It became necessary to put into form and definite record the stipulations to which Napoleon and Francis Joseph had agreed *viva voce*. Accordingly, in the following October, representatives of the two sovereigns met at Zurich, and a formal treaty was concluded on the basis of the informal convention of the preceding July. It was now agreed that there should be an Italian Confederation of States under the Presidency of the Pope. Lombardy, with the exception of Peschiera and Mantua, should be surrendered to Napoleon, and by him presented to Victor Emanuel. Venice should still remain as an Austrian dependency; but should be permitted to enter nominally the Italian Confederation. The Dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to be restored to their Governments. It was exacted of the Papal States that certain reforms, tending to the rights of the people, should be introduced. As to the South of Italy that unfortunate region was passed over in silence, and allowed to swelter, as before, under the steam and effluvia of the Middle Ages. The general effect of the treaty was the humiliation of Austria, the chagrin of Italy, the displeasure of Germany and England, and the glorification—if not the glory—of France. Of a certainty the expedition into Italy had been sufficiently successful to warrant the eulogists of the Second Empire in claiming and proclaiming that another Napoleon had entered the field.

Notwithstanding the disappointment of the Italian patriots, their cause and the cause of the country was, as we shall hereafter see, carried forward to success by Victor Emanuel. France assumed a sort of neutral attitude towards the contest in Italy, and received, in 1860, the coveted Nice and Savoy as her reward. This also was hailed by the Bonapartists as the first accession of territory to the Empire which, it was now fondly hoped, might parallel in greatness the one established in 1804. In spite of much suspicion as to his purposes and a general coldness toward him on the part of the Continental Powers, the Emperor rose in influence until, at the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States, he was unquestionably the leading sovereign of Europe.

While Italy was now left to work out her own salvation without the physical support of France, several events occurred of historical importance, in which the French Government was a part and party. The war with China, waged by the French and English as allies, continued from 1858 to 1860, when it was ended by the capture of Pekin. The conflict with Cochin China brought France and Spain into an alliance, and under their auspices the war was concluded in 1862, with the concession by the Chinese of the European demands. We have already seen how, in 1860, France, in coöperation with other Christian States, made a successful campaign into Syria, where the army of the Sultan was defeated, and where a French garrison was left in occupation of the country until the following year.

At times the hand of the Empress, as well as the mailed hand of Napoleon himself, was seen in shaping the events of the period, and determining their results. The sudden change in the Emperor's Italian policy was attributable, in part at least, to her influence. In her life, under the Imperial insignia, two forces prevailed,—Religion and Fashion. She worshiped at both shrines with equal devotion. Being a Catholic, one of her prime motives was friendly interest and concern for the Holy Father of Rome. She was quick to discern that if the work of Italian unification should be pressed *too far*, if Victor Emanuel should become the King of all Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic, saving only Nice and Savoy, which were to come to her husband,

then would there be no place at all left for the temporal supremacy of the Pope—no opportunity of his reässuming those time-honored claims of secular prerogative which his predecessors had so long asserted in Italy. As an obedient daughter of the Church, the Empress of the French must, therefore, put forth her influence to prevent the completion of the French conquest in Italy. She must insist that the Presidency of the Italian States shall still be reserved for Pio Nono, not only as a matter of right, but as a matter of reward for the support given by the Catholic clergy in France to her husband's throne.

More striking still was her influence in determining the fatal policy of the French Emperor with respect to Mexico. We have already cited the fact of the great reputation of the Government of Napoleon III. at the close of the Italian war. At this epoch, indeed, he may be said to have reached his zenith, from which, through the remaining years of his reign, through blunders of policy and catastrophes of enterprise, he was to sink into final dethronement and exile. More than any other European sovereign, it was he who, at the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States, made indecent haste to recognize the belligerent rights of the Southern Confederacy, and to advocate the further recognition of its independence. It is doubtless true that if Great Britain had consented to join him in this business, the recognition of the independence of the Confederacy by several of the leading European Powers would have followed, and our National Government would have had henceforth to contend with the armies not only of the seceded States, but also of France and England.

Failing, however, to secure the coöperation of Great Britain, Louis Napoleon followed up the line of his general policy by adopting a course which was intended to weaken the United States, and to conduce to their ultimate dismemberment. He proceeded, in conjuction with England and Spain, and with the ostensible motive of securing material guarantees from Mexico, to throw an armed expedition into that country. It is believed that from the first the Empress was one of the inspiring causes of this movement. Her friendship for the Catholic clergy the world over, and her well-grounded belief that the Church was being pressed to the wall by the Liberals of Mexico, led her to favor most heartily the intervention of her husband in the affairs of that country. In the whole transaction, Napoleon III. took advantage of the distressed condition of the United States.

It was in the year 1863, when, in the larger part of Europe, it was confidently believed that the American Government was going rapidly to irretrievable ruin, that the French Emperor, in conjunction with the English and Spanish Governments, laid his hands on Mexico. In the beginning of the following year, England and Spain withdrew from the complication, and Napoleon was left with the Mexican problem on his hands. Meanwhile the United States Government began to be triumphant over the Southern insurrection in such a manner that the very blind might see the beginning of the end; but Napoleon was now committed to his Mexican enterprise. Encouraged by Francis Joseph of Austria, he made war on the Republic of Mexico, conquered that Government, and in April of 1864 established Prince Maximilian of Hapsburg, brother of Francis Joseph, on the Mexican throne. The Government was styled an Empire, and Maximilian was the Emperor. The purpose of Napoleon in this business was, as indicated in his own language, "to restore the influence of the Latin race in America."

The American reader need not be told how the setting up of a foreign Empire in Mexico was in utter defiance of certain principles and policies which, for nearly a half century, had been recognized as valid by the United States. That somewhat indefinite dogma called the Monroe Doctrine forbade, as distinctly as might be, any such procedure as that which the Emperor of the French was now openly pursuing in Mexico. As our Civil War drew to a close, public opinion in the United States passed through indignation to anger against the Mexican Empire, so called, and all of its promoters. The American Rebellion tottered to its fall, and the French Emperor, in view of the imminent triumph of our National cause, was constrained to disclaim with some haste, all intention of acquiring territorial dependencies in the New World. The French army had to be withdrawn from Mexico, and

the poor Austrian puppet, who had been set up to restore the preponderance of the Latin race in America, was left to that deplorable fate which has half redeemed himself and his cause from the contempt of mankind.

It is an interesting study to note in France the transformation of public opinion in the seventh decade of the century. The Emperor and the Empire together had been borne up by an overwhelming majority to a climax which it was now found difficult to maintain. A reäction came. Such, indeed, is only the law of human nature, working in the political affairs of nations. Never yet has any ruler been popular to the end, unless, indeed, a fortunate death removed him from the danger of retrogression and downfall. Perhaps of all the great personages of modern times, Washington suffered least from the vicissitude of public opinion. But one has only to open the archives and public journals of his second Administration to see how nearly, in several instances, even the Father of his Country came to submergence and obloquy. It is not needed to enumerate the great names that arise in rapid illustration of this principle. On Napoleon III. it bore heavily. As early as 1863 the French elections began to show clearly that while the peasant-vote of the provinces remained true to the Imperial system, and to the Emperor in particular, the vote of the cities and towns of the higher order showed a decline in the influence and popularity of the Government.

This was particularly true in Paris. The fact in question was but the index of another and more significant circumstance in the history of the Second Empire. This was the falling away of the intellectual and educated classes, the thinkers and writers and makers of public opinion, from the support of the Emperor and his governmental system. The thought of France became in a large measure the Opposition; and it could not be doubted, from the experiences of the past, that sooner or later the material would have to give way before the pressure of the immaterial and spiritual forces of the age.

Doubtless, Napoleon himself understood the situation. Certainly he sought to avert it. The world has become wise through ages, and the rulers of the world have learned by heart the methods and expedients by which the rebellious thought of the people can be best diverted into other than political channels. In this kind of sophistical philosophy the Emperor of the French was an expert. Hard pressed, under the exigency of historical necessity, he made the best use of his power to hold his place and to make permanent his system, by exciting the energies of the French people in other than political directions. He devoted himself again with increasing energy to the work of making Paris the first city of the Modern World. In this he succeeded; and the recent splendor of the French capital must ever bear witness to the greatness of Napoleon III. as a beautifier and adorner of what had been built by others.

In other and distant quarters of the world, also, the evidence of his enterprise was seen. The long-lagging project of the Suez Canal was revived by his energy, and finally brought to a successful conclusion. The work was of international importance, and may well deserve, in this connection, some further notice.

The Isthmus of Suez is one of the most important localities in the geography of our planet. It is a sort of dry-land Bosphorus. It is the stem, so to speak, of that great leaf called Africa. True it is that the fluctuations of race, whereby, in modern times at least, certain unprogressive peoples have been thrown around this quarter of the globe, have lessened the importance of the Isthmus in its relations with civilization. But while Asia and Europe hold their present moorings in the earth, the peculiarity of this situation on the highway between them will ever be recognized, and the value of the neck of land between the head of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean be made the basis of competition and diplomacy.

The reader may here be reminded of the fact that the trade of the Far East came overland aforetime to the ancient sea-ports of the Mediterranean, and was thence distributed by ships to the different countries around the borders of that great inland sea. The history of the movements of this Indian and Arabian commerce from the earliest ages down to the present time would, if authentically and fully presented, constitute one of the most interesting and comprehensive chapters in the annals of the human race. In this con-

nection a mere sketch of this important subject is all that space and the symmetry of the narrative will permit. Until the beginning of the sixteenth century the general movement of the merchandise of the Orient continued to be by caravan, across the waste regions of Western Asia, in the direction which we have already indicated, to the Mediterranean. Such was the state of trade at the discovery of America. It will not by any means be forgotten that the bottom motive with the great navigators in the early part of the sixteenth century was to find, not indeed a New World, but an all-water route to the Indies. The sphericity of the earth became a recognized fact in the higher geography of the age, and the inevitable inference of the possibility of circumnavigation was drawn from this concept of the figure of the planet. Da Gama and Magellan went forth on this hypothesis. The North-west Passage was sought, and not found. The North-east Passage was believed in, but could not be demonstrated. On the line of the South-west Passage the ships of Magellan went forth, passed the South American Strait, touched the Philippines, and reached India. Da Gama did the same by the South-east Passage, and geographical science took the world in its arms.

The result upon commerce was decisive. The all-water routes were found. The cargoes of India could now be brought by ship directly to the great nations of Western Europe. The commerce of the Eastern Mediterranean fell away. The tide flowed in another direction. The nations of the Levant declined more and more in importance. The New World rose dripping from the waters, and was colonized by adventurous races. In course of time civilization spread across the two Americas from shore to shore. At last San Francisco began to look out across the Pacific to China and Japan. It became a question whether the commerce of the East could not be brought Pacific-wise to the Western shores of North America, be transhipped overland to the Atlantic, and brought thence by water again to the ports of Western Europe, more quickly, if not more cheaply, than to be taken in sailing-vessels by the old routes westward from the Indies.

It was under such conditions that thoughtful, progressive, adventurous minds, near the close of the first half of our century, began to consider seriously the great question of cutting a ship-canal across the neck of land between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. The project of course was closely associated in geographical and commercial philosophy with the similar scheme for cutting across the Isthmus of Darien or Panama. We have already seen how Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, dreaming and cogitating in the solitude of the prison of Ham, formulated and published an able essay on the subject of a ship-canal through Panama. The reader will not need to be told that this was part and parcel of the Suez enterprise. Both alike related to the one great question of a shorter all-water route from India to Western Europe and Eastern America. Of a certainty, if both canals were once in operation, then the ship from Hong Kong, or from British Burmah, might elect its course for the European harbors. She might sail forth eastward across the Pacific through the Central American Canal, and thence by an easy Atlantic voyage to her destination; or she might follow the sun across the waters of Bengal, the Indian Ocean, the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, the Red Sea, the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean, and Gibraltar, to her destined port.

It was the presence and ever-rising importance of this question that led at length to the undertaking of the ship-canal at Suez. The project was not a new one. Strabo and Pliny have recorded a similar enterprise as far back as the times of Ramses the Great. Certain it is that as early as 600 B. C., Pharaoh Neku projected a ship-canal across the Isthmus. Afterwards a like enterprise was prosecuted, about 270 B. C., by Ptolemy Philadelphus. At the beginning of the second century of our era we find the Emperor Trajanus engaged in the work of repairing and restoring the canal of Ptolemy. It appears, however, that with the lapse of ages the early channels thus cut from the head of the Red Sea into the Pelusiac arm of the Nile became filled with drifting sand, and finally obliterated to such an extent that antiquarian research has been required to determine their position. A little before the middle of the seventh century, Amru, the general of the Caliph Omar, is

said to have repaired the old canal and named it in honor of the Prince of the Faithful.

In modern times it appears that the first concept of a canal across the Isthmus flashed into the teeming brain of Napoleon I., during his campaign in Egypt. He took in the situation at a glance, and ordered his engineers to survey a trial route between the two waters right and left. The result was a report by them, thoroughly erroneous, that the waters of the Red Sea were, on a level, thirty feet higher than those of the Mediterranean. This being accepted as true, rendered the project impracticable. In 1847 a joint commission was sent out by France, England, and Austria to resurvey the same ground. It was while they were engaged in this work that our war with Mexico was completed. The territory of the United States was suddenly extended in a broad band to the Pacific, and gold was discovered in California. It was indeed time that the great carrying nations of Western Europe should devise some new and more expeditious route between Central and Eastern Asia and their own capitals.

It was now ascertained that the two seas, instead of a different elevation, have almost exactly the same level. The result of this survey, which was conducted by M. Talabot, Robert Stephenson, and Signor Negrelli, was fully verified by a second examination six years afterwards. The report of Stephenson, however, was adverse to the feasibility of the project, being to the effect that a canal through such a region would, as of old, become immediately obstructed with drifting sand, and thus be lost for the purposes of commerce. Accepting this view, Great Britain — ever believing in the infallibility of her own work and workmen—withdrew her encouragement from the enterprise, and the work was virtually remanded to the French. Now it was that M. Ferdinand de Lesseps appeared on the scene, and in 1854 received from Saïd Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, permission to form a company for the purpose of constructing a ship-canal from Tineh, near the site of ancient Pelusium, to Suez at the head of the Red Sea. The grant brought with it exclusive rights, and thus was secured to France, through her diplomatical service in Egypt, the sole patronage and privilege of bringing to a successful conclusion one of the greatest enterprises of modern times.

The company under the direction of De Lesseps was organized in 1858, with a guarantee of the right of way for a period of ninety-nine years, on consideration that fifteen per cent. of the toll gathered on the canal should be paid to the Egyptian Government. The capital of the company was at first two hundred million francs, but this was increased in 1867 by a hundred million francs additional. The length of the canal, as now surveyed and established by the company, was a hundred miles, of which about twenty-five miles were occupied with the lakes through which the channel was conducted. In the higher regions through which it passes, the channel is over three hundred feet in width at the surface and seventy-two feet broad at the bottom. The general depth of the water in the channel is twenty-six feet. The highest point through which the canal had to be cut was about eighty-five feet.

A period of nearly seven years was occupied in the construction, the work being officially opened on the 17th of November, 1869. The event was appropriately celebrated, as the beginning of a new movement in the commerce between Asia and Europe. Before the day of dedication, fifty ships of good burden had already passed through the canal with ease and safety. The success of the enterprise was brought to a demonstration. New schemes for rival canals soon attested the popularity and efficiency of the work which had been accomplished. Great Britain became suddenly awake, through interest and jealousy of the thing accomplished by her rival at the Isthmus of Suez. She adopted a policy of purchasing stock in the canal. In 1875 the British Government bought of the Khedive of Egypt one hundred and seventy-six thousand six hundred and two shares of the stock of the company, held by the Viceroy, thus becoming still further interested in the political maintenance and financial stability of the Egyptian Government. The patronage of the canal rapidly increased. In 1875 the number of vessels passing through was one thousand four hundred and ninety-four, and this increased in eleven years to three thousand six hundred and twenty-four. The freightage in the same

period rose from two million nine hundred and forty thousand seven hundred and eight to eight million nine hundred and eighty-five thousand four hundred and eleven tons. While it is true that no single enterprise of this kind, however vast and essential to the interests of international trade, can any longer determine its character or tendencies, it will also be conceded that the completion and opening of the Suez Canal, under the patronage of the French Government, in the autumn of 1869, marks one of the most important accomplishments in the industrial history of modern times.

The Emperor of the French sought also to please the people by measures calculated to draw the attention of other nations to France, and to satisfy the pride of the Gallic race with spectacles and splendors. In 1867 the Universal Exposition at Paris was opened under favorable auspices, and proved to be the most extensive and successful exhibition of arts and industries thus far known among mankind. The event bore witness in a striking manner to the preëminence of France under the Napoleonic *régime;* and the Government reaped as fully as possible the advantages which came from the gathering of all products and the representatives of all nations at the French capital.

We are now to recount the circumstances by which this Imperial Government, so splendid in outward form, so efficient in administration, so well regulated in its methods and manners, ran down rapidly, until it plunged by a startling catastrophe into oblivion. It is not improbable that Napoleon III. would have been able, to the end of his life, to preserve his ascendency in France, and to transmit the crown to his son, if he had had to contend only with the internal forces of the Empire. But an enemy now arose beyond the Rhine, whose very existence disturbed alike the Emperor's equanimity and the equipoise of his throne. Now it was that the controversy began relative to the Danish Provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, calling forth the intervention of Prussia and Austria, and giving the first hint of the military greatness which the former kingdom was soon to attain.

Schleswig-Holstein juts out from Germany in the form of an isthmus, with the expansion of Denmark at the northern end. It is a region of diverse nationalities; but the German race predominates, particularly in the southern portion. At the beginning of the sixth decade of our century it was seen that the Danish dynasty was about to end with the life of Frederick VII. In 1852 a conference was held in London, at which it was decided that the crown of Denmark should, after the death of Frederick, go to the Duke of Glücksburg, who had taken a Danish Princess in marriage. When Frederick died, however, in 1863, and the Duke was proclaimed as Christian IX., a pretender to the crown appeared in the person of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg, who claimed the crown, with the title of Frederick

SUEZ CANAL.

VIII. The claims of this Prince were warmly supported in Schleswig-Holstein, and Austria and Prussia came forth to uphold his claims to the throne. A German army was sent into the Peninsula, and the demand was made of Denmark to relinquish Schleswig-Holstein until what time the rights of the Prince of Augustenburg should be determined.

Denmark, finding herself in great straits, made an appeal to France and England to espouse her cause in the general interest of the balance of power. It was this particular event which revealed the strength of Prussia and the declining influence of the French Empire. During all the events which followed, it became more and more apparent that Louis Napoleon was no longer the arbiter of Europe. It was believed in the inner circles of diplomacy that France gave to Denmark some assurance of her intention to espouse the Danish cause, and to hold the Germans back from further aggression. But the Danes soon found that no dependence could be placed upon the encouragement thus given. The army of Austria and Prussia overran the Peninsula, and Denmark, after a brave resistance, was borne down by the sheer weight of her enemy. In October of 1864 a treaty of peace was made at Vienna, in which all claims of Christian IX. to Schleswig and Holstein were renounced. It was agreed that Schleswig should be placed under a Prussian, and Holstein under an Austrian, protectorate. The Emperor of the French urged, with much show of reason, that the will of the people in the disputed provinces should be ascertained by a *plébiscite*. This proposition was agreed to so far as Holstein was concerned, but was denied for Schleswig, which was under the protection of Prussia. This is to say that already Prussia was in antagonism to France, and the coming storm began to be prepared. From this time forth it was only a question of time when, from the two sides of the Rhine, the representatives of the Houses of Hohenzollern and Bonaparte would point their drawn swords at each other's breasts.

Prussia was now on the alert. In 1865 Count Bismarck paid a visit to his friend, Napoleon III., at Paris. It was one of the most sinister personal expeditions ever made into a neighboring country. The eye of the German glanced right and left and measured with the certainty of calculus the resources and conditions of the French Empire. He returned to his own place satisfied with the situation. His Teutonic intellect had discerned that, as affairs already stood in France, he and his master, King William, had nothing to fear from beyond the Rhine. Prussia, accordingly, made war on Austria. The alliance with Italy and the subjugation of Hanover followed like the two preliminary acts of a drama. The Hanoverian king fled for refuge to Vienna.

It was now the early summer of 1866. Prussia instantly turned on Austria, and in the *Seven Weeks* between the end of June and the 23d of August, trampled her under foot. After Sadowa, Vienna itself was at the mercy of the Prussian army. Francis Joseph cried out for peace, in order to save his fortunes from further wreck and ruin. Peace was hastily concluded in a convention at Prague—a peace which was dictated, rather than negotiated, by King William and Bismarck. Holstein and Schleswig were seized by Prussia, and added to the North German Confederation. No such brilliant and audacious proceeding had been witnessed in Europe since the days of the First Napoleon. Meanwhile, the Second Napoleon looked on in silent mortification, holding his peace.

From this time forth, a political reäction, not indeed violent, but no less certain in its ultimate results, set in in France. The *Corps Législatif* began at length to open its doors to the great and pronounced champions of the old Republicanism. Thus once more came the distinguished Thiers, with Berlayer, into the Legislative body, and the Opposition was so greatly improved and encouraged by such accessions that the Emperor and his Ministry were troubled. So much was Napoleon checked by political antagonism in the Chamber, that he was obliged, as we have seen, to remain in helpless neutrality while the Mexican Empire of Maximilian fell into ruins, and afterwards while the Prussians wrought havoc with Austria in the Schleswig-Holstein war.

The tides of public opinion in France rose ever higher and higher against the Government. The elections of 1868 showed that two hundred thousand voters had gone over to

the Opposition. The radical press became outspoken, audacious, vehement in denunciations. The socialist, Henri Rochefort, established *La Lanterne*, in which he sent, week after week, his satirical invectives against the Government to nearly a million and a quarter of subscribers. The storm became furious, and Napoleon was constrained to renew the policy of proscription, and to send sixty-four editors and journalists to prison. He also increased the army to a million three hundred and fifty thousand men.

By the elections of 1869 it was shown that the Opposition vote in the Empire had risen to over three millions. Scarcely was the Government able to obtain three-fifths of the suffrages. It was again apparent that the division was between country and city. The provincials voted for the Empire, as usual; but in the cities and larger towns, the Republican candidates were elected. It was in this Assembly that M. Leon Gambetta made his first appearance, taking his place among the party known as the "Irreconcilables." Already, by this time, a spasmodic cry of *Vive la Republique* was heard here and there. On several occasions order in Paris had to be enforced by the military; and the same thing occurred at Nantes and Bordeaux. It was evident that a crisis in the French Government was approaching.

Louis Napoleon, however, and the adherents of the Empire were by no means ready to give way before the revolutionary tendencies of the times. History must confess that the Emperor was still legitimate, having with him the majority of the people. He was, besides, willing at all times to hear and consider the complaints of the Opposition. Early in 1870 a Liberal Cabinet was actually conceded under the leadership of M. Emile Ollivier, whom the Emperor and Empress won over to the support of the Government. The Emperor himself claimed to be as liberal in his principles as was consistent with the established order. He professed confidence in the people, and, in May of 1870, actually appealed to the French Nation by the famous *plébiscite* on the fundamental question of the character of his Government and his hereditary rights to the throne. The answer was again overwhelmingly in his favor, the affirmative vote being 7,358,786 against a negative vote of 1,571,939. It could not be fairly complained that the majority was either indecisive or factitious.

During this period the policy of reforming the Government in many particulars was adopted, and every popular complaint was considered in a spirit of moderation and justice. Already before the *plébiscite*, the new re-

HENRI ROCHEFORT.

forms of the preceding autumn had been secured under the *senatus-consultum*. In all this the political sagacity of Louis Napoleon was manifested in the highest degree. His profound insight into the course and nature of events was exhibited in every crisis, and it might have well been argued that a Government so conducted, under a sovereign of such pacific and conciliatory disposition, might be indefinitely prolonged.

But the event was otherwise. The enormous expense of the military establishment was paraded by the leaders of the Opposition

as an essential vice. The Radical orators and statesmen in the Assembly—Thiers, Favre, Simon, Gambetta, Bancel, Raspail, Crémieux, and Arago—still continued their fiery assaults, which were now openly directed to the *fact* rather than to the *methods* of the Empire. This sentiment gained ground constantly in Paris and several other principal cities of France, in many of which the majority was against the Government. Napoleon perceived

ISABELLA II., OF SPAIN.

that even the overwhelming support of the rural populations would not suffice to uphold him much longer. In the emergency, he seems to have made up his mind that the thing needful to regain his ascendency and to re-buttress the throne, was to electrify all France with the shocks and victories of a great foreign war.

In order to understand the great events which now followed, fast and faster, we must turn our attention for the time to the condition of affairs in Spain. In that country, during the whole reign of Isabella II., the struggle had gone on between the Liberal party on the one side, and the throne, supported by the ancient Bourbonism, on the other. In 1866 the Spanish Government adopted the policy of proscription against the Liberal leaders, and several of them, including Serrano, Prim, and O'Donnell, were driven into exile. Two years afterwards the opposition elements of the kingdom formed a combination, under the impact of which the Government party was borne down. In September of 1868, Serrano and Prim returned to Spain, resumed their natural place at the head of the Liberals, set up the standard of revolution, and carried all before them. The dynasty was overthrown. Isabella and her house, including her lover Marfori, and her chaplain Claret, were driven from the country. The Queen fled to France, where she was cordially received by Napoleon and Eugénie, who put at her disposal the old castle of Pau, from which she issued her proclamations against the rebellion and the rebels.

The Liberal leaders in Madrid paid little attention to the harmless fulminations of Isabella, but they encountered, at the very outset, a serious question with respect to the Spanish throne. After Isabella, whom? The Cortes were by no means ready for the institution of a republic, and it became necessary to find a successor for the fugitive Queen. It was soon discovered that no one of the Bourbons would be acceptable to the Spanish people. A new Constitution was formed, providing for a popular Assembly, a Senate, and a king; but who would be the king? After some time spent in the consideration of the question, the Cortes determined to offer—and

did offer—the Spanish crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a relative of the King of Prussia.

Here then, at last, was that cause of offense for which the Emperor of the French seemed to be waiting. A friendship had sprung up between the Empress and the Ex-Queen Isabella. Eugénie was herself by birth a Spaniard. France and Spain had been immemorially associated in the general history of Europe. They were both Latin kingdoms.

To what extent William of Prussia and his Minister connived at the election of Leopold to the Spanish crown has never been fully divulged. In France it was assumed that they had been at the bottom of the whole affair, and that the scheme was nothing less than to make Spain a German dependency. It is certain that Prince Leopold at once informed the head of the House of Hohenzollern of his election by the Spanish Cortes, and it is *said* that William authorized him to accept the

VIEW OF MADRID.

Here, then, was a *German* Prince, this Leopold of Hohenzollern, under the headship of King William of Prussia, selected for the Spanish throne! Had not the Prussian King contrived to have it so? Was it not clearly the work of Bismarck? Was it to be expected that Imperial France would stand idly by and see a German dynasty established south of the Pyrenees? It was bad enough to have the Teutonic race on *one* side of the French dominion; on *two* sides, intolerable.

offer. It was at this juncture that the French Cabinet determined to interfere. The growing distrust of France and Prussia was to find in the election of Leopold both cause and occasion for the first explosion of hatred. France assumed the responsibility of the King of Prussia for the candidature and election of Leopold to the throne of Spain. Hereupon all the inflammable elements in Paris, and throughout the Empire, went off in spontaneous combustion. The very name of Hohen-

zollern was hateful, and the changes upon it were rung by the French Ministers and statesmen as the pretext for the declaration that Leopold's candidature and election were, *per se*, injurious and insulting to the honor and the influence of France.

On the 6th of July, 1870, the Duke de Grammont declared in the French Assembly that the election of Leopold of Hohenzollern would not, and should not, be tolerated by the Imperial Government. A great furor ensued. The excitement at the French capital rose higher and higher. Count Benedetti, the French Ambassador at Berlin, was ordered by Napoleon to demand of King William that the latter, as the head of the House of Hohenzollern, should not permit Prince Leopold to accept the Spanish crown. To this demand the Prussian King returned for answer that he was not at liberty to prevent an act which he had not advised. While this reply was in transit and under consideration, Prince Leopold cut short the whole matter by declining the honor which had been conferred by the Spanish Cortes. Nevertheless, the somewhat equivocal but conciliatory answer of King William, even when it was followed by the declinature of the Prince, was not acceptable to the war party at Paris.

At this juncture, it is likely that if Louis Napoleon had been left to himself the sequel would have been different; but he was borne on by forces which he could no longer control. In an evil hour he came to believe that it was better to go to war with Germany than to struggle forever with the Radical gladiators in the arena of French politics. He was growing old, and was anxious in the last degree that his reign should expire gloriously with his life. Could he but see the Prince Imperial about to receive a peaceful Empire, he might be ready for his departure. Then there

PRINCE LEOPOLD OF HOHENZOLLERN.

was his personal antipathy to the Germans, notably the Prussians. Was it not they who, on that fatal day of Waterloo, had given the victory to Wellington? Albeit, the Empress Eugénie hated the race beyond the Rhine more intensely than did her husband. All these forces conspired to urge Napoleon to a course which his natural and acquired acuteness of perception might otherwise have led him to avoid.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.—FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR.

AFTER the return of King William's first answer, and the act of Leopold in declining the Spanish throne, the Emperor of the French showed signs of willingness to let the matter end; but the French Nation was now angry out of season, and the Ministers, especially the Duke de Grammont, urged Napoleon to press the Prussian King still further. A second demand was accordingly formulated and sent to Berlin, requiring William to give a pledge that *no* Prince of the House of Hohenzollern should be or become a candidate for the Spanish throne. When this message was received at the Prussian capital, the King was absent at the baths of Ems, and thither he was followed by Benedetti. The Ambassador, in discourteous haste, confronted King William in the early morning on the public promenade, and in that place delivered his master's despatch. It is said that a part of his instructions, received from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, was, "*Be rough with the King.*" He was accordingly rough with the King. His manner, as well as his matter, was alleged to be peremptory, if not positively insulting. However this may be, William heard the demand, and turning on his heel, dropped, in the German tongue, a vulgar objurgation, and left the Ambassador with no other answer.

Two days afterwards, namely, on the 15th of July, the King returned to Berlin, and it was perceived in both countries that war was inevitable. It is believed that the French Government at this juncture took steps to suppress the movements of the Opposition, should such a course be necessary, by a second *coup d'etat.* Thiers and his fellow-Republicans went ahead, however, in outspoken opposition to the war, and for this they were condemned in unmeasured terms by the adherents of the Government. The latter would hear of nothing short of the impending conflict with Prussia. England and Rome both attempted to house the storm by friendly intervention; but their good offices were rejected in a temper akin to disdain. The war party became furious. They proclaimed that France was ready—five times ready—for the struggle. They declared that the last gaiter-button in the Empire was consecrated to the overthrow and punishment of the arrogant and impudent race beyond the Rhine. The house of Thiers was mobbed by the war-mad populace of Paris, and everything bore on, like the rapids of Niagara, to the precipice.

Only six days after the interview of M. Benedetti with the King at Ems, France declared war against Prussia. The event soon showed that it was one thing to rush to arms and quite another to rush to victory. We are here to enter upon a brief account of one of the most remarkable events of modern history. The Franco-Prussian War was fought on both sides under a race enthusiasm for which it would be difficult to find a parallel. The battles were furious, dreadful. The vicissitudes of the conflicts were tragical in the last degree, and the results of the struggle were startlingly revolutionary in both France and Germany. It was a war of a single season, beginning with a spasmodic aggression on the one side, to be followed up by persistent invasion and conquest on the other. From the first both parties were confident of success. This was especially true on the side of France. Napoleon and the whole French Nation threw themselves into the conflict as though it were a tourney of the holidays. It was the common

saying in Paris that the French army should celebrate the birthday of the First Bonaparte in Berlin. The braggarts thus allowed themselves less than a month in which to conquer Prussia. It was believed in France, and apprehended in some parts of Germany, that with the oncoming of the war the North German Confederation would fall to pieces; that is, that the South-German States, uneasy under the domination of Prussia, and still adhering to the political traditions of the past, would not enter the common cause, and that they

BARON LE BŒUF.

would, perhaps, be wholly detached from the Prussian interest. But such belief was without foundation in fact. The South Germans arose with their countrymen of the North, and Napoleon soon found that he must contend with a United Germany.

The plans of the French Emperor were energetic and sufficiently plain. It was proposed in the first place to throw a tremendous army to the Rhine, invade Prussia, beat her armies into the earth, avenge the *insult* done to the French Ambassador at Ems, and wipe out the very memory of the intrigue relative to Leopold and the Spanish crown. This done, Napoleon, after the manner of his illustrious uncle, would dictate a peace from the capital of his enemy. But little had he apprehended the character of the task which he had imposed on himself and his subjects. His army numbered three hundred and ten thousand men; but the event proved that Baron Le Bœuf, the French Minister of War, had utterly misled and misinformed Napoleon with respect to the discipline, equipment, and readiness of his forces. True, the march to the Rhine was at once begun, but it was seen from the start that the movements of the French were not comparable with those of the Prussians in vigor and celerity. Beyond the Rhine the very nation seemed suddenly converted into an army. Within the space of eleven days four hundred and fifty thousand soldiers were organized and put in motion to meet the French on the frontier! It was as if two tremendous storms, boiling up black with wrath from opposite horizons, should come on, hurricane-wise, to shake the heavens and the earth by their concussion in the mid-firmament.

The German army was organized in three great divisions, under the respective commands of General Steinmetz, the Crown Prince of Prussia, and his cousin, Prince Frederick Charles. These powerful divisions moved forward to the scene of conflict. The command-in-chief was conferred on Count Von Moltke, whose genius in war now appeared as conspicuous as that of Bismarck in statesmanship. King William himself went to the front in person, and continued with the army, riding grimly at the head of his staff to the end of the conflict. Germany was in the field. Such was the rapidity with which the Prussians pressed on to the frontier that the movements of the French were anticipated, and when Napoleon reached the borders, he found the line of the Rhine already preöccupied by heavy masses of German soldiers stretching through strong positions from Treves to Landau. It became doubtful, as the two armies approached the borders, whether Louis Napoleon, who, according to premature panegyrics, was going to celebrate his uncle's birthday in Berlin, would be able even to set his foot on Prussian soil.

The actual conflict began on the 2d of August, 1870. On that day a French division, about thirty thousand strong, under General Frossard, crossed the German frontier, and attacked the little town of Saarbrück. The place was defended by a small force of Uhlans, who were soon compelled by superior numbers to withdraw to the right bank of the Saar. Napoleon himself and the Prince Imperial, his boy, were on the battle-field, and when the slight engagement was over the Emperor sent to Eugénie a somewhat magnificent despatch recounting the victory and her son's "baptism of fire." It was the first and last of such messages. But the Parisian Government and populace went wild with delight over the news, which seemed to foretoken the bursting in of the shell of Germany.

The scene instantly changed. Two days after the affair at Saarbrück the Crown Prince crossed the frontier, fell upon the right wing of the French army under Marshal MacMahon, at Weissenburg, and gained a victory—the first of many. On the 6th of August he renewed the attack at the village of Wörth, where, for thirteen hours, the field was hotly contested; but at nightfall the French began a retreat which came near to degenerating into a panic. Now did it become apparent that if France was five times, Germany was ten times prepared. This indeed was the secret of all that ensued until the final cataclysm at Sedan. Never, indeed, was any other nation so completely equipped and ready in every particular for the shock of war as was Germany in 1870. Through years and years of preparation, of discipline, of accumulation of military knowledge and material resources, the work had gone on until, on the call to arms, the very nation seemed to rise from the earth, and stand. There was, moreover, the heat of passion and of nationality. Now was it felt that at last the hour had come when the insult and contumely which the Corsican had heaped without measure on the Fatherland should be wiped out with blood. The German race was thoroughly angered, and the impetuosity of its onset, the determination of its charges, could not be withstood.

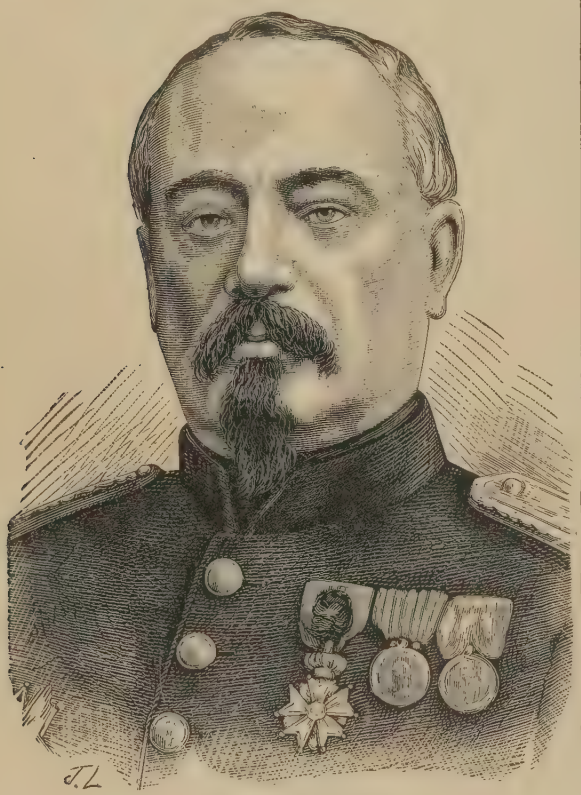
After the battle of Wörth, one division of MacMahon's army fell back towards the Vosges and another towards Strasburg. The Germans were thus enabled to penetrate Alsace without further resistance. At the very time when the Crown Prince was winning these successes on the right, General Steinmetz assaulted the French position at Spicheren, carried the place by storm, and gained a decisive victory. Then the whole Prussian line was thrown forward. The French frontier at Forbach was broken, and the vast amount of supplies there accumulated fell into the hands of the victors. Already every energy of France was strained to uphold her honor in a defensive rather than an offensive contest with her enemy.

The movements of the German army were in the next place directed to Strasburg. Nothing could surpass the ability and success with which the invasion was begun and prosecuted. The superior knowledge of the enemy's country possessed by the German officers, and even by the men of the line, became known and demonstrated with every movement. Herein was another element in the superiority which Prussia and her allies now exhibited over the French. France was outgeneraled at every step. It came to be said that there was not a common soldier in King William's army who did not know the geography of Eastern France by heart. The troops of Baden now began a siege of Strasburg. The Crown Prince threw forward his army to Nancy, in Lorraine. At the same time Steinmetz and Frederick Charles moved upon Marshal Bazaine at Courcelles, and there, on the 14th of August, gained another great victory.

If we take a survey of the whole field at this juncture we shall find the French army extended across the frontier-line from Strasburg to Metz, facing Germany, while the Germans occupied a counter position, with the head-quarters of King William at Mainz. After his defeat, Bazaine retreated to Metz, garrisoned the forts at that place, and then sought to form a junction with General Trochu, who was preparing an army at Chalons. Von Moltke, perceiving the intention of his adversary, hurried forward the division of Prince Frederick Charles to intercept the retreat, and to prevent the union of the French forces. The Germans next crossed the Moselle, and reached the village of Mars-la-Tour, where they encountered Bazaine, at the head of a hundred

thousand men. Here was fought the most bloody battle which had yet occurred during the war. The losses on each side amounted to about seventeen thousand. The victory was claimed by the French, though Frederick Charles succeeded in holding his position, and Bazaine was obliged to make his way by a longer route towards Verdun.

On the 18th of August, the combined armies of Steinmetz and Prince Frederick Charles, under command of King William in person, renewed the attack in the murderous



MARSHAL BAZAINE.

battle of Gravelotte, in which, from morning till night, two hundred thousand Germans struggled for the mastery with a hundred and eighty thousand French. Again the result was indecisive so far as actual victory in the field was concerned, but the Germans, by the sacrifice of twenty thousand men, succeeded in stopping the retreat of Bazaine and forcing him back into the fortifications of Metz, where he was at once besieged by the entire division of Frederick Charles. Thus was the main army, upon which France depended for success, cooped up, while the two great German divisions, under the Crown Prince and Steinmetz, were still free to press forward against MacMahon and Trochu at Chalons.

The battle of Gravelotte was, in a sense, the crisis of the war. It decided the fate of Metz, of Bazaine's army, of the Empire, of France. But the French were by no means willing to concede the game. The excitement produced in Paris by the great battles on the frontier—by the news in particular of Gravelotte, and the shutting up of Bazaine in Metz—knew no bounds. At the first, the French, particularly the war party in the capital, flattered themselves that their Marshals were winning great victories. But when it became known that the tide was the other way, and that their favorite young general, with the principal armies of the Empire, was actually besieged, a great reäction ensued, and rage took the place of exultation. About a hundred thousand German residents of Paris and France were mercilessly driven from the country. The national spirit was roused to a pitch of frenzy, and the determination shown to drive back the invaders out of the country was worthy of the noblest cause.

Whatever may now have been the antipathy of the French Republicans to the Empire, however much they may have desired that Napoleon and his dynasty should be utterly blown away, there was no longer any division of sentiment on the crying question of staying the German invasion and hurling the enemy back across the border. In the meantime, the shattered forces of MacMahon, numbering a hundred and twenty-five thousand men, were reöganized at Chalons, and the Government determined that with this force he should make a supreme effort to break the investment of Metz and liberate Bazaine. MacMahon's own plan of the war was to plant himself between the Germans and Paris, and, if possible, prevent their advance on the capital. In this purpose, however, he was overruled by the Empress and Marshal Palikao, the French Minister of War, who insisted that the army of Bazaine should be set free at all hazard. MacMahon accordingly marched northward up the river Meuse, and as soon as this movement was detected, the course of the German army was changed in the same direction. It

now became a race between the contending armies, and the Germans won. For, although MacMahon moved forward with great rapidity, he had the longer line, so that when, on the 28th of August, he reached Stenay, on the Meuse, he was confronted by the right wing of the German army. Several indecisive engagements followed, which culminated on the 31st in the battle of Beaumont, in which the French

BATTLE OF MARS-LA-TOURS.
After the painting by Emile Huenten.

were defeated. MacMahon was compelled, by overwhelming masses which were thrown between him and his object, to leave Bazaine to his fate, and to fall back to the fortified town of Sedan, where, with the Emperor, he resolved to defend himself to the last. He was still in command of a hundred and twelve thousand men, to whose warlike spirit had now been added the premonitions of despair.

The town of Sedan is in the department of Ardennes, on the right bank of the Meuse. It is distant from Paris a hundred and thirty miles, and was commanded, in 1870, by a strong fortress. The town lies in a basin. The hills around about constitute the rim. No sooner had MacMahon taken possession of Sedan than every height round about became a volcano. There were gathered more than two hundred thousand Germans, with their enormous batteries still hot from a dozen victorious battles. With the morning light of the 1st of September the hills began to smoke and roar. The basin of Sedan became a horrid arena of death. For France had come another day of fate. MacMahon was severely wounded, and the French command was twice transferred, first to Ducrot, and afterwards to Wimpffen. Around the villages of Bazeilles and Illy, and on the heights of Daigny, the

battle raged furiously; but nothing could long withstand the terrible discharges of the German artillery. The French army withered under the fiery blast. By three o'clock in the afternoon the work was done. Only a disorganized mass, crowded into the center of the basin, remained, and for this nothing was left but to surrender. The hour of the Second Empire had struck. At length a white flag was raised over Sedan, and the firing ceased. Then came a note to King William as follows:

"SIRE, MY BROTHER,—Not having been able to die at the head of my troops, I lay my sword before Your Majesty.

"Your Majesty's good brother,

NAPOLEON."

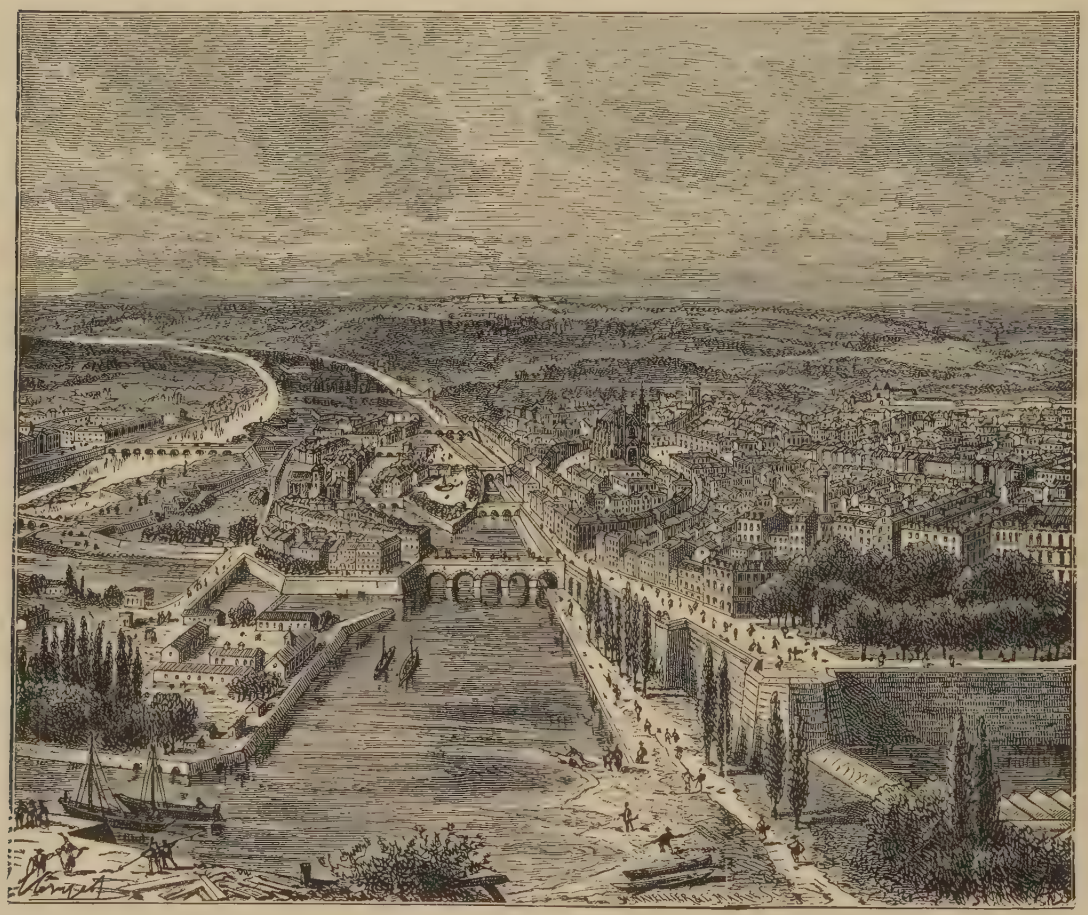
The King replied:

"SIRE, MY BROTHER,—Regretting the circumstance under which we meet, I accept the sword of Your Majesty, and I invite you to designate one of your officers provided with full powers to treat for the capitulation of the army which has so bravely fought under your command. On my side I have named General Moltke for this purpose.

"I am Your Majesty's good brother,

"WILHELM."

It has not often happened in the annals of the world that two sovereigns of great nations, under such circumstances, have called each other *"My good brother!"* It is the very irony of history.



METZ.

If Gravelotte was ruin, Sedan was despair. As soon as he had surrendered, the Emperor Napoleon withdrew from Sedan, and passed the night at the castle of Bellevue outside the city. At this place, on the morrow, he made a formal surrender to the King in person. The whole French army, numbering about eighty-four thousand men, became prisoners of war, and the enormous equipment fell into the hands of the victors. The captive Emperor was taken in charge by Prince Bismarck, and was presently conveyed to the castle of Wil-

elmshõhe, which was assigned to him as a residence.[1]

Such was the great collapse in the field. Meanwhile at Paris a corresponding civil tragedy was enacting. On leaving the capital, Napoleon had constituted the Empress Eugénie Regent in his absence. The struggle of the Republicans against the Government continued. Every disaster to the French arms, while it may be said to have unified France, weakened the Empire. At last came the news of Sedan. The Emperor was a prisoner. Bazaine was shut up in Metz. The theory had now been adopted that that unfortunate Marshal was a traitor. He had conspired to put his army, not exactly into the power of the Germans, but in a position where it was impossible to aid France. He had done so to shore up the tottering Empire; that is, when the collapse should come, he would be in a position to negotiate with the Germans for the maintenance of the Imperial system against the Republic, which was certain to spring up the moment the throne was wrecked.

The condition of the Empress had now become pitiable. Her support fell away. Paris roared like the ocean. It was evident that the Government, the whole Imperial system, was going down to wreck and oblivion. No sooner was the story of Sedan told in the capital than a popular revolution broke forth against the Empire. The blame for every thing was laid

BISMARCK ACCOMPANYING THE CARRIAGE OF NAPOLEON III. TO THE CASTLE OF WILHELMSHÕHE.

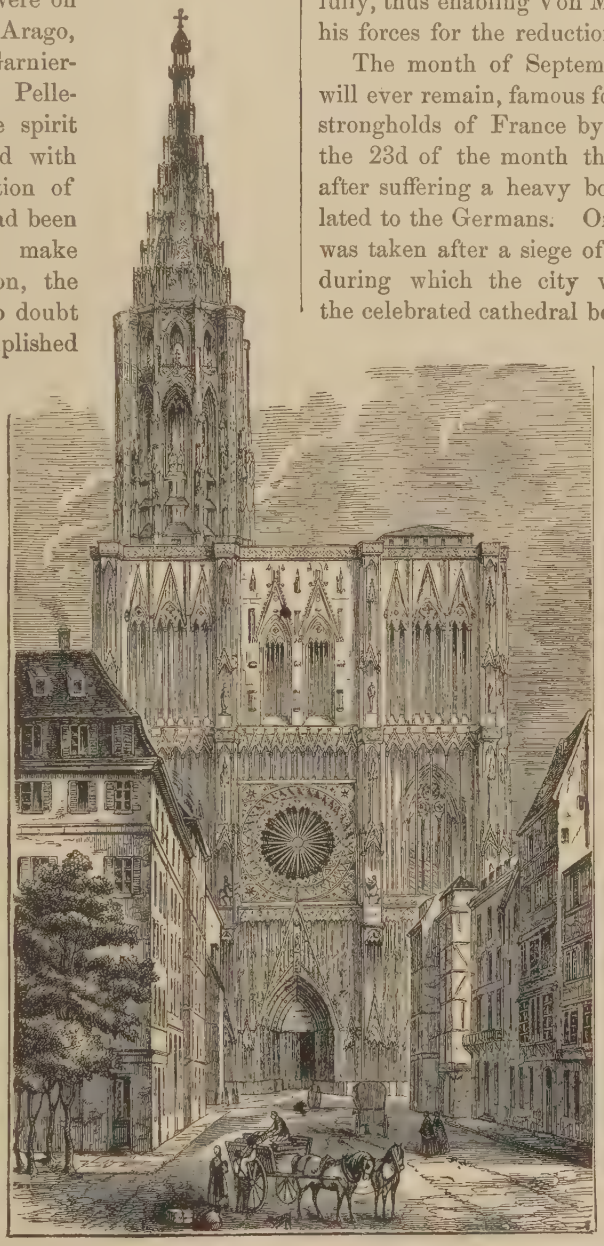
[1] An incident, sufficiently characteristic of Prince Bismarck, is related of the journey to Wilhelmshõhe. The fallen Emperor of the French, with one or two friends, was conveyed in a carriage. There was a cavalcade of guards—Germans—dashing along by the equipage, and Bismarck rode alongside on his tremendous charger. Presently he began to *whistle!* To French ears the air signified nothing, but to the Germans it was sufficiently significant. In the German woods, when the boar hunt is on, the head huntsman blows his horn at intervals, indicative of the stages of the chase. When the boar is finally down, a peculiar air is winded, signifying to the scattered huntsmen that the object of the chase is accomplished; that the boar is on his knees. This horn-call of the German hunter was the air which Bismarck took up as he galloped by the carriage of the fallen Emperor of the French. He whistled *The Boar Is Down!*

by the popular leaders on the tottering Napoleonic dynasty. On the 4th of September the catastrophe came. When it was seen that the Imperial Government must certainly be overthrown, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps made his way to the Empress and informed her of the situation, and of the necessity for an immediate escape from Paris. It required the utmost discretion on his part, self-control on the part of the Empress, and extreme caution on the part of all concerned, to effect a safe withdrawal from the Tuileries. Having clad herself in traveling apparel, the Empress went into the gallery of the Louvre, sat down a few minutes before one of Rubens's great pictures, and presently made her way quietly to the carriage, which De Lesseps had prepared without. As he handed the Empress to her seat within, a street gamin glanced into the carriage, recognized Eugénie, and cried out, *Voila Madame Bonaparte!* but his exclamation was unheard, and the carriage was driven rapidly away, first to the residence of De Lesseps, thence to the Place du Havre, thence to the coast, and thence to England, where Camden Palace, Chiselhurst, was assigned to her as a residence. The Prince Imperial was also safely conducted from the country to Hastings, where he awaited the coming of his mother.

Other prominent members of the Imperial Government fled before the storm. On the very day of the flight of the Empress, the Republic was proclaimed, and it was resolved that the tricolor should yet accomplish what the eagle of Bonaparte had failed to do, namely, expel the Germans from France. The proclamation of this, the Third Republic, was made under the advice of Thiers. At the beginning the new Government was of necessity a Government of national defense. Jules Favre, in the Chamber of Deputies, reëchoed the public voice in the first day of the Revolution, when he

CAMDEN PALACE, CHISELHURST.

declared that not one foot of soil, not one stone of a fortress should be surrendered to Germany. The other leaders of the hour were Jules Simon, Leon Gambetta, and General Trochu, who was made military commandant. But all the distinguished Radicals were on the stage of action—Arago, Crémieux, Ferry, Garnier-Pagès, Glais-Bizain, Pelletan, Rochefort. The spirit of the nation flamed with wrath at the condition of affairs. If Prussia had been left after Sedan to make terms with Napoleon, the work would have no doubt been easily accomplished without the further shedding of blood; but this new infuriated French Republic, which arose above the wreck of Bonapartism, was quite a different creature. She was France herself, stripped of all disguises — beautiful, angry, sublime. The duty of defending the capital was confidently assigned to General Trochu, and a new civic army of seventy thousand men was put into the defense of the city; but the greatest activity was required to get Paris into a state of defense before the oncoming of the Germans.

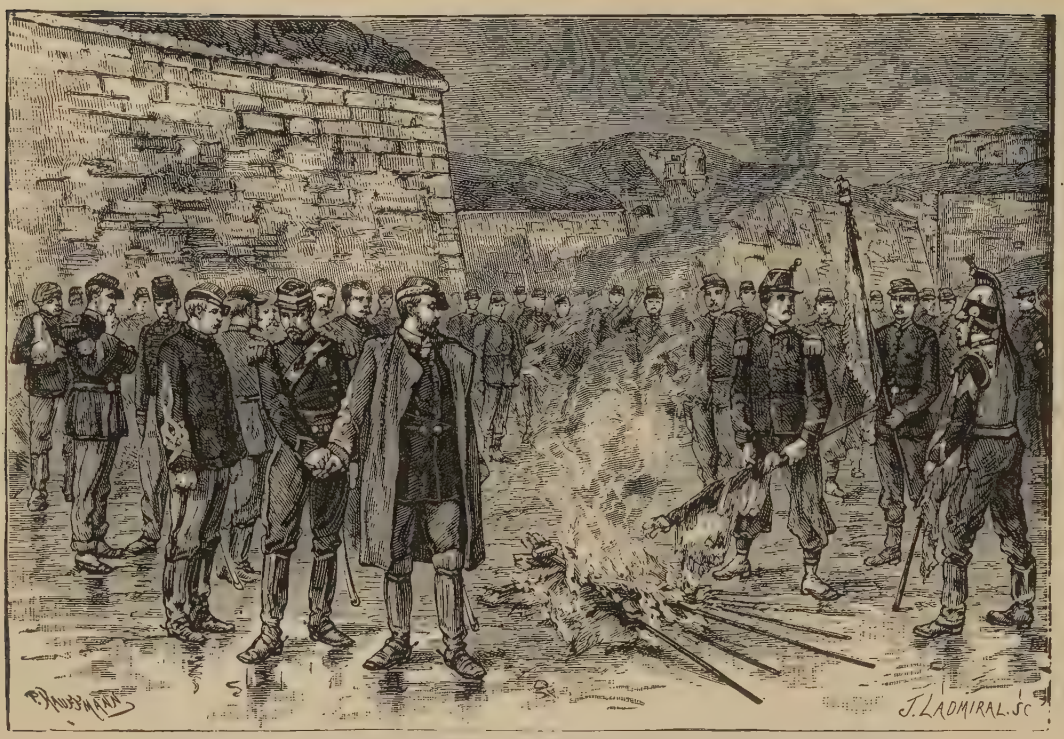


CATHEDRAL OF STRASBURG.

For, after the day of Sedan, there was no further obstacle between the Crown Prince and the French capital. Thither he marched with all speed, and soon appeared before the line of fortresses which had been constructed in the times of Louis Philippe. Within the city there was every determination to resist to the last, and it is probable that Frederick William would not have been able to succeed at all, had not the sieges which detained the other divisions of the German army terminated successfully, thus enabling Von Moltke to concentrate his forces for the reduction of Paris.

The month of September, 1870, was, and will ever remain, famous for the capture of the strongholds of France by the Prussians. On the 23d of the month the Fortress of Toul, after suffering a heavy bombardment, capitulated to the Germans. On the 28th Strasburg was taken after a siege of six weeks' duration, during which the city was greatly injured, the celebrated cathedral being shattered by the cannonade. On the same day Marshal Bazaine surrendered Metz to Prince Frederick Charles. No such sweeping capitulation had been known in modern history. A hundred and forty-five thousand soldiers, including six thousand subordinate officers, and three Marshals of France, became prisoners of war. All the accoutrements and supplies of a vast army were taken by the triumphant Germans, who were now eight hundred thousand strong, within the borders of France.

The surrender of Metz produced an almost uncontrollable rage throughout the nation. Bazaine became an object of the ineradicable hatred of his countrymen. His own army, in a large measure, shared the common odium against its commander. The capitulation was near to becoming a horrible mutiny. The



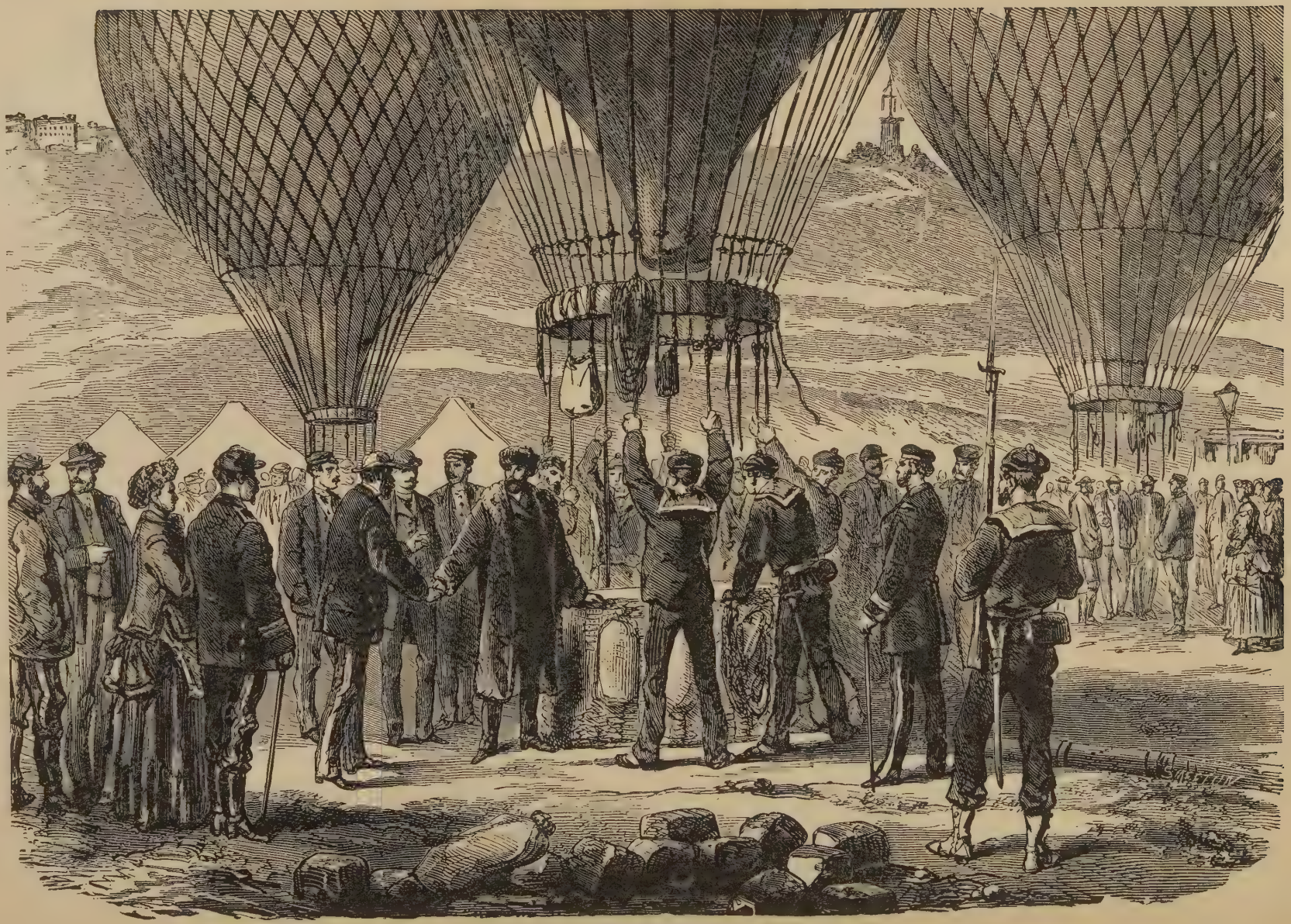
FRENCH SOLDIERS BURNING THEIR FLAGS AFTER THE SURRENDER OF METZ.

ENTRANCE OF THE GERMANS INTO ORLEANS.

French subordinates and soldiers gathered up their standards, broke their flagstaffs, and burned the demolished emblems of their shame in bonfires around the barracks. Meanwhile, the investment of Paris had begun. All around the horizon were havoc and dismay. In October the royal palace of St. Cloud was burned by the Prussians. Every wood seemed to be an army, and every hill a battery. Round about the devoted fortresses of Paris the innumerable hosts of Germany were gathered to consummate their work. Against such fearful odds the fiery valor of the Parisians could not prevail. Leon Gambetta, destined now to become the greatest leader of modern French Republicanism, escaped from the city in a balloon, and made his way into Southern France, where he sought by his eloquence to rouse the nation as one man for the expulsion of the invaders. His appeals were by no means in vain. An army of a hundred and fifty thousand volunteers, under General Aurelle de Paladine, came up from Orleans, while the forces under General Trochu were increased to four hundred thousand. Every energy was bent to the task of breaking the folds of the Teutonic anaconda coiled around Paris. But the anaconda would not relax.

BURNING OF ST. CLOUD BY THE PRUSSIANS.

On the 5th of December, Prince Frederick Charles, who had been operating against Orleans, succeeded in taking the city, which was held by the Germans to the close of the war. In the beginning of January, the army of General Trochu was attacked by the Germans at Le Mans. *For six days* the fighting continued almost without abatement, and, in the end, the French army was cut to pieces, with the loss of about sixty thousand men. A few days later, General Faidherbe, who commanded the French Army of the North, was ruinously routed, first at Amiens and Rouen, and afterwards, on the 19th of January, at St. Quentin. Meanwhile, the Italian patriot, Garibaldi, had come over into Burgundy, given his services to the French Republic, and gained some



GAMBETTA STARTING FOR TOURS.

unimportant successes over the Germans. The command in this quarter, however, was transferred to General Bourbaki, who, with nearly a hundred thousand men, undertook to raise the siege of Belfort. But he was driven back by General Manteuffel, forced, with more than eighty thousand soldiers, into the Swiss mountains, and there left to perish in midwinter. Only the magnanimity of the Swiss prevailed to save this desperate mass of humanity from destruction.

By this time the war had degenerated into an indescribable uproar. From the spires of Paris it seemed as though the heavens and earth were rolled together. With each clearing of the sky it became more and more manifest that the rescue of the capital from the clutches of the Germans was impossible. Seeing that further resistance would merely entail additional disaster, it was at length decided to open negotiations with the conqueror. The Government of the Republic had, in the midst of smoke, and turmoil, and desperation, assumed some form of regularity. On the 17th of January, the distinguished historian and Republican statesman, Louis Adolphe Thiers, was chosen Chief Executive, and he at once urged upon the Assembly the necessity of making peace on the best possible conditions. On the 19th he appointed a Ministry, consisting of Jules Favre, for Foreign Affairs; Dufaure, for Justice; Picard, for the Interior; Jules Simon, for Instruction; De Larcy, for Public Works; Lambrecht, for Commerce; Leflô, for War; Pothnau, for the Marine; and Pouyet-Quertier, for Finance. Thiers himself, Favre and Picard, became a commission to negotiate with the enemy. On the 28th of January, 1871, an armistice was declared, which was destined to end hostilities. On the 8th of February elections were held for a new National Assembly, to be convened at Bordeaux; for no Government could well be conducted in the besieged capital. On the 21st of the month, the French Commissioners arrived at Paris, and, five days afterwards, the preliminary treaty of peace was signed at Versailles.

OVERTHROW OF BOURBAKI.

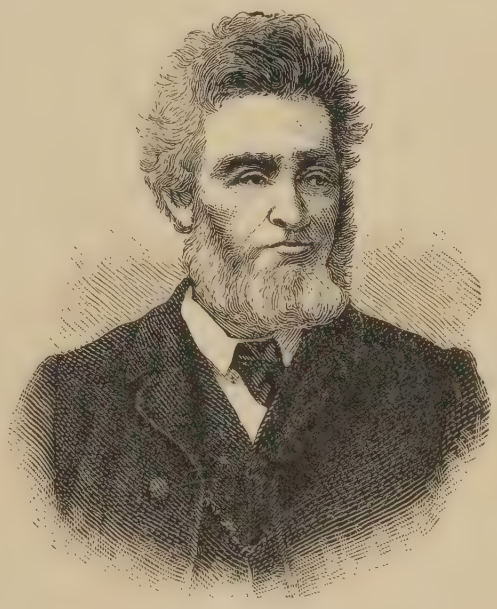
During the fall and winter months of 1870 the civil and military direction of affairs had remained in the hands of the so-called Government of National Defense, sitting at Bordeaux One of the supreme difficulties of the situation was the fact that Germany was naturally hesitant about recognizing the validity of this Government, which Thiers, Favre, and

BATTLE OF ST QUENTIN.

others had extemporized. It was doubted by William and Bismarck whether the Republican system thus instituted had any validity. It was clear, on the other hand, that the Empire was gone. Napoleon was a prisoner. The Empress and the Prince Imperial had fled to England. It was evident that as soon as a new National Assembly could be convened the civil revolution would be completed. The event met the expectation. On the 1st of March, 1871, a vote was passed by an overwhelming majority for the deposition of Napoleon and his dynasty. On the following day a division of the German army made a triumphal entry into Paris, but immediately withdrew, in accordance with a pledge to that effect. In the meantime, some of the fortresses commanding the city had been held by the Germans as a condition of the armistice. The latter was extended to the 1st of March, and negotiations for a permanent peace went rapidly forward.

It was on the date just mentioned that the preliminaries were agreed to at Versailles; but the actual treaty was not concluded until the 10th of May, at the city of Frankfort. From the first opening of the negotiations, it had been apparent that Germany would be severe in imposing terms on the vanquished. She insisted first of all upon such a cession of territory on the eastern frontier of France as would rectify her own boundary. It was this proposition that brought out from the French the indignant protests and fierce resistance during the winter of 1870–71. But France yielded at last to the inevitable. She was overthrown, and must suffer for her folly in beginning the war. It was stipulated, first of all, that the Province of Alsace should be given up to Germany. A like disposition was made of the German part of Lorraine, including the cities of Metz and Thionville. The city of Belfort was resurrendered to France. More than a million and a half of French subjects were thus transferred to Prussia. It was further exacted of vanquished France that she should pay to the conqueror a war indemnity of five billions of francs, the first billion to be paid in 1871, and that, as a security for the payment, she should put certain of her fortresses into the hands of the Germans.

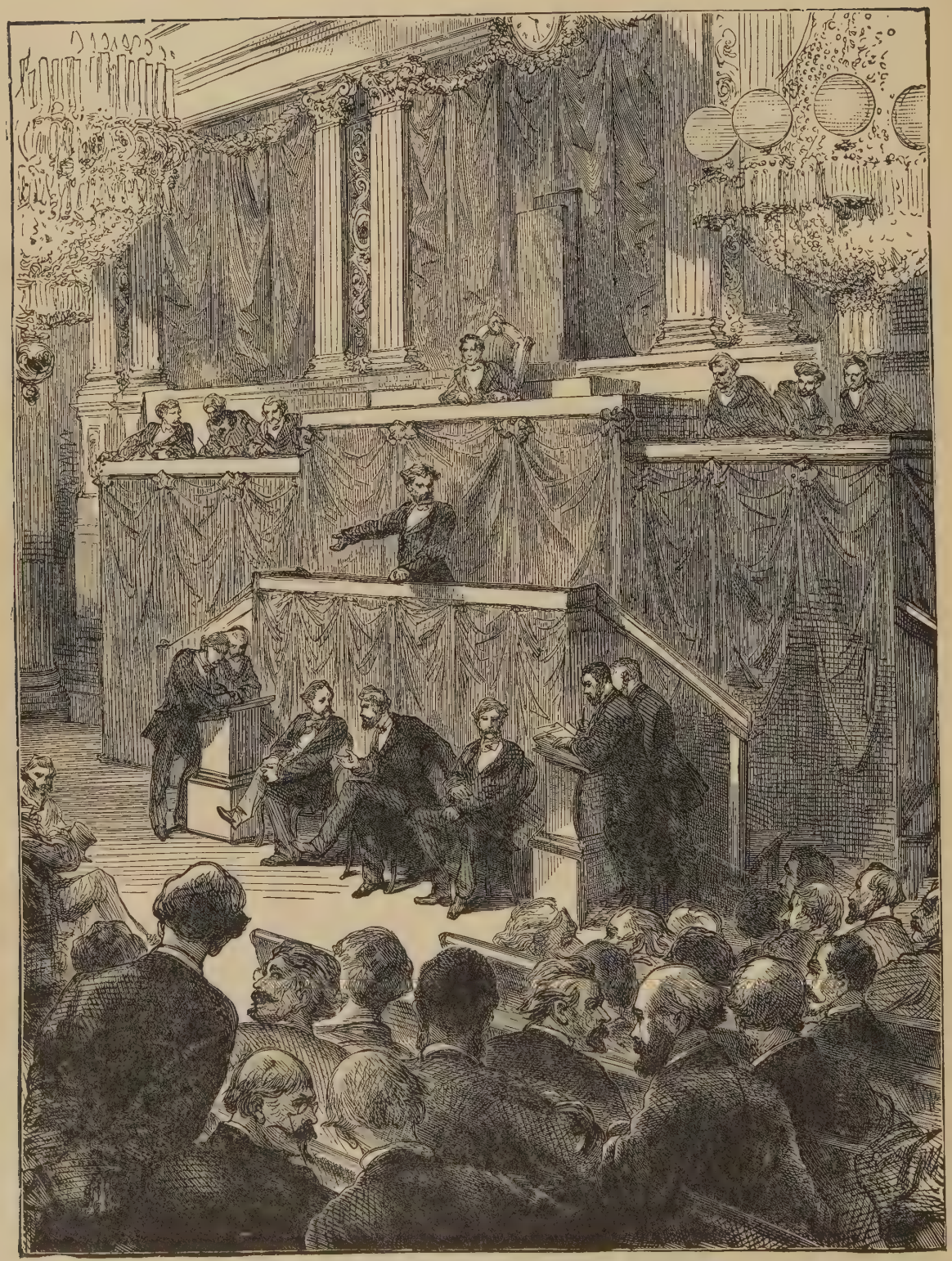
Prussia had now satisfied herself of the validity, if not the stability, of the new French Government. The Republic was organized, as we have seen, at Bordeaux. On the 12th of March the victorious Germans evacuated Versailles, and the National Assembly at once transferred its sittings to that city. It appeared for the moment that France might now enter on a revival from her ruin and disgrace; but just at the juncture when the Germans withdrew from their positions about Paris, and began to recede towards their own borders, the natural elements began to roar, and another calamity fell upon the capital, even more terrible than the siege by the German armies. The cry of *Vive La Commune!* was



JULES FAVRE.

heard. The city rose against the moderate Republican Government. The streets were barricaded in the old-time fashion, and Paris gave herself without reserve to those audacious socialists who were the legitimate descendants of the men of 1789. The Republic was obliged to go to war with the insurgent capital, and the events which followed fast were perhaps the most tragic of modern times.

The Commune of Paris! The name recalls the most violent aspect which the civil society of this age has presented. It was first applied to the Revolutionary Committee which established itself over France in July of 1789, and continued in power until 1794, when the overthrow of Robespierre ended the ascend-



SITTING OF THE DELEGATE GOVERNMENT AT BORDEAUX.

ency of the First Commune. The name now reäppears. From the 18th of March, 1871, when the National Guard in Paris first opposed itself to the regular forces, for a period of about two months, it was supreme in the city. The Commune was proclaimed a few days after the first resistance was offered by the guards to the regulars, and took a definite shape on the 29th of March. It arose out of the profound divergence of opinion and clash of wishes between the Radical or Red Republicans of Paris, and the moderate Constitutionalists who obtained control of the Third Republic at its incipiency. The Commune was based upon the desire to decentralize civil society, and to secure local independence, as a fact, for the municipality of Paris, and, as a principle, for the government of all parts of France.

The mass of the Communists was made up of diverse elements. Among the leaders were thinkers, philanthropists, revolutionists, visionaries. The body of the following was composed of the artisan classes of Paris, who, for more than a hundred years, under almost every form of government, had held a blind faith in the amelioration of their condition by insurrection against the powers by which they were dominated and pressed down. To these were added the bad elements of the French capital who burst up from the nether vaults and hiding-places as soon as the cry of plunder and lawlessness was heard in the streets. These elements of Parisian society found their strongest organic expression in the National Guards, who, on the very day of the triumphal entry of the Germans into Paris, made hostile demonstrations against the enemy, and gave other signs of insubordination.

Soon after, these Nationals managed to gain possession of the artillery which had been put for safe-keeping in Parc Wagram. As yet there had been no considerable break between the Guard and the regular forces of the Republic; but it was not long until a rupture occurred, when, to the alarm of all moderate Republicans, several battalions of regulars fraternized with the Nationals, and were merged with them. The latter first gained possession of Montmartre, and established there an intrenched camp. They released the prisoners in the city, and tempted additional bodies of the regular troops to join their standard. A Central Committee was appointed, which issued proclamations and made demands that the National Guards should be permitted to choose their own officers. It was also demanded that universal suffrage should be conceded, and that the Paris municipality should be supreme in the direction of the military forces.

The Government of Versailles at first temporized with all these movements; but it was at length seen that the insurrection would have to be suppressed with a strong hand. Either the Commune must be overthrown by force, and that speedily, or the Third Republic must itself relinquish the form of the Government. In the first place, the attempt was made to recapture the artillery from the fortifications on Montmartre. This movement had almost succeeded by strategy, when the alarm was sounded and general insurrection broke out in that part of the city. The Eighty-eighth Regiment of the line suddenly went over to the insurgents, and in the end of the melée, only two hundred or three hundred of the Regulars remaining loyal to the Republic managed to cut their way through the revolted districts and gain a place of safety. Some of the regular officers, including Generals Lecomte and Thomas, were taken by the Federated Guards, and were shot to death in a garden near the place of their capture.

The insurrection now spread to other quarters of the city. The Place Vendôme was captured, and the Communal head-quarters were established at that place. The struggle on Montmartre occurred on the 18th of March. On the following day the Hôtel de Ville was occupied by the insurgents, and the last of the National troops withdrew from Paris in the direction of Versailles. Paris had fallen under the complete dominion of a Revolutionary Central Committee and the forceful occupation of the Federated Guards. The Commune immediately took on the manners and forms of government. The triumph of the people was announced in one proclamation. The Government out at Versailles was charged with trying to destroy the Republic. A second proclamation was issued, in which the leaders of the Revolution declared their readiness, now that they had fulfilled their mission, to lay down their authority and to wait the decision of the

INSURGENT COMMUNISTS SEIZING THE GUNS.

Communal elections. Then followed the third paper, naming the 22d of March as the date at which the citizens of the several districts of the municipality should convene and elect new officers for the conduct of their affairs.

By this time the public buildings in Paris were in complete possession of the Communists. There were still a few representatives of the Versailles Government in the city; but they lay low, and kept from sight. At one time, namely, on the 20th of March, it seemed that the difficulty which had now assumed such a portentous aspect was about to be adjusted by negotiations between the Government and the city. Meanwhile, however, agents of the Commune had gone abroad, and insurrections flamed up in their pathway. At Marseilles, Lyons, Rouen, and Toulouse, the Red Republicans rose after the Parisian manner, and the scenes of the capital were repeated on a smaller scale. The elections in Paris were finally held on the 26th, and by this time all hopes of a peaceable settlement had vanished. The Revolutionist, Blanqui, who had gone abroad to secure support for the Commune, was arrested in the South and thrown into prison. By the conclusion of the election, Paris had passed completely under the dominion of the Revolution, and barricades and fortications began to be constructed in every part.

BARRICADE OF THE PORT ST. DENIS DURING THE COMMUNE.

The Central Committee had now at its disposal two hundred and fifty battalions of the Guards with an abundance of resources. Most of the stores which had been accumulated in Paris for the defense of the city against the Germans were seized by the Commune and used to feed the Revolution. At the Communal elections eighty-five members of a Governing Assembly were chosen. Executive and administrative committees were appointed, at the head of which were the most famous of the Red Republicans. Some of them were great men, able for heroic action, unacquainted with fear, unshrinking from any emergency, even the emergency of death. Victor Hugo

BARRICADE—HÔTEL DE VILLE.

and Henri Rochefort were elected as members of the Communal Assembly, but did not serve in that capacity. The new Assembly, meeting at the Hôtel de Ville, took the official name of COMMUNE DE PARIS. Revolutionary methods were the order of the day. The old Revolutionary calendar of 1792 was restored on the 29th of March, which became Year LXXIX, 8th Germinal. A conscription was passed, by which all citizens between the ages of nineteen and forty were called to service in the National Guards. Various socialistic reforms were proposed, which are chiefly interesting to the student of history in illustration of the real opinions of man when loosed from the dominion of civil society.

The project was now mooted in the Commune of moving on Versailles and crushing the Government. On the 2d of April a large body of National Guards moved out in the direction of Mont Valerien, where they were confronted by the regulars supporting the Government. A flag of truce was sent to the insurgents; but the bearer was shot down, and the first battle ensued, in which the Communists were driven back into the city with severe losses. The effect was to enrage the Communists to desperation. In the meantime, the National Assembly at Versailles had not been idle. An army of fully a hundred and fifty thousand men had been collected and organized, under command of Marshal MacMahon, for the reduction of Paris. On the 3d of April the investment of the city began; but the movement of the regular forces about the fortifications was resisted at every point by the National Guards. The Communal army went forth against the forces of the Government at Mont Valerien, where a battle was fought, resulting in a great slaughter, and the capture of Chatillon from the insurgents.

The command of the Communal army was transferred to a Polish officer named Dombrowski. Violence became the order of the day. The churches and other theological property were put under requisition to meet the expenses of the defense. Many valuable estates belonging to the suspected were confiscated, and the proceeds put into the treasury of the Commune. Wild rumors were set afloat of alleged cruelties done to the Communist prisoners in the hands of the Government, and measures of retaliation were at once adopted. It was presently decreed that for every prisoner executed by the Government, three hostages held by the Commune should be put to death. A reign of terror was established in the city. Monseigneur Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, and many other important personages were seized and held by the Communal authorities, with a view to terrifying the Assembly at Versailles. By the 7th of April the fighting around the environed city became desperate. The village of Neuilly was on that day bombarded, and its bridges shattered by the batteries on Mont Valerien. Several fierce attacks were made by the regulars on the Communists, and some important positions were carried, only to be retaken by the insurgents. The 9th and 10th of the month were spent in indecisive skirmishes; but on the night of the 11th the National forces, attacking Fort Issy in full force, were hurled back by a counter-charge of the Communists. About the important gates of the city the artillery battle was kept up continually. Within the city the rigor of the Communal Government became excessive. Many of the newspapers were suppressed. The popular rage was directed against the monuments, and other mementos of the First and Second Empires. Symptoms were observed of a disposition on the part of the Communists, in case of their overthrow, to destroy the greater part of the city.

On the 25th of April, Thiers, speaking for the Versailles Government, issued a proclamation, announcing that the siege of Paris would now be pressed by the severest methods known to military science, and with the whole power of the nation. Between the 29th of April and the 2d of May, Fort Issy was beaten down by the besieging batteries, and captured by assault. The Communists, however, adopted the plan of mining their own works, so that in case of their capture, they could be blown up, and made the tomb of the captors. With the taking of Fort Issy, the city on the south-west side lay open to the armies of the Government. One position after another was carried, until the besieging army reached the inner circle of defense. The situation of the Commune became desperate. The Revolutionary Committees, still meeting at the Hôtel de Ville, hesitated at nothing. The power of the Com-

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR.—BOMBARDMENT OF ST. DENIS

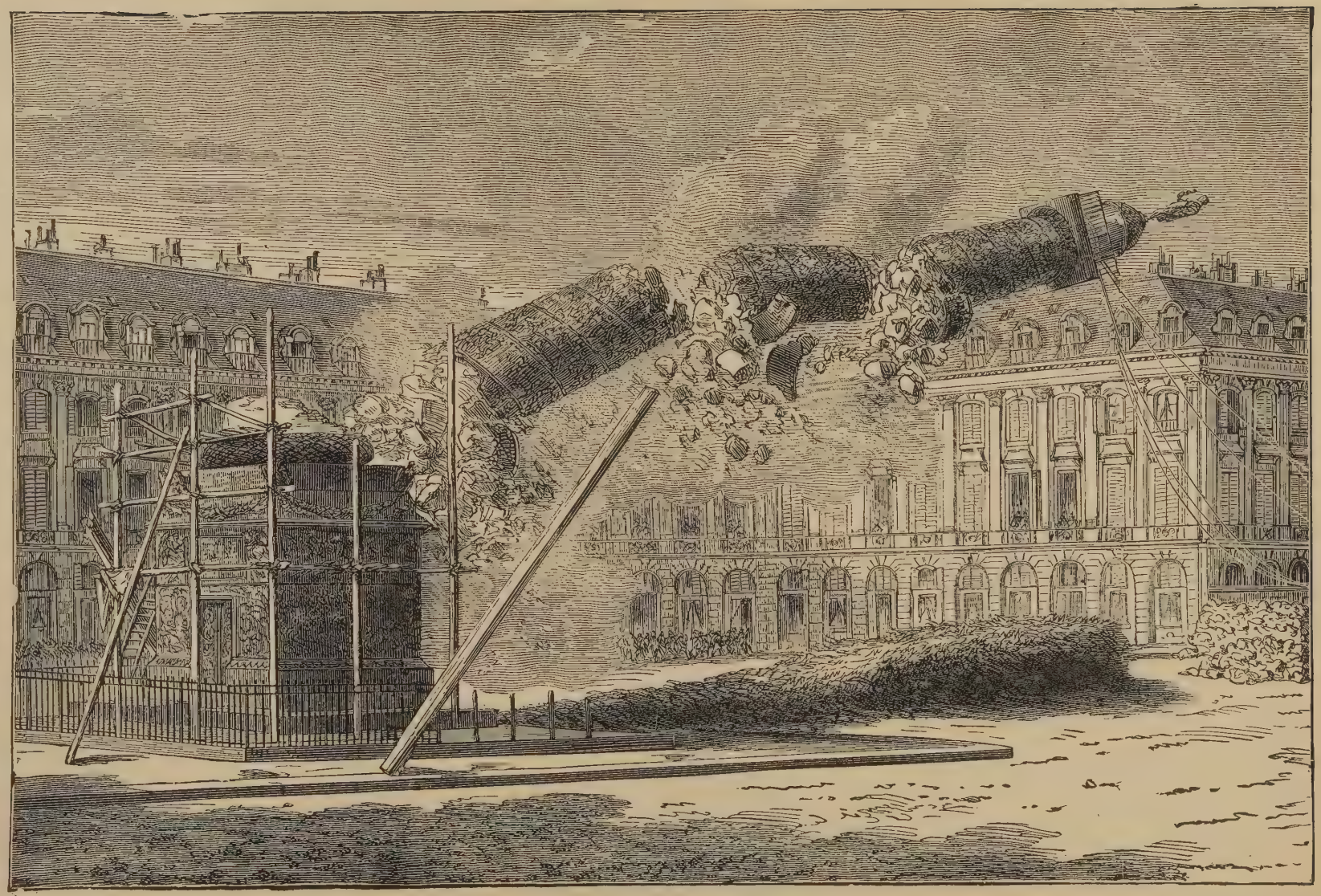
mune became centered in a small body called the Committee of Public Safety, and it was under its dictatorial powers that the dreadful scenes of the last days of the insurrection were enacted.

Passion grew into rage, and rage into fury. The Column Vendôme was pulled down. Demagogues stood on the street corners haranguing frenzied crowds and denouncing the National Assembly as assassins and murderers of liberty. In the last act, the women came forth, and added to the frantic excitement and violence of the hour. From the 1st of May to 1792. When they could hold the city no longer, they adopted a policy of destroying what they could not defend. Explosives were heaped around; coal-oil was poured into basements; wild Mænads carried cotton-balls, soaked in alcohol, under their clothing, fired them, and threw them right and left as they ran. Fires broke out as the result of this universal incendiarism, and Paris was injured in her most beautiful parts. Many public buildings were destroyed, and a portion of the art-treasures of the Louvre perished in the common ruin.

As the tragedy drew to a close the Com-

SCENE DURING THE BOMBARDMENT OF PARIS.

the close of the scene a tragedy was enacted in Paris which no language could describe or pictorial art fairly represent. The desperate Communists, driven from one position to the next, held out with the energy of despair against the assaults of the Government. Starvation came; nor was the Municipal dépôt of provisions sufficient to supply the famishing throng that daily crowded to the door. But still they fought. Hungry men and frenzied women, clambering about the barricades, faced death with all the defiance and recklessness which had marked the old Revolutionists of munists fought with the fury of madmen. On the 14th of May the Government troops captured Fort Vanvres, and Fort Montrouge was abandoned by the insurgents. The city gates at Auteuil, Passy, and Point du Jour were beaten down by the artillery of the besiegers. It was on the 21st of May that the National army finally forced its way into the city through the St. Cloud gate. By the following morning the larger part of Paris was in possession of the Government troops. In the meantime, the Communists had fired the Tuileries, the Palais Royal, and the Hôtel de



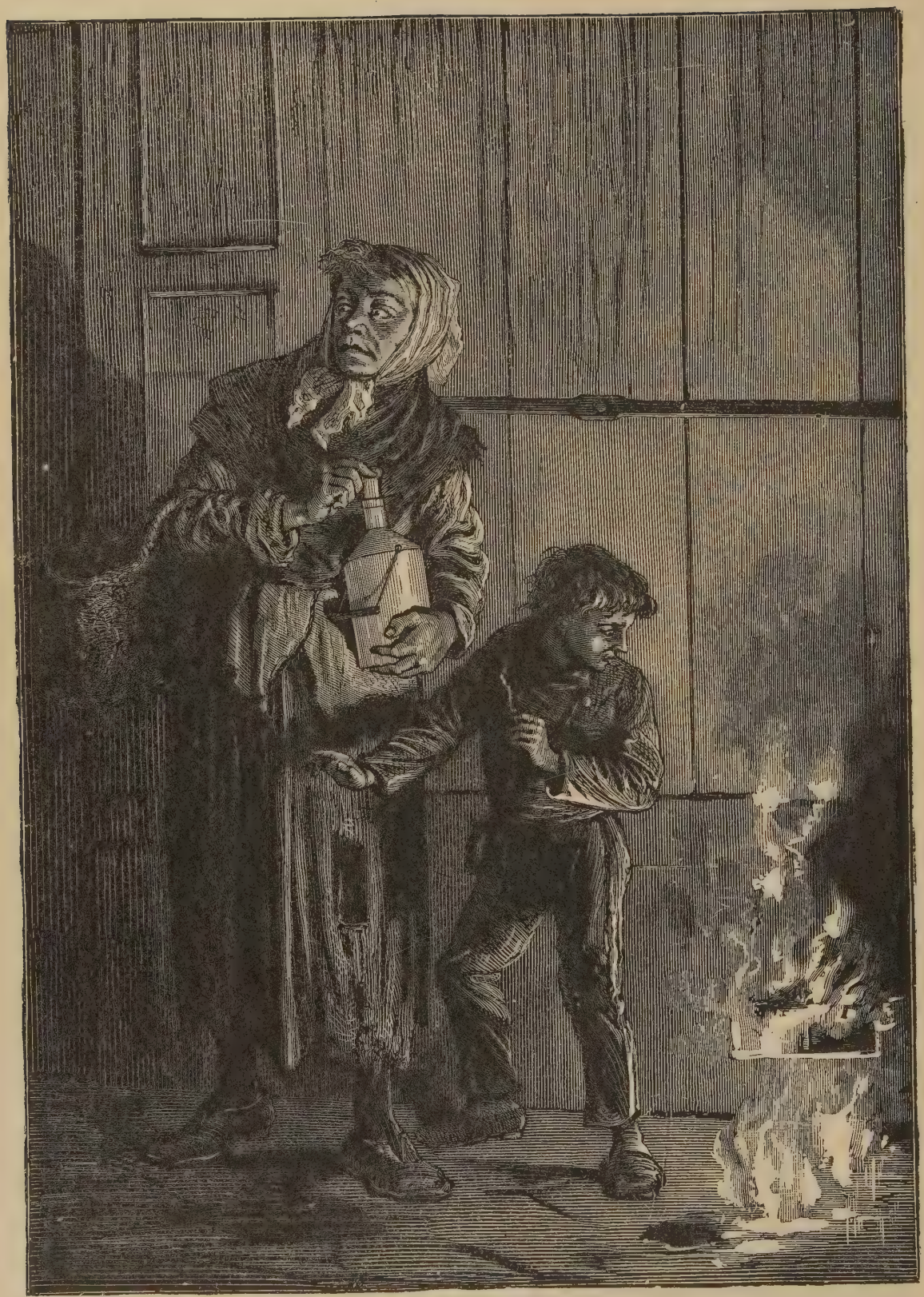
FALL OF THE VENDÔME COLUMN.

Ville. They slaughtered the suspected with a ferocity which had not been equaled since the old Reign of Terror. At length they cut down the innocent and the guilty in a common butchery. Finally, from the prison of La Roquette, they dragged forth their most distinguished prisoners, among whom was Archbishop Darboy, and shot them down like dogs in the prison-yards and among the *débris* of the barricades.

The fighting continued in the city until Sunday afternoon, the 28th of May, when a proclamation from Marshal MacMahon was posted, announcing that the civil war was over. The scene was dreadful. Through nearly half the extent of Paris, the streets were strewn with the bodies of the dead. Fires burned here and there among the ruins. The hospitals were crowded full of the mangled and dying. On both sides of the barricades which the Communists had raised in the streets, the dead lay piled among the paving-stones. Nearly twenty thousand prisoners remained in the hands of the Government; and the disposal of these at length constituted one of the most difficult questions with which the Republic had to deal. The great body of the prisoners, consisting of the rank and file of those who had been taken in the insurrection, were set at liberty; but large numbers were executed under the sentence of courts-martial, and still larger numbers were transported from Brest Harbor to the penal colonies. It was, however, illustrative of the peculiar temper and rapid evolutions of the French people, that those who had upheld the Commune, and had given it its vehemence and sublime audacity, could never be found. With the fall of the organization the body of its supporters melted away, and was resolved as a mist into the elements.

SUPPLYING THE HUNGRY DURING THE COMMUNE.

We may now consider the political condition of France at the close of the Commune. The National Assembly had been elected as an agency of defense against the Germans. That was openly declared to be the mission of the body. In several such crises in France, a disposition has been shown in assemblies thus chosen for a particular end, to arrogate powers which were not conceded in the election. It was so in the present instance. The governing body at Versailles had become virtually a



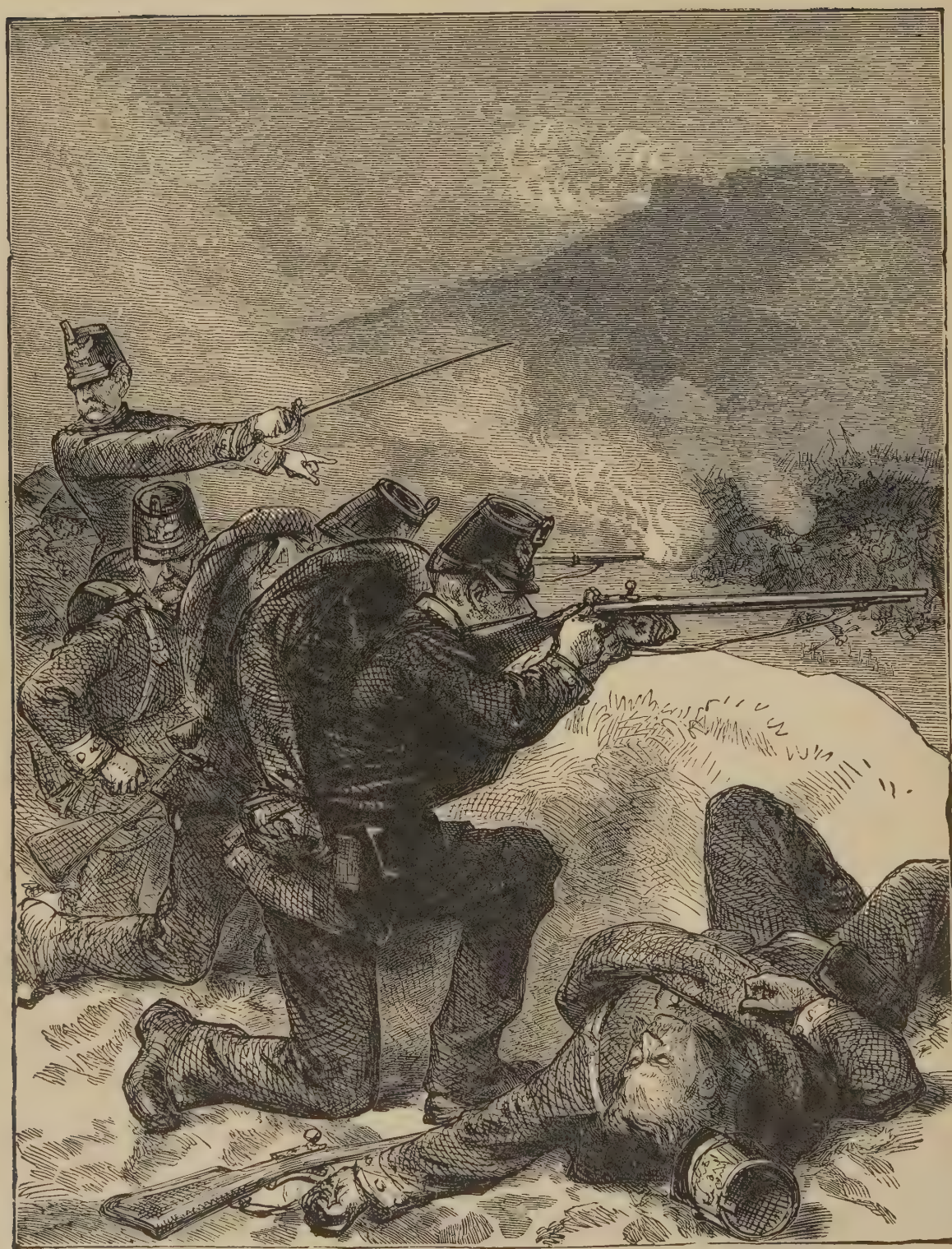
A PETROLEUSE.

Constituent Assembly. It had exercised the widest prerogatives, not only of legislation, but of constitutional powers. It had declared without hesitation the deposition of the Emperor Napoleon, and a fundamental change in the system of government. There can be no doubt that the body was reluctant to surrender its authority, and that there was a hesitation in several instances to trust the judgment of the country. The time came at length, however, when this body was obliged to yield to the necessities of time and circumstance, and surrender its powers to the nation. Meanwhile, however, a new Constitution had been formed, and many other things accomplished of historical importance.

In order to understand the changes which were now effected in the civil society of France, we must look carefully at the temper and constitution of the governing body. The prevailing political sentiment in the Versailles Assembly was Conservative Republicanism. The Imperial sentiment in France did not pass away like a morning cloud. It was impossible, or at least in the highest degree imprudent, for the Republican leaders to press the advantage which came to them by the catastrophes of the war. It was necessary that a united France should confront Germany; and it thus happened that the National Assembly, called first at Bordeaux and afterwards sitting at Versailles, was representative of all shades of belief.

To this we should except the Red Republicanism of Paris. The latter sought expression in the Commune, and the excesses committed in the name and by the authority of this red specter drove the managers of the National Government still further in the direction of conservatism. During the year 1871 the whole attention of the governing powers was directed to the great work of lifting the incubus from the breast of France. The treaty of peace was, as we have seen, signed at Frankfort, on the 10th of May. Many of the pro-

DEATH OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS.



LAST SORTIE FROM PARIS.

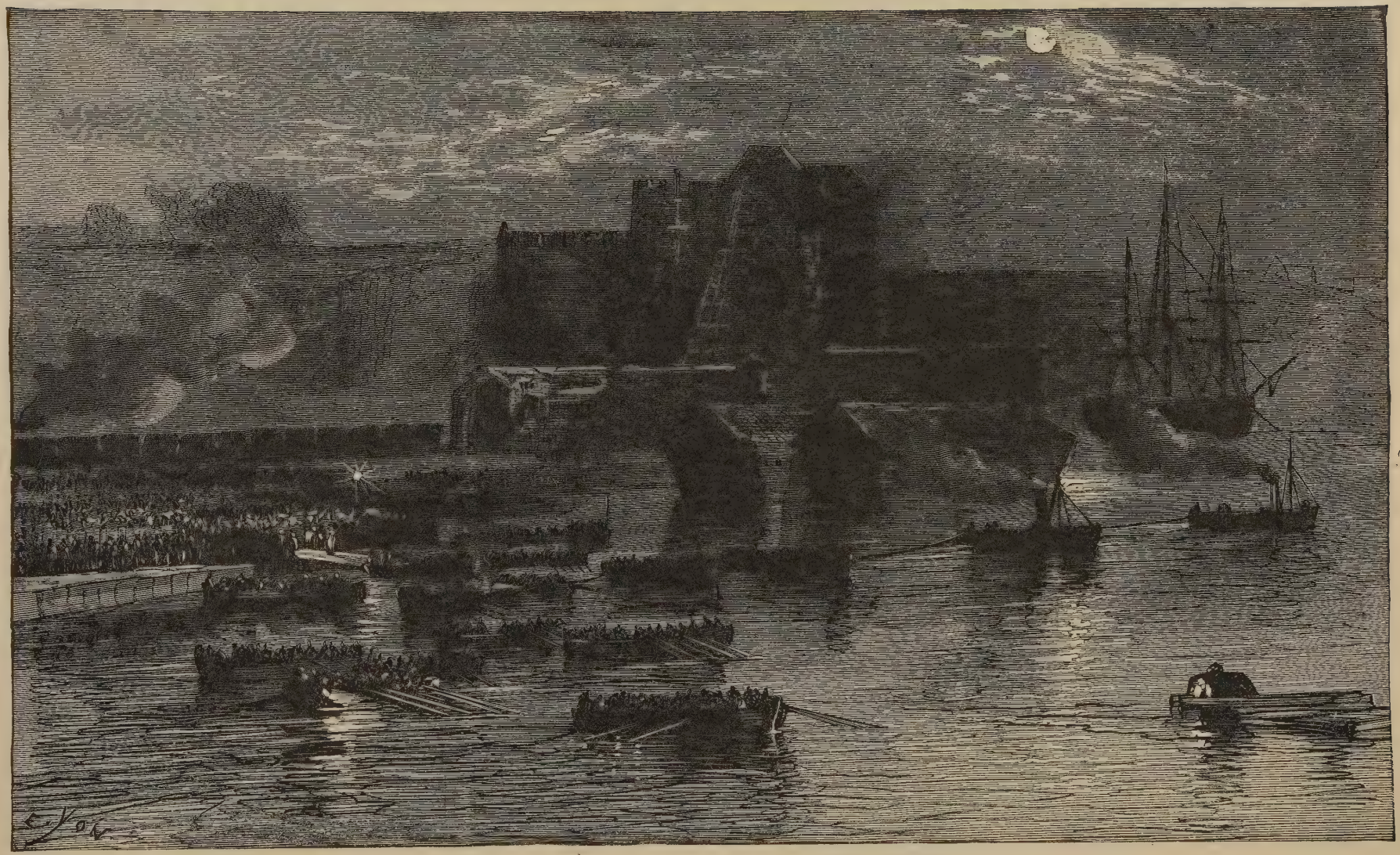
visions of the settlement were unsatisfactory, and all summer long the ambassadors of France pressed upon the German authorities the necessity of modification. On the 12th of October, in the same year, a supplemental treaty was made between the two powers at Berlin, by the terms of which some changes favorable to France, more particularly as it related to the ceded territory, were accepted by the German Empire.

In the meantime, before the Commune had run its course, a spirit of enlightenment was shown in the French Assembly, foretokening a more rational system of government than had hitherto been known in France. As early as the 14th of April a measure was passed of a very liberal character, concessive of rights and prerogatives to the municipal governments and the communes of the country. Among those who participated in the legislation of the period were many Legitimists, Orleanists, and Imperialists; for, on the 8th of June, the old proscription, under which the adherents of the Elder and Younger branches of the House of Bourbon had been banned from France, was revoked. These proscriptive laws against the Bourbon princes had been enforced since the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848. Most of the representatives and adherents of the ancient governing Houses at once availed themselves of the provision made by the Republican Assembly in their favor, and not a few of them became members of the body. It was noticeable, however, as one of the signs of the times, that the Count de Chambord, representative of the Elder Branch, refused to accept the conditions, published a proclamation, and went back to his residence at Frohsdorf.

By this time, the supplementary or bye-elections began to indicate the temper of the nation. In general, the vacancies in the Assembly were filled by the choice of Republican members. In August of 1871 a bill was introduced, extending to three years the Presidency of M. Thiers. This measure, with its subordinate provisions for conferring constituent power on the Assembly, and the establishment of a Ministry responsible thereto, was passed, and the Government became thenceforth more regular in its forms and methods. In the beginning of 1872, though the moderate Republicans had a plurality in the Assembly, it was found that a majority could be obtained against them by combination. Whenever the different elements of conservatism in the Government could be brought into union, the Republicans were left in the minority. It was fortunate for the latter, however, that a permanent union of the Monarchists on any essential particular was out of the question. The Orleanist faction could not be expected to favor the reconstruction of a throne for either a representative of the Elder Bourbons, or for the Prince Imperial. In like manner, neither the Imperialists nor the faction of the Elder Bourbons could be induced to support each other except in non-essentials. By this distraction of interest the Republicans were enabled to continue in power, but the tenure was for a while precarious in the last degree.

On the 19th of January, 1872, owing to an adverse vote in the Assembly, President Thiers resigned his office, but was induced by the body to recall his resignation. In March of this year the payment of the second billion of francs to the Germans was accomplished, and the evacuation of France by the German garrisons was thereby greatly promoted. The Republic began to breathe more freely, and presently to gain a more cordial and confident recognition at the courts of Europe. Nevertheless, the elections in the autumn of 1872 drifted strongly towards conservatism. There was a while when the ascendency of Thiers and the party which he represented was seriously shaken. In the meantime, Gambetta, Crémieux, and others of the sterner Republican faith, began to demand a dissolution of the Assembly and a reference of all the questions involved to the electors of France in a new election.

Such was the condition of affairs at the beginning of 1873. It was at this juncture that the exiled Emperor, Napoleon III., who, after the treaty of peace, namely, on the 19th of March, 1871, had been permitted by the German authorities to join his family in England, died at Chiselhurst. Very serious, and not wanting in great abilities, were the debates which occurred at this time relative to the executive office in France. Thus far the President of the Republic had had the privileges of the National Assembly, and his influ-



(552) TRANSPORT OF COMMUNIST PRISONERS IN BREST HARBOR.

ence in that body in determining the course and character of legislation was so great as to become a grievance to all the Opposition, and a matter of doubtful expediency even to the Republicans. Should the President be permitted to continue in this intimate relation with the Legislative Department? or, should he be remanded to a distinct executive relation similar to that held by the President of the United States? Another question closely connected with the last-named related to the length of the Presidential term. It was the same which so profoundly perplexed our fathers in 1787. Should a Republican President hold his office for but a single year? for three years? for four? for six? for seven? for ten? for the capable term of his life?

While these important matters were still under discussion, progress was made with Germany. A new agreement with that power was effected in March of 1873, by which the remaining two billions of francs of the war indemnity should be discharged before the end of the year, and the complete withdrawal of the German troops effected. The work thus accomplished was the most marvelous of its kind known in history. The embarrassments under which the French Government labored during the three years succeeding the war were extreme. The discouragement of the French people had been still greater. The indemnity was enormous, amounting, with interest, to more than a billion dollars in American money, and yet this exorbitant sum was actually collected and paid into the German treasury by the end of 1873! The secret of the success of the great transaction is not far to seek. The French Government, instead of offering its bonds in large denominations to foreign capitalists, opened a popular loan among the French people, and the result was that a large part of the peasantry became interested in the subscription, and the money, flowing from a thousand streams of patriotism, poured like a river into the treasury. The lesson is not without its value, particularly by comparison with the bonded system of debt created by the Government of the United States to meet the destructive outlays of the Civil War.

By this time it had been apprehended that one of the prevailing political sentiments among the French people of the Provinces was, as it had long been, a sympathy with Imperialism. In March of 1873 a measure of the Assembly was directed against this sentiment. A proscription was passed against the family of Bonaparte, with a bill for the exile of the members of that House from France. Another symptom of this year was the gain made in the National Assembly by the Radical Republicans. Thiers found himself many times near the vortex where the cross-currents roared together as if they would swallow up all forms

MARSHAL MACMAHON.

of order. At length, in May of this year, the President determined to bring matters to a crisis, by proposing the definitive establishment of the French Republic. Thus far everything had been, to a certain extent, intermediate and provisional. Now it was determined by Thiers and the Moderate party to force the game, and to compel France either to accept a permanent Republican form, or else to go back into some one of the monarchical systems through which she had so laboriously passed.

It was under this proposition that when a vote of confidence was carried by the meagre majority of sixteen, Thiers and the Ministry resigned their offices. The late Republican

President was at once succeeded by Marshal MacMahon, who, in the phraseology of the day, was called "the Honest Man and Soldier." A new Cabinet was organized under the leadership of M. De Broglie, nor could any fail to discern that the transformation which now began in the official relations and sympathies of the Government was steadily in the direction of Imperialism. MacMahon was himself believed to be an Imperialist. Behind his Administration was seen in the distance the slight form of Eugénie's son. The offices of

LEON GAMBETTA.

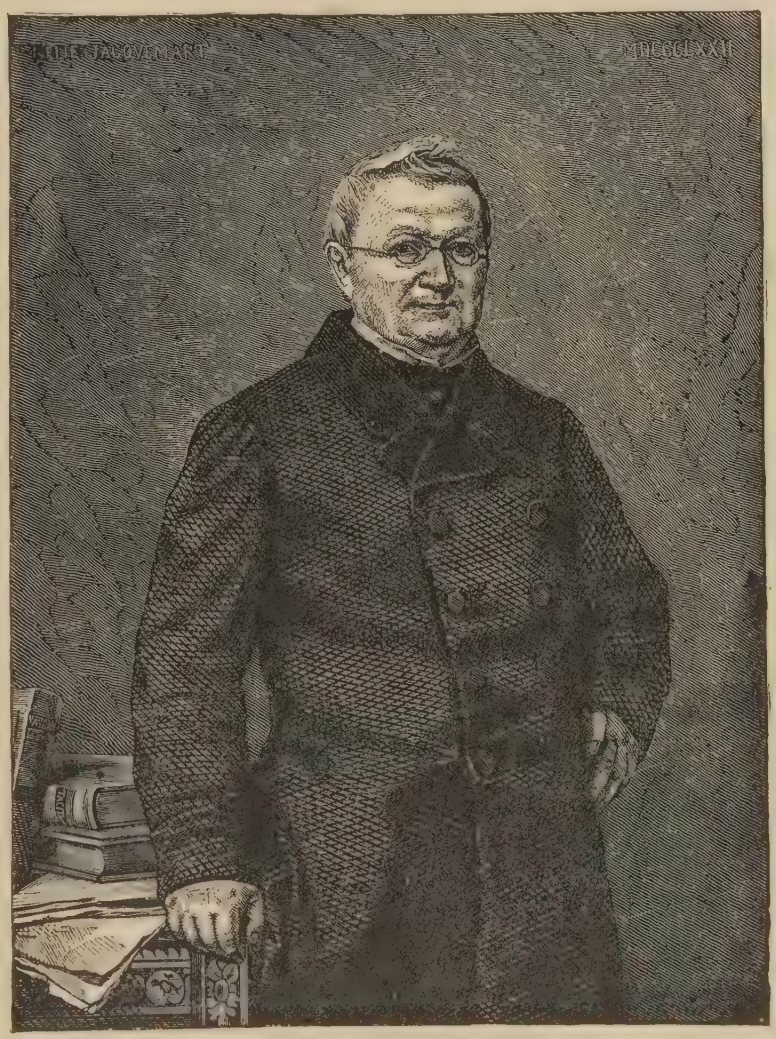
the Government were generally assigned to politicians and statesmen of this class. All the institutions which took form under the MacMahon Administration seemed to have the impress of Bonaparte. A Senate was formed consisting of three hundred members, of whom seventy-five held their offices by life-tenure, and the other two hundred and twenty-five for the long period of nine years. Only the popular feature of a legislative Chamber, chosen directly by the people, remained to attest the essential Republicanism of the current system of government.

At the beginning of autumn, 1873, it appeared not improbable that monarchy in some form was on the eve of reëstablishment. The celebration of the anniversary of the founding of the Republic, which was to have occurred on the 4th of September, was forbidden by the Government. The Legitimists were busy, in places high and places low, contriving a Restoration, and a scheme of conditions was prepared under which the Count de Chambord was to to be recalled to the throne. But never was the Napoleonic aphorism relative to the Bourbons more strikingly illustrated than in the conduct of the Count himself in this crisis of his career. On the 30th of October, 1873, he wrote a public letter in which he positively declined to make any concessions to the Assembly of France, any abatement of the mediæval pretensions which had become synonymous with the name of his dynasty.

The duty which Thiers had avoided by resignation, and which MacMahon had inherited by acceptance, of giving permanency to the French Constitution under some established form, was not to be obviated; and so the President in his message of November, 1873, called for the establishment of a stable Constitution. It was demanded that the Presidency of MacMahon should be extended to ten years; but a compromise resulted in establishing the period of seven years for the Presidential office under the Third Republic. Shortly afterwards, the attention of the French people was for the hour drawn away from the consideration of political events to the trial of Marshal Bazaine, on the charge of high treason to France. After many delays, the cause was finally brought to an end with the verdict of guilty, and a condemnation to death. The sentence, however, was commuted by President MacMahon into banishment for twenty years, with the consequent degradation from his rank. The Marshal went into exile in Spain, and resided at Madrid during the remainder of his life.

Under the Presidency of MacMahon a monarchical caste was given, as far as practicable, to the institutions of France, and republican forms were to a like extent reduced or obliterated. After two years of ascendency, M. de Broglie was compelled, by an adverse vote

in the Assembly, to resign his place, and General de Cissey was put into the vacant seat at the head of the Cabinet. It could but be noted, however, that the recurring symptoms of monarchism in the Government itself was constantly counteracted by the result of the incidental elections held in different parts of the country. These nearly always showed Republican gains. In many instances able men of positively radical dispositions were sent to the Assembly. An explanation of this contradictory aspect of affairs may easily be found in the conduct of the Imperial party. As between Legitimism and Liberalism, the Bonapartists always preferred the latter. The Imperialists could have no other than a very temporary and expedient kind of sympathy with either division of the Bourbons. This disposition among the supporters of the late Empire was of itself sufficient to prevent the MacMahon Government from slipping back into a Bourbon monarchy.



LOUIS ADOLPH THIERS.
After the painting by N. Jaquemart.

At length the Republican gains in the Assembly were sufficient to show the President the general drift of France. He saw that his ascendency was waning before public opinion. Thus the Government wore on through the years 1875 and 1876. In May of 1877 the President, on account of an adverse vote, adjourned the Chamber of Deputies for a month, and at the end of that time dissolved the body, with an appeal to the country. At this time the great leaders of the Republican party were Thiers, Gambetta, and Grevy. Their followers were known as the Opportunists, in contradistinction from the Extreme Left or Radical Republicans, who were known in the political jargon of the day as the Irreconcilables. But the two Liberal divisions now formed a union in opposition to the so-called Party of Order, which was the name taken by the supporters of the Administration. The latter included, in general, the three divisions known as Legitimists, Orleanists, and Imperialists. The Imperialists were ready to coöperate with the other two monarchical factions to prevent the establishment of a definitive Republic, but *not* to the extent of the reëstablishment of a Bourbon or an Orleans dynasty.

Under these combinations the election of 1877 was held. It was one of the most critical campaigns through which modern France has passed. In general, the result was favorable to the Republicans, who came back to the Assembly with a fair majority, under the leadership of Grevy and Gambetta. Before this result was reached, however, the veteran Thiers, now eighty years of age, fell of apoplexy at St. Germain-en-Laye, and died on the 3d of September, 1877. His reputation had long since become international. His influence in France had, since the German war, been very great, and the estimation in which he was held by his countrymen has been ratified and confirmed by history. In his last years he had acquired the honorable sobriquet of "the Liberator of the Territory"—this in recognition of his herculean efforts and skillful management in relieving France from the horrid nightmare of the German occupation. He fell, full of years and honors, and his name is destined to a long survival, not only among the heroes and founders of the Third Republic, but in the most permanent historical literature of the French Nation.

CHAPTER CXL.—THIRD REPUBLIC.

THE result of the election of 1877 signified the definitive establishment of the Third Republic. M. Jules Grevy was elected President of the Chamber of Deputies. If MacMahon was a Monarchist, he was also what his followers called him, "The Honest Man and Soldier." He yielded to the voice of France. The Ministry of De Cissey fell, and a new Republican Cabinet was constituted under the leadership of M. Dufaure. The country responded favorably to these changes. Even the army seemed well satisfied with the Republican ascendency, and the power of the monarchical faction was limited to the arena of the Senate. In that body they still held a small majority. But the Orleanists, least resolute of the Conservatives, were timid in character and mild in manners. They refused the responsibility of holding off to a future date the establishment of that Republic for which all France seemed now to be prepared. They accordingly voted in some important matters with the moderate Republicans, and thus enabled the latter to carry on their work. This policy was pursued until the beginning of 1879, at which date one-third of the Senators for the nine-year term were to be rechosen. The result of the election was again favorable to the Republicans, their gains being so considerable as to secure a liberal majority in the Senate. This event was sufficiently significant to bring to an end the Administration of MacMahon. He resigned the Presidency on the 30th of January, 1879, and was succeeded by M. Jules Grevy, one of the leaders of the Moderate Republicans.

From this time forth, many Conservatives came to regard the New Republic as definitive. The influence of the governing majority was augmented by constant accessions. The danger to its ascendency lay on the side of the Extreme Left. There the Irreconcilables had their nest. It was the peculiarity of the Red Republicans that they were unwilling to accept the expedient or even the possible in legislation. They were Idealists in government. They adopted certain political formulæ, and deduced therefrom the conclusions which they used as the expression of their principles. These deductions they would have, or nothing. The Moderate Republicans, whose phalanx was made up of recruits of all characters, drawn on the one side from the selvage of monarchy, and on the other from the edge of radicalism, were constrained to a middle course of liberalism, with which the so-called Reds were greatly dissatisfied. In this condition of affairs, some of the monarchical elements allied themselves at intervals with the Extreme Left against the Opportunists, to the distraction of the Government.

In the beginning of 1880 the new Republican Ministry was constituted under the leadership of M. de Freycinet, who became Presi-

LA REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE.
From the bust by Gautherin.

dent of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry of Finance was assigned to M. Mangin, in place of M. Leon Say, who was sent as Ambassador to London. General Farre became Minister of War; Jules Ferry, Minister of Public Instruction; and Admiral Jaureguiberry, Minister of the Marine. It was noticed by the political critics that the Cabinet was not exceptionally able in the aggregate, and that it was produced in a measure on the principle of combination. It was also discovered, and made the subject of comment at the time, that, under the new system of government, the French Cabinet was not the real seat of power in the Chamber. The great leaders of Legislative action, such as Gambetta, were behind the Ministry, and thrust it at their will into the arena to do their bidding. It was seen that the Cabinet, in this relation, was the moved rather than the moving body in the Republican system—a situation which excited some apprehensions among the friends of the new Government.

LEON SAY.

One of the most serious questions with which the Third Republic had to deal at this time was that respecting the various Religious Orders in France. It was seen, soon after the Revolution, that the many Catholic societies of the country constituted an element of danger to all Republican institutions and tendencies. Though they worked from their cover, it was easily perceived that they formed one of the strongest elements of reäction. They, like the Bourbons, never forgot. They remembered the Old Republic, how they had suffered at the hands of the Revolutionists of 1792. They also remembered how they had been patronized and soothed by the Restoration; how, throughout the reigns of the last two Bourbons, Louis Philippe, and the late Emperor of the French, they had been permitted to enjoy themselves as a whole in the work of controlling public opinion to their own advantage.

In the spring of 1880 the agitation against these Orders rose to the level of radical action. A decree was brought forward by the Ministry dissolving, first of all, the Society of Jesus within the borders of France, and closing, within three months from the date of the act, all the Jesuitical establishments in the Republic. The schools under the patronage and direction of the Jesuits were to be closed by the begin-

ning of September. The decree struck right and left at all the other unauthorized religious orders, either abolishing them or compelling them to accept a new lease of life under the authority of the Government. There were at this time within the borders of France fifty-six Jesuitical establishments, embracing a membership of one thousand four hundred and eighty. The Disestablishment Act was an abolition, so far as the Jesuits were concerned, and the other unauthorized orders were put under a like ban in case of disobedience. No fewer than five thousand nine hundred and seventeen members of other associations were summoned to the governmental bar to accept authorization from the Republic or to take the consequences of refusal. Of course the brotherhoods were thrown into consternation, and a strenuous effort was made by them to defeat the purposes of the Government by an appeal to the courts. The plea was instituted that the Jesuitical establishments were private property, and that the Government could not therefore violate those rights of ownership which were fundamental in society. But the other view prevailed. The anti-clerical crusade was carried out by a judicial ratification of the acts of the Assembly. The declaration of Gambetta, "Our enemy is clericism," was accepted by the Republicans as a truism which they must regard and act upon under the common law of self-defense.

Another difficulty with which the Ministry had to contend in 1880 was the question of education. The work of leadership in devising a new educational scheme fell to M. Jules Ferry, Minister of Public Instruction. Great trouble was experienced in aligning the different Republican factions on this question. The Extreme Left desired a more radical measure for the secularization of the schools than was at that time expedient in view of the temper of the whole people. The Ministry sought to establish a system of public primary instruction. It was clear to the apprehension of the Government that a measure so radical as that demanded by the Left would not be accepted by the Senate, and, indeed, the bill which was passed through the Chamber of Deputies was amended in the Upper Council, the Government being obliged to accept the modification. But, however unsatisfactory the new law of public instruction might be, it was nevertheless a great step in advance of the former educational system. A National Board of Education was constituted under the presidency of the Minister of Public Instruction. Nine of the members were to be appointed by the Minister; that is, by the Government on his nomination; and the remainder were to be elected by various educational bodies. It was a noticeable feature of the contest for the bill that the exclusion of all bishops and clergymen of every grade from appointment among the nine members of the Board for the Government was strongly resisted by the Conservatives and reäctionists, but insisted on and carried by the Republicans. As to the other members of the Board, clergymen were made eligible to election on the same basis with other citizens.

When the time came for the execution of the decree against the Jesuits, the measure was openly resisted. The members of the Society stood their ground, and waited for expulsion by force. They locked themselves in their cells, and the police were obliged to break open the doors and put out the Fathers with a strong hand. The Legitimist party encouraged the Jesuits in this resistance, and made the confusion and difficulty as great as possible. In some places crowds of young Legitimists gathered about the Jesuitical establishments, hooted the police engaged in the work of expulsion, and received the benediction of the Fathers as they were driven forth into the world. The execution of the edict would have been still further embarrassed but for a division in the ranks of the Imperialists. Prince Napoleon, who, since the death of his cousin, the Prince Imperial, had become the recognized head of the Bonaparte dynasty, supported the law against the religious orders; but Paul de Cassagnac, and other ultramontane Imperialists, violently opposed the measure, and denounced the Prince for his recreancy to the Mother Church.[1]

[1] Paul de Cassagnac became at this time the most rampant foe of the Republic. His frenzy of denunciation against all Liberals and Liberalism knew no bounds. He it was who, in a public speech, expressed his jubilation at the death of Thiers, and declared his anxiety *to dance on his grave!*

It was in this year of 1880 that the ascendency of Leon Gambetta in the Government of France became more marked than ever. He was now President of the Chamber of Deputies, and from this vantage directed the Republican policy. After the Senatorial elections, by which the Government majority was made secure in the French Senate, the Monarchists receded from the foreground, and their schemes for a Restoration were perceived by all men to be futile. While the Legitimists and Orleanists did not by any means become mute, their clamor was less pronounced, their movements less alarming, than before. But while Monarchical factiousness was thus abated, the clamor of the Extreme Left was increased. An amnesty had in the meantime been granted to the Communists of 1871, and most of them returned from banishment. Henri Rochefort now came home from his exile in New Caledonia, and was received as the demigod of the faubourgs. From being the author and publisher of *La Lanterne*, he became the editor of *L'Intransigeant*, or the *Non-Compromiser*, a morning paper, which sprang at once into popularity as the most audacious organ of radical bitterness and political vulgarity which had been known in Paris for a generation. Strangely enough, this weapon of Radicalism was drawn, not against the Monarchists, but against the Moderate Republicans, and particularly against M. Gambetta. Him the reckless Rochefort compared to Napoleon III., that "perjurer of December 2d, and poltroon of Sedan."

It is in the nature, however, of such movements as this to be always undermined by a greater depth of audacity than its own. French Communism had always a cellar under its lowest room, and into this the most reckless dropped through unexpected traps and sliding panels. For a while Rochefort and his band deemed themselves in the ascendant. They were the vanguard of the day. While they thus walked before as the giants of Socialistic demagogy, a Communist Congress was held in Paris, at which a programme was adopted consisting of two articles: First, petroleum; second, nitrate of potassium. But even by this body of respectables, Rochefort and a few of his friends were excommunicated as vile citizens!

Meanwhile, Gambetta steadily pursued the rising way. He grew in stature. By the close of 1880 he was in a position to make and unmake Ministers at his will. In September of this year M. de Freycinet was displaced from the head of the Cabinet because of some inadvertent sympathy expressed by him for the Jesuits. He was succeeded in office by M. Jules Ferry; but the actual mover in the transaction was known to be Gambetta. An incident of the day was the conduct of Prince Napoleon. His course had alienated one division of the Imperialists, and they now sought, in the interest of their cause, to heal the schism by a transfer of the headship of the dynasty to Prince Victor, son of Prince Napoleon. A deputation of Bonapartists called upon the latter, and presented to him a petition requesting a resignation of the Imperial succession in favor of his son. But Prince Napoleon flamed up in anger, denounced the whole scheme as an infamy, and suggested to the deputation that their own business in the political world might be improved by attending thereto more strictly.

On the whole, the Republic emerged more and more to the view of the nations. It was conceded, at the close of 1880, that the cause of the Monarchists was well-nigh hopeless. It was from the Irreconcilable Left that the formative Liberal institutions of the time had most to fear. But this party also declined to the extent that there was only an outer fringe of Red Radicalism remaining. Several circumstances showed the waning fortune of the wild Revolutionists, who, ten years previously, had held Paris for two months against the whole power of the Government. The Communist Congress ended in a farce. The Socialistic press expired for want of patronage; perhaps we should say for want of fuel. Blanqui's famous and infamous newspaper, entitled *Without God or Master*, was discontinued in December of 1880. The *Commune*, a like journal, edited by Felix Pyat, which had for some time kept up its furious clamor against all the institutions of existing society, weakened and went to the wall. Its editor, who had been condemned in the courts on the charge of calumny and outrage, fled from his sentence into Belgium. Rochefort managed to get a proposition before the municipality of Paris for the erection, at public expense, of a monu-

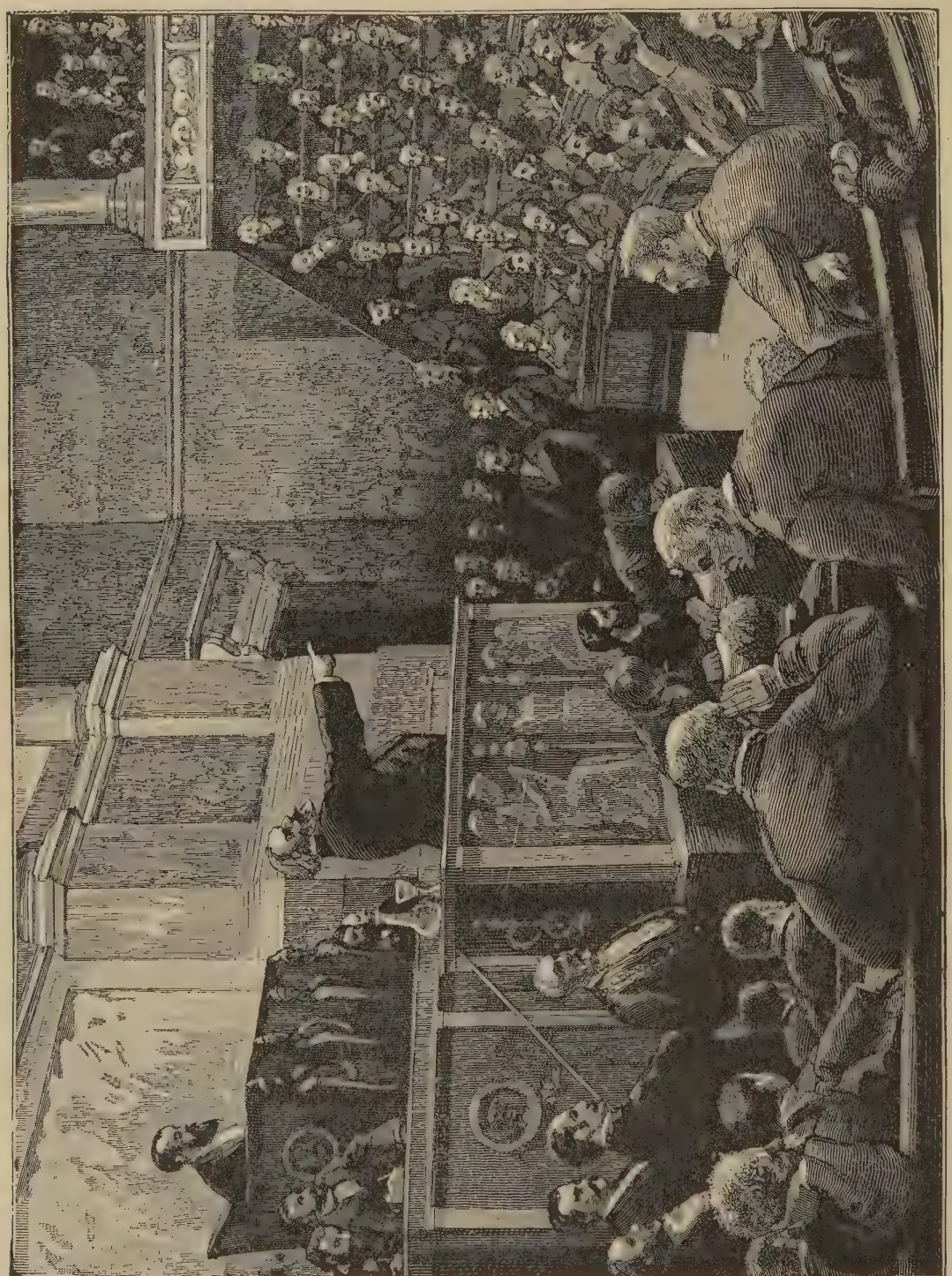
ment to the memory of the Communists who fell in the conflicts of 1871; but the proposition was rejected and came to naught. Though the Extreme Right was ever ready for political reasons to patronize the Red Radicals, and to fan the sinking fires of their madness, the game came to be understood and held at its true estimation. The Imperial party was for the time paralyzed by factions, and the Legitimists by immemorial folly.

The history of France in the year 1881 presents at least two salient points for consideration. The first of these relates to the Republican effort under the leadership of Gambetta for the reform, in an important particular, of the election laws of France. The movement at bottom was one of profound significance in the new system of nationality. It had been discerned by Gambetta that the majority in the Chamber was always distracted, and never firmly united on account of the spirit of localism among the members. This is to say that each member under the existing method of election came to the Assembly with the strong bias and prejudices of his own neighborhood, and, as a rule, indifferent to the general measures of the party to which he belonged. The result was that party discipline, under the direction of the Ministry and the leader of the Chamber, was rendered so difficult as constantly to endanger the passage of important measures, and indeed to make unsteady the conduct of the Government. Gambetta attacked the evil at the root by proposing that henceforth the members of the Chamber should be chosen on a general electoral ticket of the whole Department, instead of the local ticket of a given Arrondissement. This aroused local antagonisms of every kind, and the leader had to defend his measure in one of his fiery addresses from the Tribune.

In that body the Bill was passed, but was soon afterwards rejected in the Senate. This led to the immediate agitation of the question of revising the Constitution of the Senatorial body. Gambetta, angered at the rejection of his favorite measure, attacked the organization of the Senate in its fundamental structure. He demanded that the life-tenure enjoyed by one-fourth of the Senators should be abolished, and that the nine-year term of the remainder should be reduced to a six-year term, after the manner of the Senate of the United States. It was at this time, namely, in the summer of 1881, that Gambetta received a serious check in the elections. The result, however, was interpreted as signifying that the people of France desired their favorite leader in a new relation. He, accordingly, chose to assume the responsible conduct of the Government by becoming himself Premier of France. The Ministry of M. de Freycinet accordingly gave place to a new Cabinet, with Gambetta himself at the head as President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry of Justice was assigned to M. Cazo. Waldeck-Rousseau was appointed Minister of the Interior; Paul Bert, Minister of Public Instruction; M. Rouvier, Minister of Commerce; M. Cochery, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs; Allain-Targe, Minister of Finance; M. Compenon, Minister of War; M. Gougeard, Minister of the Marine; M. Proust, Minister of Fine Arts; M. Devès, Minister of Agriculture; and M. Raynal, Minister of Public Works. It was seen, on the announcement of the new Cabinet, that most of the members were of only moderate reputation even in France, and were quite unknown abroad. It was evident that the one great personage was Gambetta, and that the rest were his lieutenants.

A second matter of importance belonging to the history of this era was the convention in Paris of the International Monetary Conference, called to consider the relations of gold and silver, and to discuss the possible establishment of an International ratio between the two metals. The question was another of the far-reaching influences which had gone forth from the silver-mines of Nevada. We have already seen with what alarm the gold-producing nations, and after them our own hoodwinked people, had come to view the great outputting of silver ore from our newly developed American mines. The silver, of course, ran rapidly into American coins. Demonetized by one of the most adroit processes of legislation known to the history of the American Congress, it was presently restored under the Compulsory Coinage Law of 1878; and the monometallists were shaken with a second tremor. Great Britain among the nations, being exclusively a gold-producing empire, was foremost in the work of scandalizing silver out

of its natural place and monetary value. Germany followed hard after on the same line of policy. She who had formerly, on account of the discovery of gold in California, attempted to secure the demonetization of that metal in favor of silver, now joined Great Britain and the other monometallic nations in the work of depreciating and destroying the monetary character of the latter metal.



GAMBETTA IN THE TRIBUNE

It thus happened that the United States

were thrown into natural alliance with France and the other States of the Latin Union, by which the legal-tender and unlimited quality of silver money had been maintained. After the passage of the Compulsory Coinage Act, the alarmed monometallists of America became concerned to bring the other nations into accord with our own established policy. True, they had hitherto attempted to secure a single standard on the basis of gold only; and they did not hesitate to declare the Act of 1878, restoring the legal-tender quality of silver, to be a National disgrace. But, like the fox in the fable, they now sought to hide what they conceived to be their own shame in the common shame of the world. The American bimetallists, as a matter of course, sought the same end, but with a different motive, and with a different view of the whole question.

The International Monetary Conference of 1881 was held at the suggestion of France. Delegates were appointed thereto by nearly all the leading States of Christendom. The American opinion favored the principle of universal free coinage, and legal tender for silver the world over, on the basis of 16 to 1. The French opinion was formulated by the economist, M. Cernuschi, who advocated the same general principles, with the difference of substituting a ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, instead of the American proportion. At the first, much was hoped of the conference. The sittings of the Commissioners began at Paris, on the 14th of April. It was soon discovered, however, that the monometallists had been busy in preparing discords for the convention. Opposition sprang up in France. The old, exact school of political writers, who had absorbed their views from the English economists, sought to throw contempt on the proceedings and the subject-matter under discussion. The money-class of the world never displayed greater unanimity than in the attempt to insure for all the credit-holders of the nations a monetary unit of the highest possible value. The capitalists of Great Britain were foremost in the work. English Commissioners appeared at the conference, under instructions to hear the debates and note all that was done; but not to participate further than this in the proceedings. The gold-producing countries fell into line on the policy of compelling the bimetallic countries to use their own silver, hoping thus to gorge with silver coin the sluices of trade in all such nations. Nevertheless, the discussions of the conference proved of great value in elucidating the whole subject under consideration. Six leading propositions were debated, as follows:

1. Have the recent fluctuations in the value of silver been injurious to the commercial and financial interest of the nations?

2. Have these fluctuations in the value of silver been due to the increase in the production of that metal, or to legislative acts affecting its monetary character?

3. Would stability in the ratio of value between gold and silver be secured by the unlimited coinage of both metals under an agreement to that effect among a large number of nations?

4. If such stability of ratio could be secured, in what manner should this desideratum be best attained?

5. Would it be a proper measure to compel banks of issue to accept both gold and silver at a fixed price?

6. If a bimetallic specie currency should be thus adopted, what should be the ratio between the weights of pure gold and pure silver contained in the respective monetary units?

Some of these important questions had already been discussed at the British Silver Commission of 1876, and by that body they had been decided in favor of the monometallic theory. In May of 1881 the delegates from the gold-producing and single-standard countries began to draw back from the debates in the Conference, partly under instructions from their respective Governments, and partly because the weight of the discussion bore hard upon them and their monetary theories. The delegates from Germany, Russia, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Greece arrayed themselves successively with the British Commissioners, and it became clear that no practical results, other than the agitation of the questions involved, could be reached. The Conference was accordingly adjourned to April of 1882; but before the arrival of that date, circumstances had tended to produce indifference to the subjects under discussion, and the Conference was not again convened.

The year 1882 may be cited as the date of

a marked revival of France from the effects of the political storms through which she had passed on the way to a permanent Republican Constitution, and from the ravages of the Franco-Prussian War. The sentiment of peace became predominant. A sense of security supervened, more universal and satisfying than had been known since the close of the Napoleonic wars. This was illustrated and evidenced by the toleration which was extended to all classes and all people. We have seen how the Communists came home, under a general amnesty, from the penal colonies, and how their lucubrations in Paris after their return were of little or no effect upon the public.

Proscription at the other extreme of society also virtually ceased. In the summer of 1882 the Duc d'Aumale, son of Louis Philippe, and representative of the Orleans dynasty, who had already been permitted to sit in the National Assembly, rebuilt the old castle of Chantilly, the family homestead in which the Great Condé had given his splendid entertainments, and which had been destroyed by the old Revolutionists in 1793. It came at length to be understood in France that the holders of diverse political opinions and of diverse theories relative to the true forms of human government could coëxist in the same land on terms of peace and concord.

Looking profoundly into the changed and changing sentiments of the French people at this epoch, we are able to see the reason and philosophy of the peaceable and peace-loving mood which began to prevail. How was it that such statesmen as Gambetta, whose motto with respect to Germany ten years previously had been *Guerre à l'outrance*, should have come in a single decade to the stand of Left-center Republicanism, favorable to peace? The reasons must be found first of all in the destruction of the omnipotence of Paris. Paris had been France, but was France no longer. Since the First Revolution she had been able to have her will in the management of the Government and people. The provinces merely waited to hear her decision and register her decree. The various revolutions had been effected in Paris, and merely accepted by the country. The country, as a rule, did not resist, or even resent, the capricious mood of the fiery and splendid mistress who displayed her pride on the banks of the Seine.

In the chaos of the winter of 1870–71, however, a great break occurred between the capital and France at large. The latter refused to accept the Commune. The Commune was enraged at the thought and act of resistance. To the Commune, republicanism meant democracy, and democracy was virtually anarchy. This, then, was the political complexion to which public sentiment had come in the capital; and this was what roused-up France would no longer accept. Thus France fought the Commune, and the Commune was put out in fire and blood. The shock was very great. The political absolutism of Paris was destroyed. The bloody epilepsy ended in dispelling the cephalic congestion, and in the distribution of the nervous forces of France into all the body. Paris could not regain her ascendency. Her war passion could not prevail to plunge France into a second German war *à l'outrance*.

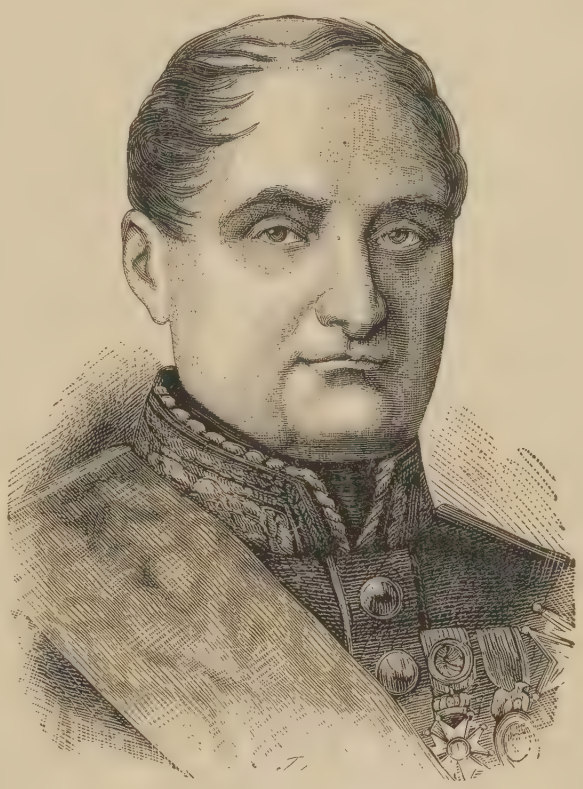
The Versailles Government, under Thiers first and Gambetta afterwards, represented France, not Paris. The Third Republic was *in* Paris rather than *of* it. The Government came to rely upon the country, upon the result of provincial elections, upon the general voice of the French Nation, rather than upon the spasmodic and often whimsical cry of the capital. In so far as the country life was favorable to peace rather than war, by so much did the change to which we have referred, the decentralization of the power of Paris, tend to the production of national amity, and the spirit of toleration.

This condition was already in fruitage when Gambetta became President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs. He himself perceived the change, and accepted it. It can not be doubted that his prestige was abated by the transformation of the political and social landscape; but he continued to be, as he had been since the death of Thiers, the first man of France, the popular idol, the chief representative of French nationality. How great, therefore, was the shock of his death! Gambetta was now but forty-four years of age. His genius for public affairs was of the highest order. In his power over public opinion he was without a rival. He was unquestionably

the greatest orator of modern France. He was a stranger to fear. Republicanism, the true ascendency of the people, was, as a principle, interwoven with every fiber of his being. The Republic was his passion, his deity. The French people had come to understand that in all questions affecting the nationality and honor of France, they might trust Gambetta with an implicit faith. The nation had followed him with its sympathy and confidence, as he passed by degrees, and under the experience of the epoch, from the Extreme Left to the Left Center, where he stood majestically at the hour of his death.

The event was unexpected, tragical, lamentable. He died suddenly at the Ville d'Avray, near Paris, on the last day of 1882. In his last hours he suffered greatly from the blood-poisoning, which brought him suddenly from tremendous and energetic manhood to the feebleness and delirium of extinction. His death was the very mockery of fate. It seemed against the fitness of things, against the order of nature, against the law and sequence of human life, that the heroic Republican adventurer, who, amid the horrors of the German war, with all their angry batteries vomiting and smoking around beleaguered Paris, had climbed into the basket of a tottering balloon and risen above the spires of the city, sailing out over the German lines of investment to alight beyond in safety, to raise the clarion of the Republic, and to fire all Southern France to the sudden creation and equipment of a volunteer army of one hundred and fifty thousand men; who had afterwards stood at the left of Thiers through the trying ordeals of his Administration, and subsequently had kept his Republican sword-blade unsheathed in the sight not only of France, but of all the world, during the whole reäctionary ascendency of the MacMahon Government,—should now at last be done to death with a miserable pistol-ball, fired in a moment of passion by a jealous mistress! The tragedy and the satire are equal,—the pitiable end, the bitter mockery of a midday glory.

The year 1883 was noted in French history for certain revivals of distrust in the Chamber and among the people with respect to the representatives of the old and recent dynasties. Timid Republicans became alarmed lest the pacification and amnesty had gone too far. The representatives of the old Royalty and Imperialism were going quietly about their business, in private and public life, as other citizens of the Republic. While a certain political necessity compelled them to uphold their respective pretensions to a throne which no longer existed, they were, for the most part, respectful in conduct and expression towards the republican institutions under which they lived. Prince Napoleon, however, now showed himself to be an exception to the rule. He seems to have made up his mind that the Third Republic was an utter failure, and, acting under this inspiration, he proceeded to placard the walls of Paris with a proclamation declaring the futility and folly of the existing Government, and calling upon the nation to accept Bonapartism as a refuge from political calamity and social confusion.



PRINCE NAPOLEON.

It would, doubtless, have been wise for the

National Assembly to pass by the harmless fulmination; but the French politicians and statesmen had not yet become sufficiently seasoned in republican manners and methods to accept the Prince's proclamation as a joke. On the contrary, they took it seriously, and a bill was introduced into the Chamber for the banishment of Prince Napoleon and his son Victor from France. It was known that the Bonapartists themselves had now virtually abandoned Prince Napoleon as an absurd person, and had come to regard his son as the real representative of Imperialism. Nevertheless, the measure against the Prince was pressed. Advantage was taken of the situation to extend the proposed proscription to the Orleanist Princes, and to send them forth, along with the Bonapartes.

The representatives of the House of Orleans had, at this time, acquired great respectability in France, and some members thereof had shown remarkable talent. The claims of the Orleanists now rested on the Comte de Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, and great-grandson of that Equality Philip who had voted for the death of Louis XVI., and then lost his head under the guillotine. The Comte de Paris had won upon the good opinion of mankind. In America he was well known as the brave and gallant gentleman and competent officer, who had served with distinction on the staff of General McClellan until what time the French complication in Mexico made it a proper thing for him to disentangle himself from a cause in which France was likely to become a party. Afterwards he had shown a spirit liberal and patriotic. In 1871, when the project of the establishment of a new Government for France was an open question, he had voluntarily resigned his claims to the French throne in favor of his cousin, the Count de Chambord, thus strengthening the pretensions and prospects of the latter. Thereafter he devoted himself, with great success, to the composition of a *History of the Civil War in the United States*, producing a work which has become a standard of narrative and military criticism for that great tragedy. Other members of the Orleans family were educated and capable soldiers and officers in the French army.

The bill before the Chamber proposed to take away such commissions as were held by members of the Orleans dynasty, and to subject them to proscription almost as severe as that which was proposed for the Bonapartes. Party politics accomplished the usual iniquitous results. The bill was at length carried through the Chamber of Deputies under a pressure from the Extreme Left. But in the Senate a majority could not be secured in its favor, and the measure came to naught. About the same time, namely, on the 24th of August, 1883, the Count de Chambord died, at Frohsdorf, but not until he had reciprocated the generosity of the Comte de Paris to himself twelve years before, by calling him to his deathbed and resigning in his favor the claims of the Elder Branch of the House of Bourbon to the throne of France. By this act the Comte de Paris became the recognized representative of both divisions of the Legitimist party to whatever rights they may have possessed in the Government of France.[1]

In the national elections of 1884 all parties were surprised, and all except the Radicals were disappointed. The attention of the

[1] An incident happening soon after the events here narrated may well serve to illustrate the temper of some of the leading peoples of the world with respect to the fact called monarchy. It may also serve to show how small a thing was sufficient at this time to excite that silly international gossip, which in its kind is more contemptible than the chattering nonsense of old women. Hon. Levi P. Morton, afterwards Vice-President of the United States, was, at the time of which we speak, American Minister at Paris. At one of the high-conditioned balls, with which Mr. Morton illustrated the simplicity of American institutions, the Comte de Paris was a guest. In the course of the evening Mr. Morton addressed the Count, and asked the privilege of introducing to him an American lady. The action was observed, and a flutter went out from Paris over half the world because the American Minister had asked the *Count* instead of the *lady* in the matter of an introduction. Paris buzzed, and the London newspapers hummed to the echo over the significant circumstance that the American Minister at Paris *had recognized the royal pretensions* of the Count of Paris! The American journals took up the comment, but here in a different vein. In their judgment, the American Minister was a snob, who had slighted and disparaged one of his countrywomen in order to flatter a Prince. Nor could it be denied, from an American point of view, that the *faux pas* of the representative of the Republic was sufficiently absurd.

country was especially turned to the municipal contest in Paris, where the Moderate Republicans hoped to secure a better standing. The Monarchists also believed themselves able to make such gains as might revive somewhat their almost exhausted cause. They did succeed in gaining a small increment to their diminished forces; but the sinister work done by them on the occasion was much more important. Seeing that they could not become a power themselves, they threw their whole influence for the Intransigeants or Socialistic Republicans, who made so great gains by this means as to create no small alarm among the friends of the established order.

Meanwhile, the French War in the far East was brought to a close. Difficulties of the usual character had arisen on the coast of Anam and Tonquin, and war was resorted to as the established means of bringing the Chinese to their knees. Through spasmodic hostilities and intermittent negotiations the conflict continued until the summer of 1884, when Foo-Chow was bombarded by the French fleet, and the Orientals overawed into submission. A new treaty was drawn between France and Anam, by which two provinces which had been taken away were restored. A system of customs was established like the one which had already been imposed on Cochin China; and the strategic points in both Anam and Tonquin were subjected to a military occupation by French garrisons. It was also conceded to France that the departments of Public Works, of the Post, and the Telegraph service, as well as of Finance and Customs should be submitted to the management of a French agency established for that purpose.

The same year was marked for the discussion in French society and in the Legislative Chambers of the question of marriage and divorce—particularly the latter. The study of recent statistics had revealed several circumstances in the social condition which might well give alarm to the nation. It is well known that the prevalent system of French marriage had been the most rigorous known among the Western nations. The institution was fortified with greater formalities and sanc-

COMTE DE CHAMBORD.

than in any other country. The Church and the State had conspired to hedge marriage about with every known security which legislative device or religious caution might contrive. The Roman Catholic theory of the marital union had been accepted and put into the French Constitution and statutes as one of the fundamentals of social and civil existence. Divorces were not granted. The marriage was made as indissoluble as might be by the ingenuity of organized society.

Nevertheless, it was found that the system was working badly in every particular. Statistics showed that the marriage-rate was lower in France than in any other civilized country. The same thing was true of the birth-rate. It was found that in England and Germany and the United States, the rate of marriages and births was much more encouraging than in France, where divorces were not permitted. At the same time and by the same method, it was discovered that illegitimacy was more prevalent in France than in those countries where divorces might be procured under reasonable restrictions. In a word, the conviction was forced upon the public judgment that the denial of divorce—instead of encouraging marriage and conducing to a high birth-rate—was a positive discouragment to both. As a result, many projects of legislation were proposed in abatement of the evils arising from the prevalent system. One measure seriously discussed was the taxation of bachelors, with a view of driving them into marriage. Another proposed a bounty for marriage, and a third suggested prizes and rewards for large families of children. More important, and much more to the point, however, was the legislation of 1884, by which the No-divorce Law, which had held in all its rigor for more than sixty years, was abrogated, and its place taken by new statutes, under which, for valid reasons, unhappy and uncongenial marriages might be annulled. This measure was supplemented in the following year by a law revived from the First Revolution, for granting public support to the seventh child in every family of limited resources. The measure also contemplated provision for the education of such children in the nigher institutions of learning; but this feature failed of adoption.

The beginning of 1885 was noted for the renewal of the question of revising the French Constitution. In several particulars that instrument was unsatisfactory to extreme, and even moderate, Republicans. The appointive character of the judicial offices was distasteful to all classes of the democracy. But more particularly was the Senatorial life-tenure, which held for one-fourth of the Upper Chamber, and the tenure of nine years for the other three-fourths, a subject of dissatisfaction to perhaps a majority of the French people. It was claimed, besides, in a general way, that the Constitution of 1871–72 had been formed under the influence of the Monarchical and Semi-Monarchical parties, and that it did not truly represent the wishes and sentiments of the French Republicans. On the other hand, the attempt at revision of the instrument was a measure of hazard to any party which might undertake it. However desirous the Republican Government might be to promote the amendment of the fundamental law of the land, it could but be recognized as a perilous undertaking. The Constitution had now reached the fourteenth year from its origin. It was well known, and had been observed by political critics, that no French Government, since the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789, had survived its twentieth year. Could the Third Republic prove an exception to the rule? Would not the project to amend the Constitution tend strongly to undermine the Republic which rested on it? These questions made the Moderate Republicans exceedingly timid in proposing or accepting the various projects of revision which were agitated from the Left.

Meanwhile the attention of the country was called from merely civil questions to the distresses and calamities of the French arms in the East. The Tonquin war had broken out again. The treaty of Tientsin had proved to be no settlement at all. The Chinese claims to the sovereignty of Tonquin had been revived, and the fortified town of Langson, which had been put under a French garrison by the treaty, was recovered by the enemy. The conduct of Admiral Courbet on the coast had been such as justly to waken the animosity of the Chinese Government. At length the news flashed suddenly to Paris that the French

army under General Nêgrier in Tonquin was in full retreat, the General himself wounded, and his successor, Brière, telegraphing that he *hoped* to be able to save the so-called Delta from recapture by the enemy.

This intelligence was of the precise kind to create consternation in Paris and throughout France. By the following morning, when the Chamber convened, public opinion had fastened on the Ministry as the culpable party. All the elements of opposition suddenly blew into storm, and the Cabinet went to pieces in an hour. M. Jules Ferry, the Prime Minister, did not atttempt to face the tempest. He saw that the madness of the day was prevalent over all argument and protest, and he at once resigned his office. The next despatches, however, were reässuring, and the whole subsequent development of the situation tended to show that the Administration had not been wanting in good sense or energy in the management of the Tonquin complication. Nevertheless, the mischief was done, so far as the Ministry was concerned, and a new Cabinet was at once formed under the leadership of M. Brisson, a statesman of but small reputation. In the Cabinet, however, were other leaders of greater ability, and more widely known. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was assigned to M. de Freycinet. M. Allain-Targé received the Secretaryship of Finance, an office which he had already held in the short-lived Ministry of Gambetta. It could but be noted, however, that the first utterances of the new Cabinet pointed to no essential divergence from the policy of its predecessor, and it was soon discerned that some force other than the news of the disasters in Tonquin had been the efficient cause of the displacement of Jules Ferry from the head of the Government.

What, therefore, was the occult political antagonism which had led to the overthrow of the Ferry Ministry? The same question might well have been asked when Gambetta, after a Premiership of scarcely three months, had been displaced under pressure of the Chamber. How could the leading statesmen of France thus fall before the irrational opposition of a legislative body which accepted the same political principles with themselves? The answer to these questions revealed a profound vice which had already gained lodgment and development in the new republican system of government. The evil in question was precisely the same as that which, in the United States of America, has so nearly disgusted the conscience and intellect of the nation with the whole method represented by the President and Congress. It is, in a word, the evil of local patronage, fostered and upheld by the members of Congress against the public interest, to secure their own interest in the localities from which they are chosen. It is that deep-seated political vice against which Civil-service Reform has thus far beaten in vain.

Already, under the Administration of Thiers, the same thing appeared in the conduct of the Chamber of Deputies. The members of that body were, as we have said, chosen singly from the particular Arrondissements which they represented. They came into the Chamber of Deputies to take care of a local rather than a general interest. Even the care of local concerns soon became secondary to the consideration of those means through which, by reëlection, they might hold their own places in the National Assembly. The great fact of patronage was at once discovered. The Deputies became the dispensers of the local offices in the districts which they respectively represented. Such offices began to go at once to the unworthy and unscrupulous local politicians who were the supporters, present and prospective, of the Deputies themselves. The *machine* was found. The old hedgehog of party looked out with his leaden eyes from under the covert, and grinned at the friends of honest and capable administration. The true National Republicans discovered his hiding-place and attacked him in his native lair. But the result was the same which the American Civil-service Reformers had already reached—defeat.

Gambetta had striven with all his might to secure the substitution of a new and enlightened system of patronage for the old local corruption into which the Republic had so easily fallen. It was in pursuance of this project that he sought to change the election laws in such manner as to make the Deputies no longer dependent on the Arrondissement, but on the whole Department. It was opposi-

tion to this measure on the part of the Deputies, anxious to retain their corrupt prerogatives, that led to the overthrow of the Gambetta Cabinet, and it was the very same antagonism which now seized upon the pretense of the disasters in Tonquin as a pretense for displacing Jules Ferry and his Cabinet.

Perhaps the greatest problem with which the civil governments of the present era are confronted is that which relates to the distribution and assignment of the appointive offices by the Executive and Legislative departments. There is not to-day a civilized nation in the world in which the citizens best fitted to discharge the duties of such offices are not thrust into the background, and held down from an enlightened public service by the corrupt horde of office-seekers and office-getters, whose only qualifications are their effectiveness and skill in the management of the party engine, and their blind and selfish support of those from whose hands the appointive offices are to fall. The alternative is to-day present with all liberal governments: It is either Civil-service Reform or an early wreckage of popular institutions. The two conspicuous examples of nations standing in the very horns of the dilemma are France and the United States.

The state of opinion among the Socialists and Democrats of the French Republic may be gathered from a manifesto of the Parisian *Radical*, issued in July of 1885. The paper in question constituted the party platform, which was imposed on the candidates for the department of the Seine. The first principle announced in the proclamation was that every child at every stage of its education was to be supported and cared for at the expense of the State—to be boarded, lodged, clothed, and instructed by lay teachers at the public charge. The object openly proclaimed was to enable every wedded pair, however poor, to have and to rear as many children as their own wishes and the laws of nature might suggest. The second article declared for the abolition of all indirect taxation, with the subsitution of a direct tax on both capital and income; but the tax was to be progressive; that is, very light where the capital and income were small, and growing heavier with each increment, until exorbitant accumulations of private property should be well-nigh taxed away. The third principle announced was that of a heavy duty, or tax, on transmitted property; as, for instance, that handed down by parents to their children. Then came other articles for taking possession by the Government of all railroads, canals, and mines, with a view to operating the same solely for the public benefit. A maximum was to be fixed for the daily hours of labor, and no children under fourteen years of age were to be permitted to work in the factories or workshops of France. A system of public credit was demanded for the poor, so that people having no means might be able to secure by loan from the State the necessary capital for beginning and prosecuting their callings. Finally, all persons unable to labor for themselves were to be supported at the public expense, and illegitimate and legitimate children were to be given a status of perfect equality before the law.

The general electoral campaign of 1885 was now well under way. The parties in the contest were designated by the names of Republican, Conservative, and Radical. The election was held in October, the Republicans being under the leadership of Jules Ferry, and the Radicals accepting that of M. Clémenceau. The party of the Government entered the contest with the usual advantages and disadvantages which the party in power always carries into an election. It had been believed in other countries, and a like delusion appears to have prevailed in France herself, that the definitive Republic was now so well established as to command for its supporters an overwhelming majority. But the event proved otherwise.

The result of the election was, indeed, a surprise to all who were interested in the issue. A summary of the popular vote showed that the Republicans of all shades had polled a vote of 3,180,000. The Conservative vote, including under that head Legitimists and Imperialists, reached 3,140,000; while the Radicals secured a poll of 900,000 votes. It was seen at a glance that while the Republican ascendency was to continue, the situation was still precarious; for the whimsical and expedient combination of the opposing elements would be sufficient at any time to accomplish not only the overthrow of the existing Administration, but, perhaps, of the

republican system itself. The saving feature in the political physiognomy was, as it had been before, the insurmountable difficulty of organic union between the Legitimist and Imperialist parties. Though they might both be properly classed together as monarchical, they could not be expected to unite against the Republic on the fundamental question of restoring either the Empire or the Kingdom. As for the Radical party, it could no more be despised as contemptible. With nearly a million suffrages at its command, and holding in some sense a balance of power, it must necessarily be, under the ensuing Administrations, a constant menace to the Moderate Republican ascendency.

The general result of the elections was thus to continue the Republic and the Moderate Administration. With the opening of the National Assembly, in the following December, M. Jules Grévy was triumphantly reëlected President, to succeed himself. It is at this point that the French Constitution departs most widely from that of the United States. In that country, the President of the Republic is chosen by a joint ballot of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, acting as a National Assembly. At the Presidential election of 1885 great excitement prevailed at Versailles and Paris, and, indeed, throughout France. The scene in the Assembly rose to the pitch of violence. M. Grévy received a total majority, on the joint ballot, of a hundred and thirty-five. But the Right, with the exception of five members, refused to vote, under the theory that to cast a ballot for any citizen for the Presidency of the Republic was a virtual disavowal of the monarchical principle. The reëlection of the President was well received, not only in France, but among all the Western nations. Messages of congratulation were sent in to him on the occasion from the larger number of the European Governments, including England; and from the latter country, the Prince of Wales added a special despatch.

President Grévy had not sympathized with the sudden ebullition by which, a few months previously, the Ferry Ministry had been overthrown. Nevertheless, he accepted the result, and, on his reëlection, notified the Prime Minister, M. Brisson, of his wish to have him remain at the head of the Government. The latter, however, was unwilling to accept the responsibility, in the face of the new Chamber, and he accordingly resigned. M. de Freycinet was thereupon once more summoned to form a Cabinet, and to undertake the duties of Premier.

The time had now arrived for a final trial between France and the representatives of the old Royalty and Imperialism. The election

PRESIDENT JULES GRÉVY.

of 1885 had greatly encouraged the Bonaparte and Orleans Princes, and the party which they represented. The conduct of the Monarchists in refusing to vote at the Presidential election was a positive menace to the Republic. The enormous popular vote which the party had been able to poll in the late contest had thoroughly alarmed the Government, and had produced a strong sentiment of antagonism, extending to proscription. The feeling was not allayed by the conduct of the Princes themselves. Many of them openly proclaimed the illegitimacy of the Republic, declaring

that the Government was factitious, illegal, spurious. By the beginning of 1886 the excitement rose to the pitch of action. A sweeping measure was instituted for the banishment from France of all the leading representatives of the old Royal and Imperial families. The movement grew in volume, and on the 14th of June a decree was issued by the Government for the expulsions of the Princes, both

PRINCE DE JOINVILLE.

Legitimists and Bonapartists, from France. The Imperialists accepted their exile with better grace than the others. Prince Victor Napoleon retired to Brussels, and Prince Jerome to Geneva. The Comte de Paris and his family accepted the result only because they must. The Count was at this time by far the most popular and influential representative of the ancient system. Knowing his rank, capabilities, and his public services to the country, he yielded with great reluctance to the decree, leaving behind him a proclamation full of vehement denunciations, and containing many bitter and truthful reflections on the prescriptive policy adopted by the Government. The Prince protested in the name of justice against the violence done to himself and his kinsmen. He boldly announced his claim as the representative of the Monarchical party, and charged the National Government with persecution and cowardice, "The Republic," said the Prince, "is afraid. In striking me, it marks me out. I have confidence in France, and at the decisive hour I shall be ready." The Count left his home at the Chateau d'Eu, and took up his residence at Tunbridge, Wells, England. He was accompanied by the Duc de Chartres. The Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville also obeyed the decree, and went into banishment. The names of Prince Murat and his son were stricken from the roll of the French army, and the Duc de Nemours was deposed from the Presidency of a humane society. Right or wrong, the Republic had at last accepted the issue, and, adopting the policy of proscription, sought to accomplish by terror and prosecutions what it had not been able otherwise to effect with certainty and emphasis,—the obliteration of the Monarchical party in the Republic.

The excitement in France over the expul-

sion of the Princes was presently heightened by a personal event which was destined to be the first in an extraordinary career. General Boulanger, Minister of War, in the debate in the French Chamber over the case of the Duc d'Aumale, found occasion to denounce in severe terms the Baron de Lareinty, a Legitimatist Senator. The Senator replied, applying the epithet "cowardly" (Fr. *lâche*) to the conduct of the War Minister in denouncing one who was absent. A duel was the result, Boulanger receiving the fire of his antagonist, but not firing himself. In the meantime, while these amenities were exchanged in the Assembly and on the field, the Duc d'Aumale proceeded, by an act of unexpected generosity, to heap fire on the head of the Republic by making a gift to the French Institute, in trust for the Nation, the magnificent old palace and domain of Chantilly. The estate and palace were the seat of his ancestors, the Condés. The event showed that he had already transferred the splendid property by will, intending to occupy it during his life-time, and then give possession to the Institute. But his banishment, making it impossible for him to enjoy longer a residence in the ancestral palace which he had himself so recently restored, furnished the occasion for the completion of the gift. The estate had an estimated value of sixty million francs, and the present of so splendid a property to the French Nation might well awaken a sharp compunction in the Republican breast for the harsh measure by which the donor was driven into exile from his native land.

An incident near the close of 1886 served to show the still sensitive temper of the French people with respect to Germany. In certain of the German cities the ingenuity of the race had been largely devoted to the manufacture of toys, and these were sold in foreign countries. France herself, even Paris, was a buyer of such goods. Among the rest, German handicraft had produced a toy schoolhouse for the French market. Inside of the school-house one section was occupied with a miniature map of France. It remained for *Le Trappeau* newspaper, organ of the Patriotic League, to discover the horrible circumstance

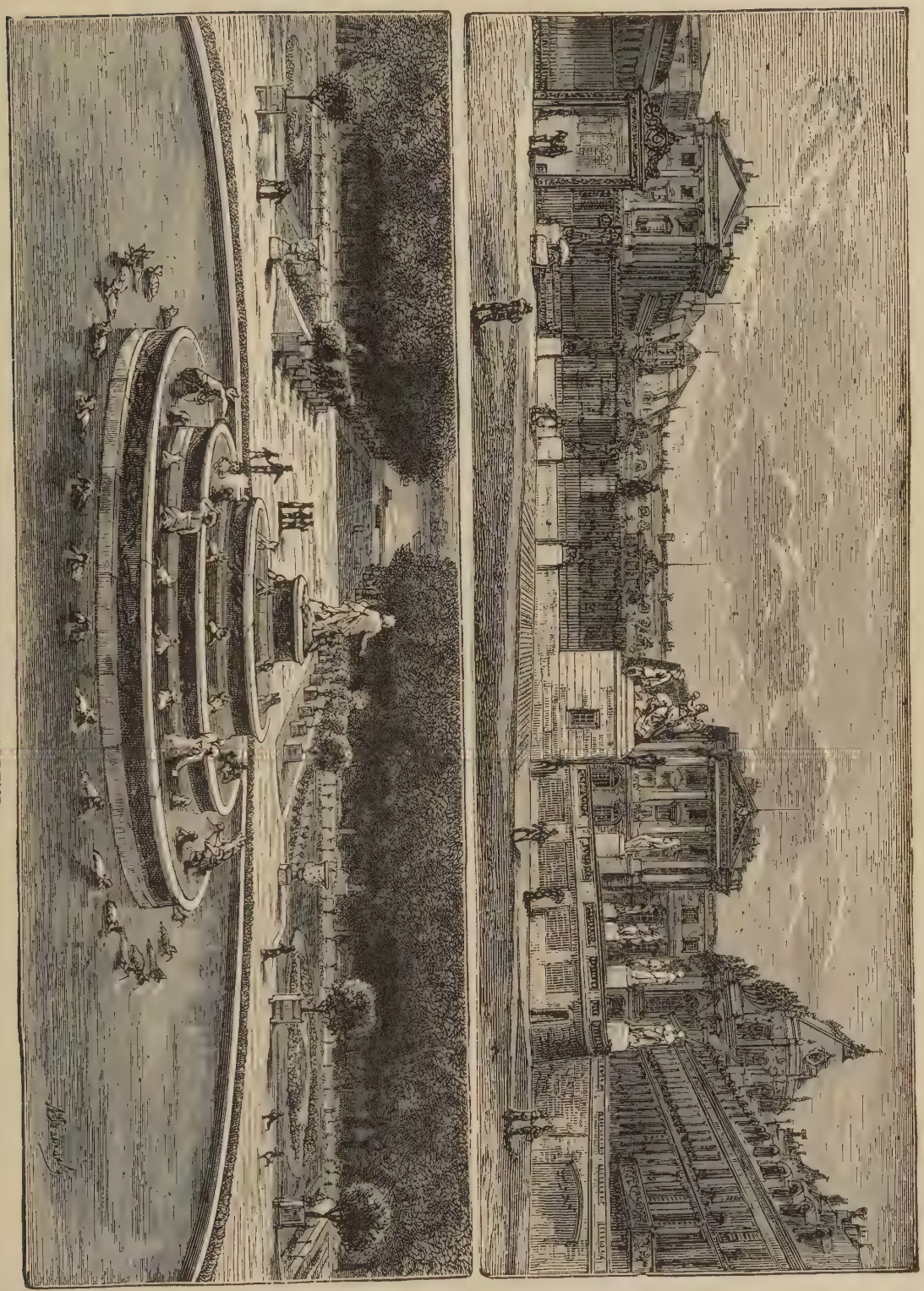
DUC D'AUMALE.

that a part of the French possessions acquired from Italy during the second Empire was erroneously reässigned in the toy-map to Italy. Evidently, said *Le Trappeau*, this outrageous mutilation of French territory has been purposely accomplished by the insidious map-maker to mislead the children of Paris in acquiring a knowledge of the true boundaries of their country. Hateful intrigue! Other newspapers took up the cry, and a leading journal of Berlin responded with a ponderous editorial on "the endangered peace between France and Germany"!

One of the peculiarities of the French Government, from the founding of the Third Republic down to the present time, has been the instability of its Cabinets. It would appear that the Ministry hold by a precarious tenure. Party discipline is much less prevalent in France than in Great Britain or the United States. For this reason any fortuitous event, chancing to produce in the country a temporary excitement on some political or semi-political subject, is likely to storm into the Assembly, break the party lines, and drive the Ministers from power. Their own following breaks line in the presence of the excitement, and an unexpected minority vote for the Government leads to a resignation and reädjustment. Possibly with the morrow the circumstances have changed, and the Chamber may even regret its hasty and passionate action; but it is then too late to mend the broken vessel.

In December of 1886 a notable instance of these political whorls in the Assembly took place. The office of Sub-prefect under the Republic had, for some reason of use or abuse, become suddenly unpopular. The Opposition seized upon the circumstance, and moved a total abolition of the office in question. M. Sarrien, Minister of the Interior, to whose administration the pending notion related, opposed the proposal to abolish, but offered instead a motion for a modification of the offices of Sub-prefects. M. de Freycinet supported the Minister of the Interior; but to the surprise of the country the Ministerial motion was defeated, and that for total abolition carried by a large majority. The Extreme Left, being of course unable itself to conduct the Government, proposed on the morrow a vote of confidence intended as a panacea, but Freycinet and his fellow-Ministers persisted in resigning. M. Floquet, President of the Chamber, thereupon undertook to form a Ministry, but failed. President Grévy then imposed the task on M. Réné Goblet, who, on the 11th of December, succeeded in forming a new Cabinet, with himself for President of the Council. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was assigned to M. Flourens; M. Dauphin became Minister of Finance; M. Berthelot, Minister of Public Instruction; M. Sarrien, Minister of Justice; General Boulanger, Minister of War; Admiral Aube, Minister of the Marine; M. Granet, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs; M. Lockroy, Minister of Commerce; M. Millaud, Minister of Public Works; M. Deville, Minister of Agriculture. It was noticeable that the new Cabinet was throughout more friendly to the Left than any which had preceded it. M. Goblet himself had been a political pupil and friend of Gambetta, and was, at the time of his accession to office, on terms of intimacy with Clémenceau. The radicalism of General Boulanger was sufficiently well known, and was destined in a short time to become a source of extreme distress to the Government.

At the beginning of 1887 an issue had already been raised between that kind of political sentiment which was represented by Boulanger and the adverse opinion which called for retrenchment, reform, and peace. The former policy signified high taxation and lavish expenditure, especially in reörganizing and mobilizing the army. It also expressed the principle of rectifying the boundary of France, and therefore of hostility to Germany. It appealed to all the old war passions, and was not far from publicly inscribing *Revenge* on its banner as the motto of the Republic. For these reasons the Opportunists in the French Assembly — those who desired that France should pursue the even tenor of her ways, accept economy as her law, and peace with her neighbors as a principle of action—looked first with alarm, and then with anger, upon the course which the War Minister was determined to pursue. The representatives of the opposition to Boulanger found a leader in M. Rouvier, and in the early summer of 1887 the Goblet Cabinet was disrupted, and a new



VERSAILLES PALACE AND GARDENS.

Ministry formed under the Premiership of Rouvier. All of the old Ministers gave place to new members, representing the policy of economy, reform, and peace. Boulanger was superseded in office by General Ferron; but the overthrown Minister was at once taken up and converted into a popular idol by the French war party, and from thenceforth until the day of his banishment he became what Americans would call an "issue" in French politics.

The qualities of Boulanger immediately appeared. He appealed to the people. He declared that he had been displaced from the War Office through the influence of Germany—that the whole movement against him was inspired by the deadly enemies of France. This view of the case was at once taken up by the populace of Paris, and a large party throughout France. A clamor was raised for the restoration of Boulanger to the War Office, and it appeared for a while that the Government would be borne down under the pressure. At a bye-election in the department of the Seine, notwithstanding the fact that General Boulanger's candidacy was wholly illegal, the Radicals gave him a vote of more than thirty-three thousand. Meanwhile, a feeling of active animosity was awakened between France and Germany, which portended the early outbreak of war. General Boulanger was ordered to return to his command at Clermont-Ferrand; but the occasion of his retirement was seized upon by his admirers, and converted into a demonstration which alarmed the Government. Symptoms appeared of elevating Boulanger to a dictatorship on the ruins of the Republic. Strenuous measures were adopted, under the direction of the Rouvier Ministry, to prevent the further participation of Boulanger in political matters. He was accused of illegal conduct, and a crisis drew near, at which it must be determined whether the constituted authorities or the refractory General would be supreme in France. In August, M. Jules Ferry made a speech in which Boulanger was so severely criticised that the latter sent to Ferry a challenge to fight a duel. Nevertheless, the Government held on until the summer recess of the Assembly, keeping Boulanger and his followers at bay.

Such was the condition of affairs when a new circumstance, unexpected and scandalous, arose in the face of the Government. In October of the year which we are considering, it was divulged that General Caffarel, of the French War Office, had been engaged in the ignominious business of selling decorations and promotions to officers of the army. The insignia of the Legion of Honor had been sold for a sum to mercenary wretches mean enough to buy! The scandal was prodigious. Boulanger immediately seized upon the circumstance, and declared that the traffic in decorations was a part of the policy of the War Office as against himself. For this offense the Minister of War ordered the arrest of Boulanger for thirty days; but the act, however necessary, seemed to add martyrdom to the other merits of the General, and his followers were more vociferous than ever. Hard after the disgrace brought on the Government by General Caffarel came another of like character. M. Wilson, son-in-law of President Grévy, and residing in the Presidential Palace, was detected in a disgraceful domestic intrigue, and in the still more scandalous business of using the President's official frank in his own business. Wilson was himself a representative for Tours, and the Electoral Committee of that department took the matter in hand. An investigation resulted in the deposition of Caffarel from the army, and the necessary restitution by Wilson of forty thousand francs to cover the postage on matter which he had sent out illegally under Grèvy's stamp while residing with the President at the Palace of the Elysée!

All of this was sweet food for the Boulangists, who broke out into martial music composed in honor of their hero. The matter bore with ever-increasing weight upon the Government. President Grévy was afflicted in the last degree by the scandals which had fallen out from his own door. Though he was not personally affected by them, the conduct of his son-in-law, whom he refused to dismiss from the Elysée, seemed to involve him hopelessly. A clamor was raised for his resignation from office. This he at first refused to heed; but the Opposition fanned the coals of antagonism to a white heat, and it became evident that not only the Ministry of Rouvier, but the Executive office itself, was trembling in the wind. President

Grêvy sought for a while to temporize with the elements; but the storm increased, and presently a vote was adopted almost unanimously by the Chamber, declaring that that body was "in waiting for a communication from the President!" On the 2d of December the latter gave over the contest, and sent in his letter of resignation. He was thus virtually driven from the Presidency of France by scandalous conduct on the part of two subordinates for whom he was only indirectly responsible, and in whose malfeasance in office he had no part or lot. He was virtually deposed from the Presidency without impeachment, and without a proposition to impeach—this by a process as utterly illegal on the part of the French Assembly as it is possible to conceive.

The election of a new Executive was imperative. There were symptoms of old-time Parisian riots. The bands in many places were playing Boulanger's *March*, and to the casual observer it would have seemed that a revolution was at the door. Strangely enough, however, the Bourse was not disturbed. Those who might be expected to be most sensitive to the dangers of the situation suffered no alarm. Nor did the army appear to be greatly agitated. The Assembly went immediately into an election for a new Executive, and the same resulted, on the second ballot, in the choice of M. Sadi-Carnot, a Moderate Republican, who at once took the oath of office and entered upon his duties.

The events of the following year were not noted for great excitement or striking evolutions. The popularity of General Boulanger began to wane. The Government moved steadily against him, and he was presently placed on the retired list of the army. He at once declared himself as a candidate for the Assembly, and announced his principles as "a protest against the impotence into which the Government and Parliament have fallen, and the necessity of upholding the national dignity and the integrity of French territory." He succeeded in gaining a seat in the Assembly, but his declamations in that body told against his own cause. It was noted that he had the fatal gift of speech, and that the "Men of Destiny" had always been silent. Therefore Boulanger was not a Man of Destiny!

It remained, however, for an absurd duel to prick the bubble of his fame and bring the swift collapse. For some words in debate uttered by the old barrister, M. Floquet, a challenge was sent and accepted, and the two men met with swords. To the astonishment of all France, the military hero, that had been and was to be, suffered himself to be stabbed with his adversary's sword, and gave no thrust in return. The result brought ridicule, against which no Dictator is able to stand. Rochefort summed it all up in *L'Intransigeant* by saying: "How wonderful! The youngest General in the army has let himself be pinked by a barrister nearly sixty years old!" It was more than the French could bear, and Boulanger lost his place as a revolutionary leader. He was presently afterwards expelled from the Assembly, and sent into exile in England.

The Republic had some cause to be gratified at the outcome. The nightmare might have settled more seriously if it had continued longer. The excitable character of the French people, and the immedicable wound which France had suffered on the sword of Germany, might well have furnished the furnace and fuel of a new combustion. But the assuaging waters of mere absurdity sufficed to put out the flame. Though General Boulanger continued to fulminate at intervals from the horizon, his figure gradually assumed the outline of an amusing puppet, rather than a threatening specter. The Presidency of Carnot was accepted as though there had been no illegality in its antecedents. The approach of the Centennial Anniversary of the Great Revolution called the attention of the French people away from Boulangism, and, indeed, from all forms of political animosity, to the contemplation of the really great history of France during the century past. It was evident that the year 1889 would satisfy with many forms of excitement the enthusiastic dispositions of the race, and would compensate with fête and spectacle for the absence of the clamor of war and political battle.

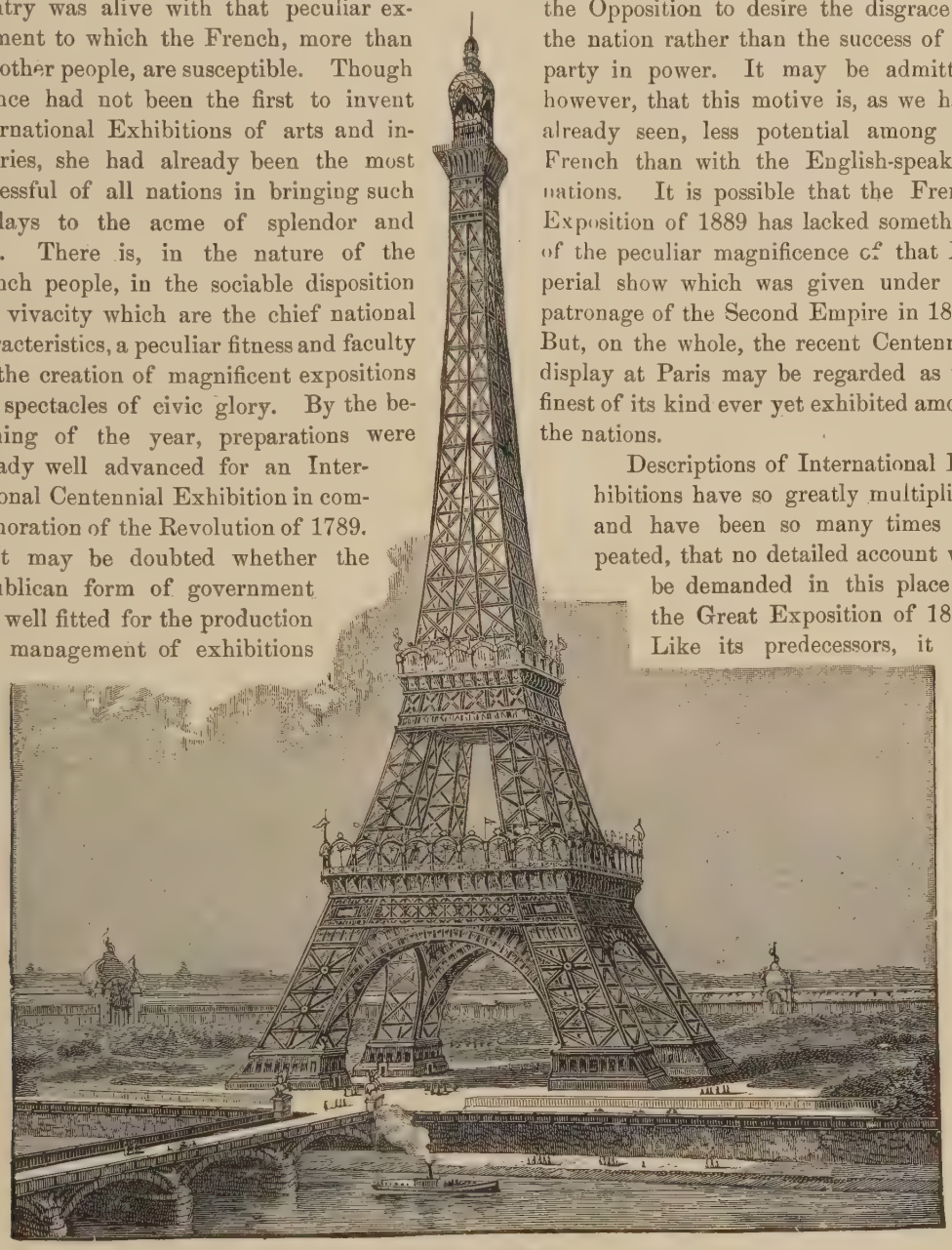
The coming of the Centennial Year had, indeed, been ardently expected. The nation quivered with the anticipated delights of the great anniversary which should commemorate its deliverance from Feudalism and the past. Everywhere during the years 1887 and 1888

HARBOR OF MARSEILLES.

was heard the prophecy and the note of preparation. The Republic began to put on her beautiful garments. From Belfort to Brest, from the harbor of Marseilles to Calais, the country was alive with that peculiar excitement to which the French, more than any other people, are susceptible. Though France had not been the first to invent International Exhibitions of arts and industries, she had already been the most successful of all nations in bringing such displays to the acme of splendor and *éclat*. There is, in the nature of the French people, in the sociable disposition and vivacity which are the chief national characteristics, a peculiar fitness and faculty for the creation of magnificent expositions and spectacles of civic glory. By the beginning of the year, preparations were already well advanced for an International Centennial Exhibition in commemoration of the Revolution of 1789.

It may be doubted whether the republican form of government is so well fitted for the production and management of exhibitions of this kind as are Imperial and kingly administrations. The latter have the merit of concentration, and are less likely to be disturbed by partisan clamors than are more popular forms of government. It has always been evident to the Opposition that the party in power will put into its crest the glory of success which a great international display is likely to bring. And it is in the nature of the Opposition to desire the disgrace of the nation rather than the success of the party in power. It may be admitted, however, that this motive is, as we have already seen, less potential among the French than with the English-speaking nations. It is possible that the French Exposition of 1889 has lacked something of the peculiar magnificence of that Imperial show which was given under the patronage of the Second Empire in 1867. But, on the whole, the recent Centennial display at Paris may be regarded as the finest of its kind ever yet exhibited among the nations.

Descriptions of International Exhibitions have so greatly multiplied, and have been so many times repeated, that no detailed account will be demanded in this place of the Great Exposition of 1889. Like its predecessors, it has come and gone. The French capital has witnessed, in her streets and famous places, the congregation of many of the best representatives of the great peoples of the world, and the spreading out in her splendid pavilions of



EIFFEL TOWER.

the finest industrial and artistic products of mankind. The Eiffel Tower has carried to its summit, three hundred meters from the earth, the representatives of all nations; and from that sublimest height ever yet reached by the constructive skill of man, they have looked down upon that beautiful and audacious Paris, the pride and marvel of modern civilization. With them, in the day of the conclusion of this narrative, we may glance with satisfaction and high hope through the summer air around the far-reaching boundaries of this most beautiful land of lilies on the breast of Western Europe. May all her coming days be as radiant as this! May her hamlets and vineyards, from north to south, from the Jura to Finisterre, be overspanned through all the future with a sky as tranquil and a border as peaceful as the evening heaven and fathomless landscape of Millet's *Angelus!*

THE ANGELUS.

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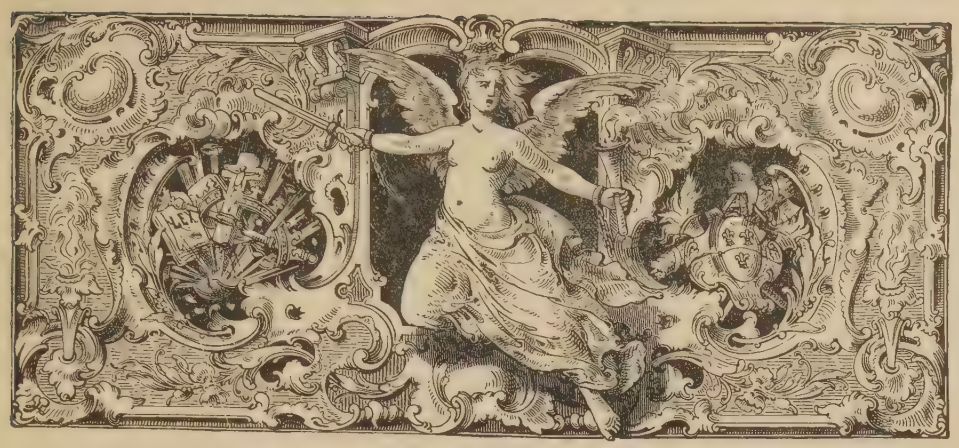
Painted by Anton VonWerner

Etched by J S.King

THE SURRENDER AT SEDAN



Book Twenty-Fourth.

GERMANY.

CHAPTER CXLI.—NADIR OF THE FATHERLAND.

IT were hard to say whether Germany gained or lost by Waterloo. Certainly a great soldiery had been developed and great generalship evolved by the conflict. Certainly the Western frontier had again been established at the Rhine. Certainly the spirit of the German race was aroused from apathy by the shock of victorious battle, and the germs of nationality may have been scattered for future growth. But, for the rest, Germany inherited confusion from her triumph, and her second estate was for a long time scarcely better than the first.

For the spirit of French emancipation had gone abroad in Germany, only to be disappointed and to fall to the earth. During the Napoleonic wars a large part of the German people, particularly those included in the Confederation of the Rhine, had caught the infection of the French Revolution. It might well be said that the Treaty of Tilsit, of July, 1807, by which one-half of the Prussian territory was taken away, was the completion of humiliation. After that, the King and his Queen went away from the ruined kingdom on a visit to Alexander of Russia, and did not return to Berlin until 1809. And yet it is true that in these two melancholy years a greater work was accomplished for the regeneration of Germany—more effected towards the liberation and nationalization of the German race—than during the whole reign of Frederick William III., from the battle of Waterloo until his death. Then it was that, under the leadership of the Ministers Stein and Hardenberg, great reforms were undertaken, which were actually stopped short and brought to naught by the return of the King. Then it was that the Monarchy virtually said to the people: "Aid us in conquering the Conqueror, and we will set you free." During the next six years the Germans fought valiantly under the banners of Blücher, and carried those banners triumphantly to the plateau of Mont Saint Jean.

No sooner, however, was the victory achieved, no sooner had Prussia and the other German States recovered their autonomy, than the King, after the manner of monarchs, forgot his promises. Germany henceforth went begging for reform, and nationality was

indefinitely postponed. Not many spectacles have been presented in human history more humiliating than the outcreeping and reïnstatement of the brood of small kings when it was known that the Corsican was no longer abroad. The Congress at Vienna came, and gave its sanction. Then it was that each royal tinker set to work to repair his petty, antiquated throne to seat himself thereon, and to begin his reign in accordance with the beneficent principles promulgated by the Holy Alliance! The spirit of Madame Krüdener seemed to hover, well pleased, over Western Europe.

Nowhere were the bitter fruits of the great reäction in favor of the Middle Ages more perniciously displayed than in the new German Confederation. In some places the maxims of Feudalism were actually reädopted. The poor peasants of Mecklenburg were reduced to serfdom. In Hesse-Cassel a military order was issued by the Elector that the soldiers should wear powdered queues, *à la* the age of Louis XV. The shadow of the spectral Past once more fell across the landscape, and the ridiculous German princes flung themselves upon their faces, as if to cry out: "These be thy gods, O Israel!"

The Congress of Vienna did much to restore the map of Central Europe to its ancient outline. Lombardy and Venice fell to Austria; so also Illyria, Dalmatia, the Tyrol, Salzburg, and Galicia. Warsaw was transferred from Prussia to Russia. Posen, however, remained to Prussia. Westphalia and the Provinces on the Lower Rhine were also included in the Prussian dominion, and the enlargement was continued by the annexation of a part of Saxony, Swedish Pomerania, and the old archbishoprics of Mayence, Trèves, and Cologne. East Friesland went to Hanover, and the latter was advanced from a dukedom to a kingdom. Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, and Weimar became grand duchies. Frankfort, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck regained their freedom as independent municipalities. As to society, the ancient order was restored, with the exception of the free nobles and the priests, who were not again established in their former privileges.

In the meantime, however, a spirit of Union had appeared among the people. The dream of Nationality had gone forth among the German race. The idea of the revival of the Old Empire again took possession of the Teutonic mind; but it was soon seen that such a project was impossible. The position which Prussia herself had now taken made the scheme of restoration impracticable. The ancient condition had passed away. Of the fully three hundred petty States which had been component parts of the Empire at its dissolution, only thirty-nine now remained, and these were destined to be still further reduced by the extinction of many. The demand of the German race for unity was, therefore, doomed to denial and disappointment. The German Diet, composed of representatives from a multitude of small principalities, each jealous of the other, each anxious to retain its own sovereignty, could not be expected to promote the union of all under a common form. The difficulty confronted the Ministers at Vienna, and it was seen by them that something must be done to meet the will of the German States and nations. A scheme of Confederation was accordingly prepared, under the direction of Prince Metternich, and was so contrived as to give the leadership to Austria, throwing around the other German States the loose band of an agreement to act in concert against any foreign foe. The general effect was to produce in Germany what is called a *Staatenbund*, or loose Confederacy, and under this imperfect form of general government the German nations were to continue for nearly half a century.

At the beginning, the new Confederation promised, through the Diet, many of the reforms and improvements with which the German people had now become acquainted, and for which they clamored. It was agreed that a system of tariff legislation for all the States in common should be prepared; that a common currency should be used; that a postal system should be provided, and that many other conditions of progress and improvement should be introduced into the administration. But none of these pledges were fulfilled. Some of the States, among which Prussia was the most notable example, made laudable efforts to bring in the reforms which had been caught from the infection of the French Revolution. Thus, for instance, the Zollverein or Tariff Union, promoted by Prussia,

was at length accepted as a basis of a commercial system among many of the German States; but for the rest, little was accomplished in the way of constitutional reforms or encouragement to national unity.

On the other side, a lamentable amount of work was done in the revival of old abuses and the reïmposition of ancient fetters on the people. In one thing the German princes were agreed, and that was the maintenance of their prerogatives against all proclamation and defense of popular rights. The effect was discouraging in the last degree. The German Diet was composed in such manner as to make reform impossible. Even where the form of a representative government was preserved, so plain a condition as the right of suffrage was denied. The members of the legislative bodies of many of the States were actually appointed by the king or duke; and, even when so appointed, their commissions made them the representatives of only a single class or party among the people. The Diet was forbidden to make any change in the constitution, or to carry any reformatory measure except by a unanimous vote. The system, as of old, seemed to have been devised for the special purpose of redelivering the German States, bound with withes and thongs, into the custody of the Middle Ages. The German people, who had hoped so much, beginning now to consider thoughtfully the situation in which they had been placed as the result of all their sacrifices, readily perceived that they had been resold into the ancient political bondage by those benign rulers who were going to govern the world in accordance with the doctrines of Christianity, as interpreted by the Holy Alliance. It was clear that, in the language of Lord Byron, "reviving thralldom" had become "the patched-up idol of enlightened days."

Another fact was equally patent, and that was, that the deathless principles enunciated by the leaders of the French Revolution had gone abroad to make the tour of Europe and the world. The audacious ideas which had found expression in the new birth of France, made their way into the German universities, and the students took fire under the inspiration of freedom. On the 18th of October, 1817, a great convention or "bund" of the German students was held at the old castle of Wartburg, where Luther had been concealed after his escape from the Diet. There were sown the seeds which, in the harvest-time to come, should bring forth the liberation and unity of Germany.

The reäctionists were greatly alarmed at these proceedings, and a Congress was held at Carlsbad, with a view to counteracting the revolutionary tendencies of the times. An act was passed prohibiting the formation of societies among the students of the universities. A severe censorship was established over the German press, and committees were appointed to attend the lectures of the professors in the universities, and to take notes of what they said! The most brilliant young men of Germany were put under the ban, and many, in order to save themselves from imprisonment, left the Fatherland forever. So cruel a system of espionage and police was established that the people suffered more from the present tyranny than they had done a century before.

In all these things the student of history will be able to discover some of the profound and beneficent principles upon which human society is founded—some of the laws by which its movements are governed and directed. To the casual observer it would seem that the Napoleonic invasions of Germany, scattering destruction to right and left, carving with the sword the very heart and life of the race, and trampling the residue underfoot, even in the ancient capital of the German Empire, were the greatest of evils. But the advent of the Corsican was really the coming of a beneficent but cruel evangel. He drew after him a tremendous plowshare that turned up the fallow soil, long soaked with the cold rains of the Middle Ages. In came the sunlight and the air. True enough, all manner of wild weeds and brambles sprang in the first years from the uptorn earth; but fecundity came with the violence, and blossoms and fruit-bearing afterwards. The spirit of the German race was agitated into a new life. It sought henceforth to expand, to spread its wings, to rise above ancient prejudices and the evils of localism to a higher view and concept of human liberty and of the glory of the Fatherland.

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The Congress of Vienna did much to restore the map of Central Europe to its ancient outline. Lombardy and Venice fell to Austria; so also Illyria, Dalmatia, the Tyrol, Salzburg, and Galicia. Warsaw was transferred from Prussia to Russia. Posen, however, remained to Prussia. Westphalia and the Provinces on the Lower Rhine were also included in the Prussian dominion, and the enlargement was continued by the annexation of a part of Saxony, Swedish Pomerania, and the old archbishoprics of Mayence, Trèves, and Cologne. East Friesland went to Hanover, and the latter was advanced from a dukedom to a kingdom. Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, and Weimar became grand duchies. Frankfort, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck regained their freedom as independent municipalities. As to society, the ancient order was restored, with the exception of the free nobles and the priests, who were not again established in their former privileges.

In the meantime, however, a spirit of Union had appeared among the people. The dream of Nationality had gone forth among the German race. The idea of the revival of the Old Empire again took possession of the Teutonic mind; but it was soon seen that such a project was impossible. The position which Prussia herself had now taken made the scheme of restoration impracticable. The ancient condition had passed away. Of the fully three hundred petty States which had been component parts of the Empire at its dissolution, only thirty-nine now remained, and these were destined to be still further reduced by the extinction of many. The demand of the German race for unity was, therefore, doomed to denial and disappointment. The German Diet, composed of representatives from a multitude of small principalities, each jealous of the other, each anxious to retain its own sovereignty, could not be expected to promote the union of all under a common form. The difficulty confronted the Ministers at Vienna, and it was seen by them that something must be done to meet the will of the German States and nations. A scheme of Confederation was accordingly prepared, under the direction of Prince Metternich, and was so contrived as to give the leadership to Austria, throwing around the other German States the loose band of an agreement to act in concert against any foreign foe. The general effect was to produce in Germany what is called a *Staatenbund*, or loose Confederacy, and under this imperfect form of general government the German nations were to continue for nearly half a century.

At the beginning, the new Confederation promised, through the Diet, many of the reforms and improvements with which the German people had now become acquainted, and for which they clamored. It was agreed that a system of tariff legislation for all the States in common should be prepared; that a common currency should be used; that a postal system should be provided, and that many other conditions of progress and improvement should be introduced into the administration. But none of these pledges were fulfilled. Some of the States, among which Prussia was the most notable example, made laudable efforts to bring in the reforms which had been caught from the infection of the French Revolution. Thus, for instance, the Zollverein or Tariff Union, promoted by Prussia,

was at length accepted as a basis of a commercial system among many of the German States; but for the rest, little was accomplished in the way of constitutional reforms or encouragement to national unity.

On the other side, a lamentable amount of work was done in the revival of old abuses and the reïmposition of ancient fetters on the people. In one thing the German princes were agreed, and that was the maintenance of their prerogatives against all proclamation and defense of popular rights. The effect was discouraging in the last degree. The German Diet was composed in such manner as to make reform impossible. Even where the form of a representative government was preserved, so plain a condition as the right of suffrage was denied. The members of the legislative bodies of many of the States were actually appointed by the king or duke; and, even when so appointed, their commissions made them the representatives of only a single class or party among the people. The Diet was forbidden to make any change in the constitution, or to carry any reformatory measure except by a unanimous vote. The system, as of old, seemed to have been devised for the special purpose of redelivering the German States, bound with withes and thongs, into the custody of the Middle Ages. The German people, who had hoped so much, beginning now to consider thoughtfully the situation in which they had been placed as the result of all their sacrifices, readily perceived that they had been resold into the ancient political bondage by those benign rulers who were going to govern the world in accordance with the doctrines of Christianity, as interpreted by the Holy Alliance. It was clear that, in the language of Lord Byron, "reviving thralldom" had become "the patched-up idol of enlightened days."

Another fact was equally patent, and that was, that the deathless principles enunciated by the leaders of the French Revolution had gone abroad to make the tour of Europe and the world. The audacious ideas which had found expression in the new birth of France, made their way into the German universities, and the students took fire under the inspiration of freedom. On the 18th of October, 1817, a great convention or "bund" of the German students was held at the old castle of Wartburg, where Luther had been concealed after his escape from the Diet. There were sown the seeds which, in the harvest-time to come, should bring forth the liberation and unity of Germany.

The reäctionists were greatly alarmed at these proceedings, and a Congress was held at Carlsbad, with a view to counteracting the revolutionary tendencies of the times. An act was passed prohibiting the formation of societies among the students of the universities. A severe censorship was established over the German press, and committees were appointed to attend the lectures of the professors in the universities, and to take notes of what they said! The most brilliant young men of Germany were put under the ban, and many, in order to save themselves from imprisonment, left the Fatherland forever. So cruel a system of espionage and police was established that the people suffered more from the present tyranny than they had done a century before.

In all these things the student of history will be able to discover some of the profound and beneficent principles upon which human society is founded—some of the laws by which its movements are governed and directed. To the casual observer it would seem that the Napoleonic invasions of Germany, scattering destruction to right and left, carving with the sword the very heart and life of the race, and trampling the residue underfoot, even in the ancient capital of the German Empire, were the greatest of evils. But the advent of the Corsican was really the coming of a beneficent but cruel evangel. He drew after him a tremendous plowshare that turned up the fallow soil, long soaked with the cold rains of the Middle Ages. In came the sunlight and the air. True enough, all manner of wild weeds and brambles sprang in the first years from the uptorn earth; but fecundity came with the violence, and blossoms and fruit-bearing afterwards. The spirit of the German race was agitated into a new life. It sought henceforth to expand, to spread its wings, to rise above ancient prejudices and the evils of localism to a higher view and concept of human liberty and of the glory of the Fatherland.

In so far as history divides itself into epochs,

we here enter a period of about thirty years of reäction. It was one of the most deplorable in the history of Germany. The people constantly perceived with increasing clearness that personal government was established over them, and that all of the interests of German civilization were thereby impeded or turned into unnatural channels. It could but be known also that in the Franco-Prussian provinces, which had been taken away from German authority, a new idea of human government had been introduced, and that the people of those

FREDERICK WILLIAM III.

districts were correspondingly more enlightened and happy. In the German States there was a constant understruggle against the princes, who broke their pledges, and retained their authority by means of pitiful devices intended to defeat the public will. Even in those cases where constitutions were granted, the cup of promise was broken at the lips. Nassau, Weimar, Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg went through the forms of instituting constitutional systems of government; but the rulers of those countries were careful that the substance of power should remain with themselves, and that only the husks of freedom should be delivered to the people. In only one respect could it be said that Germany gained aught during the reäctionary epoch which we are here considering. Though the governments were absurd and despotic, the bloody traces of the Napoleonic wars were at length obliterated. The German industries revived, and a measure of peace afforded opportunity to restore the wasted energies of the nation.

This is the period covered by the reign of that Frederick William III. for whom the Corsican had had so great contempt. During the larger part of his reign he kept close to the side of Czar Alexander, and after the death of that sovereign, Frederick renewed the alliance with Nicholas. It was an age of Russo-Prussian intercourse and sympathy. The King of Prussia belonged by mind and method to the past. He set himself firmly against every reformatory movement, and showed more strength in suppressing by force the liberal agitations which appeared from time to time than in any other part of his policy. The Government during his reign showed complete incapacity to apprehend the condition of affairs, or to appreciate the will and wants of the people. Until 1830 the retrogressive policy of Prince Metternich was followed almost as assiduously in Prussia as in Austria. Frederick William III. and his Government were drawn in the wake of the Austrian ship of State, laboring through the turbid waters.

At the latter date, however, the growth of enlightened sentiment had proceeded so far in Prussia as to compel a breaking away from Austria. Then it was that the great Customs-Union, called the Zollverein, of which we have already spoken, was adopted, under the leadership of the Prussian Government, and was accepted by a great part of Germany. The movement in favor of the Tariff Union had begun in Würtemberg and Bavaria as early as 1828. In those countries the evils of localism and disunion had become so great as to compel the adoption of some measure promotive of a national interest. Each district had hitherto been obliged to maintain its own system of taxation, its own custom-houses, its

own local laws. Against this confusion of methods and distraction of interests, the Zollverein was invented, in the belief that it would tend to the production of a political as well as commercial unification of the German peoples. All of the States, with the exception of Austria, entered into the compact, and a beneficial influence was at once shed abroad by the material unity which was thus attained.

France, whereby Charles X. was overthrown and sent into exile. In Brunswick an insurrection broke out by sympathy with the French revolt, and Duke Charles of that province was driven from the Electoral throne. A similar drama was enacted in Saxony and Hesse-Cassel; and in Hanover the office of viceroy was given to the popular duke, Ernest August. In all four of these provinces new

BATTLE AT THE BARRICADES IN BRUSSELS.
After the painting by Wappers.

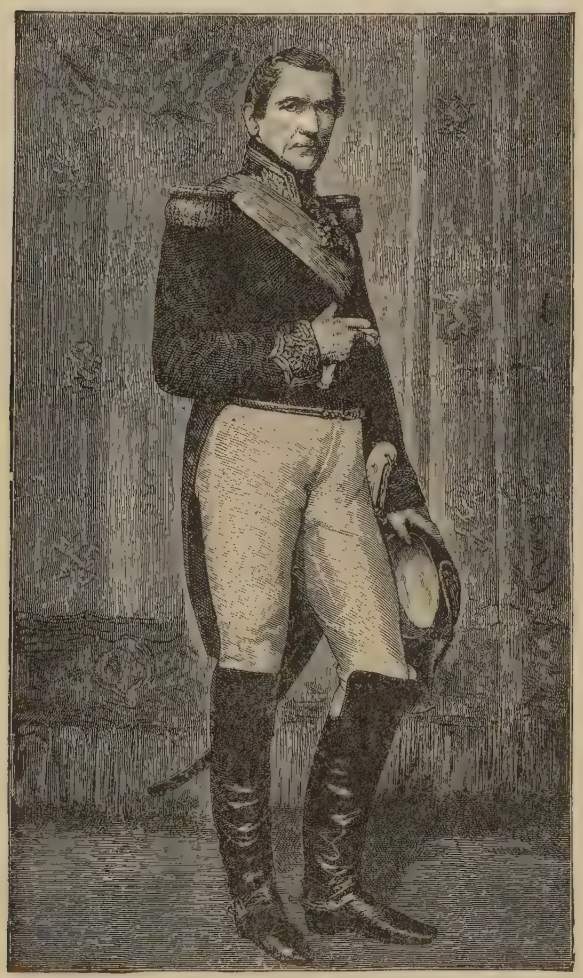
During the next ten years, the recuperation of the country was more rapid than in the third decade of the century; but the premonitory symptoms of revolution were already seen, and it was only a question of time when the decree of history would prevail against the stupidity of administrations.

Already, in 1830, a great excitement was produced in the German States by the news of the popular and successful revolution in

constitutions were adopted in accordance with the principles and wishes of the German people. Symptoms of a similar movement were discernible in the more powerful kingdoms of Prussia and Austria. It was evident that the Germans of all the States were virtually in accord in their political sentiments and aspirations; but the reigning representatives of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg were enabled, with the aid of the German Diet, to

suppress the movement for liberty in the two most important kingdoms held by the German race.

Nor was it long until Ernest August of Hanover forgot his liberal professions, went over to the party of the monarchical reäction, and became an agent in the abrogation of the very constitution which he had accepted as the basis of his government. Louis I. of Bavaria



LEOPOLD I., KING OF THE BELGIANS.
After the painting of Winne.

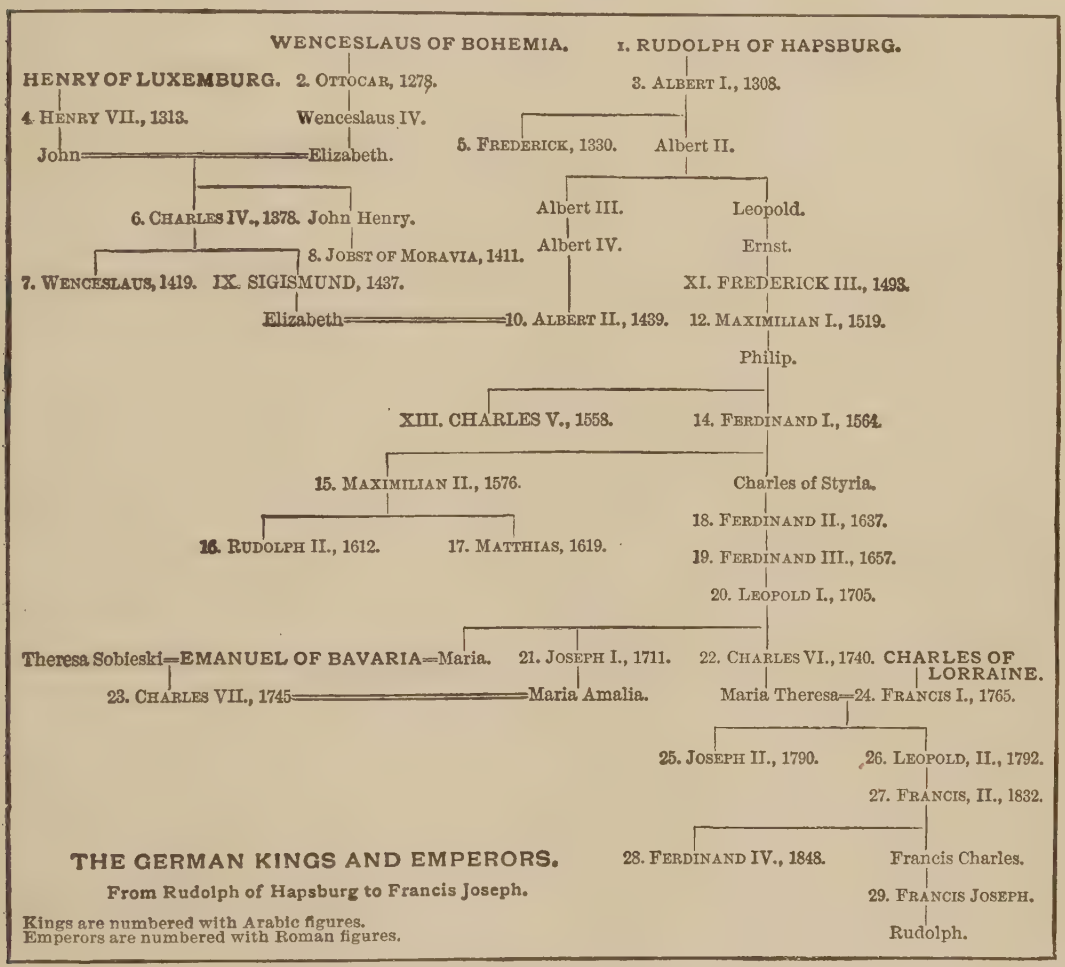
followed with an aggravation of the same offensive policy. All of his pledges were forgotten or renounced. He became as absolute as any Hapsburg could desire, and Jesuitical enough to please the chief of the Propaganda. While these forces were in full tide, the great men of Germany went to the rear. Von Stein, Gneisenau, Wilhelm Von Humboldt, went into obscurity, to make room for absurd personages—a dull brood of parvenus and hypocrites—with no more abilities than were necessary to croak the shibboleths of despotism. By such means was the ancient order fostered and upheld in a large part of Germany.

Of all the popular movements which were reflected into foreign States by the French Revolution of 1830, the most noted political revolt was that which broke out in Belgium. To this great and salutary insurrection we have already had occasion to refer in the history of Great Britain. The Belgic Revolution was clearly of the French contagion. It had happened that in the Netherlands the public debt, entailed by the Napoleonic wars, had been laid very unequally on Holland and Belgium, at the time when the Kingdom of the Netherlands was constituted. That Kingdom had, indeed, become a Kingdom of Holland, with a provincial attachment—called Belgium.

As a consequence of this injustice, the Belgian industries were severely taxed in the interest of the national debt, and the people at length grew restless under the imposition of the burden. In May of 1830 an effort was made to put down the popular discontent by enacting a new law for the press, whereby the free expression of opinion was prohibited. For two or three months this additional act of absolutism was borne with tolerable patience; but on the 25th of August a violent insurrection broke out in Brussels, and an address was sent to the King asking for the correction of abuses. While negotiations were pending on this demand between the Crown Prince of Holland and the Deputies of Belgium, the revolutionary sentiment gathered still greater head, and the cry of independence was raised in the streets of Brussels. The Confederation was at once invoked, and King Frederick William hurriedly convened the States-General. At the same time he sent forward an armed force to aid in the suppression of the revolt in the Belgian capital.

But Brussels thought no more of submitting. The streets of the city were barricaded by the patriots, who, on the 23d of Septem-

ber, were attacked by an army of fourteen thousand men. But there was no longer any shrinking from the issue. A provisional government was established in Brussels. On the 10th of November a National Congress was convened, and the independence of Belgium formally proclaimed. The revolutionary party, however, chose to adhere to the forms of monarchy. Here, again, the influence of the Revolution in France, by which the Citizen King had just been raised to the throne, was felt in the analogous movement in Belgium. The House of Orange was forever excluded from the throne, just as the Elder Bourbons had been expelled from the throne of France. William, King of the Netherlands, made a strenuous effort to uphold his authority, and a conference of the Powers was held in London to determine the course which should be taken with respect to the Belgian Rebellion. The Conference took up the question, declared an armistice, and ended by acknowledging the independence of Belgium. It appeared that the hovering spirit of Madame Krüdener was no longer to dominate the European States. After some brief delays, Belgium became an independent kingdom, and the crown was conferred on Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who, in July, 1831, was acknowledged as king, with the title of Leopold I.



If, at this epoch, we should compare the two principal German Powers, Austria and Prussia, we should find in the latter, notwithstanding the reäctionary and illiberal character of the Government, more evidences of possible enlightenment and progress than in the former. Frederick William III. might well be regarded as a paragon compared with Francis II., the Austrian Emperor. It might almost be said that Austria, under his

rule, was impervious to every principle of progress. She, perhaps, of all the States of Europe, was least affected by the French Revolution of 1830. The insurrections of that year did indeed reach the Austrian boundaries, and in Lombardy the revolt was suppressed only by an army of thirty thousand men. In the Polish Revolution of 1831, Francis sympathized with his friend the Czar. Though professing a strict neutrality, it could but be noted that when a division of the Polish army, routed in battle, was driven into the Austrian territory, the Emperor immediately ordered the disarmament and detention of the corps. At the same time a body of Russian troops, entering Austria under almost identical circumstances, was permitted to go on unmolested with the campaign against Poland. This, indeed, has been regarded by historians as the most important transaction of the last five years of the reign of Francis I. The decline of the House of Hapsburg gained a further impetus in the transfer of the Austrian crown, in 1835, to the head of Ferdinand I., the half-witted son of Emperor Francis. It was a fitting thing that the old principle of hereditary descent which had been followed since the days of Rudolph and Wenceslaüs of Bohemia, should be thus exemplified in its practical application.

CHAPTER CXLII.—FREDERICK WILLIAM IV.

WHILE the Hapsburg crown thus sank to the marshlands of imbecility, the Hohenzollern diadem was raised at length into a more salubrious atmosphere. In June of 1840, Frederick William III. died, and was succeeded by his son with the title of FREDERICK WILLIAM IV. The Prussian people had already been indulging in odious comparisons between the temper and talents of the Crown Prince and those of the late King. The former had risen high in popular favor, and his accession was welcomed throughout Prussia as an auspicious event. Public opinion ratified and approved the indication of heredity by which Frederick IV. was raised to power. He came to the throne, moreover, at a time when a higher expression of the national life was possible. Railroads had now been introduced into Prussia. The Zollverein had come into free operation. The new methods of the Customs-Union were aided by the improved means of communication and the opened channels of commerce. All these obvious benefits had tended strongly to fan the desire for a new national life, and Frederick William inherited the advantages of the situation. The hopes of the German Liberals were kindled anew. The sovereign was recognized as a scholar and a gentleman, whose culture was mingled with sympathy for the people.

His reign, therefore, began under favorable auspices. One of his first acts seemed to justify the highest expectations. He published a general amnesty for political offenses, and refused to discriminate against the German Liberals. The political prisoners were pardoned out of jail, and many of them restored to their offices. The learned professors who, during the preceding reign, had been deposed from their chairs in the universities for teaching a modicum of political and social truth to their students, were also freed from the ban and restored to their places. The celebrated brothers Grimm, who, with others, had been expelled from the University of Göttingen, were welcomed by the King to Berlin. Better even than this was the action of Frederick William with respect to one of the noblest of the German race. He took into his friendship and counsel the famous Alexander Von Humboldt, a genius as great as the nineteenth century has produced, thus doing honor to his reign by showing honor to the most distinguished scientist of the age. He also settled in a satisfactory manner the disgraceful struggle which had been going on between the Government and the Catholic Church.

The pacification, however, was of short

duration. Four years after the accession of Frederick William the country was greatly agitated by a sort of religious manifesto, published by Father Ronge, who proposed that a National Church, to be known as the German Catholic, somewhat rationalistic in its constitution, should take the place of both the Romish and Protestant establishments. Ronge had become disgusted with certain miracles which were said to have been performed at Trèves by the agency of the "Holy Coat," the alleged garment of the Christ. He attacked the sham marvels which the priests had authenticated, and found a ready response from the people. His followers became numerous, and the King suffered alarm lest Church and State alike might be shattered by Ronge's new form of Protestantism. The movement came to be regarded by the Government in the light of a political agitation, and was treated accordingly. The work of Father Ronge was checked with a strong hand, but not until the liberal priest had acquired great influence throughout Prussia.

The events to which we have just referred were the first to reveal the shallowness of Frederick William's pretentions of liberalism. He had not been five years on the throne until a reäction in his principles and policy was painfully manifested. It came to be seen that, after all, the King's idea of a "Christian State" might find acceptance even with the Holy Alliance. It was perceived that his reformatory ideas extended no further than better methods of administration, and did not touch the deep-seated errors and abuses of absolutism. While the King conceded that the Provincial Diets, which had been established by his father, should meet annually, no additional liberty was granted on the side of the suffrage, or with respect to the freedom of deliberation in the Diets.

After these years, the preliminary good disposition of Frederick William IV. gave no further sign. He refused to favor the adoption of a new Prussian Constitution, and it became evident that political reform under his reign could extend no further than such politic measures as were likely to strengthen his own hold on the throne. A new censorship of the press followed in the train. Resort was had again to arbitrary punisments for liberal professors and school-masters who gave their own thoughts freely to their pupils. Even the judges who chanced in their decisions to go athwart the views of the Government began to be deposed by illegal processes. The King's popularity, resting as it did upon the vague promises and indefinite hopes which he, as Crown Prince, had held out to the people, and which had been encouraged after his accession, rapidly fell away, and the Prussian Liberals saw that their favorite political reforms must be sought through some other channel than the good-will of the King.

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.

What is here said of the course of events in Prussia may be repeated for the condition of affairs in most of the other German States. In Austria the political reäction had worked greater hardships even than in Prussia. We have seen how, in that country, Emperor Francis II. was succeeded, in 1835, by the

respectable idiot Ferdinand IV. in the Imperial line, otherwise Ferdinand I. of Austria. Under his reign nothing could be expected except mediæval politics and Jesuitical religion. Into the Austrian dominions, however, the principles of reform, having their birth and baptism west of the Rhine, began to make their way. The Italian subjects of Ferdinand, in Lombardy, had to be repressed by force. The Hungarians became restless, and were overawed in like manner. The people of the Slavonian borders gave signs of insurrection in the cause of reform, but were suppressed. In Bavaria, in Hesse-Cassel, and Baden, the ministers of the reactionary school were boldly confronted by a Liberal Opposition, and in some crises they held their places with difficulty against the popular demands. Indeed, in every quarter of Germany there were unmistakable premonitions of the coming struggle between the existing forms of government and the enlightened instincts of a rising citizenship.

Returning to Prussia as our point of view, we find everywhere the evidences of a growing distrust of the King and his Administration. It was perceived by the people that those rights which they claimed, which they had learned to define, and which had been denied to them under repeated petitions, must be gained and maintained by some more forceful policy. The pressure upon the Government became constantly more heavy and persistent. By the year 1847 the King, who was not wanting in political discernment, saw the necessity of some movement to popularize his rule. The first concession was made with respect to a National Diet. It was determined to summon at Berlin such a body, to be composed of delegates from the various provincial Diets of Prussia. On the coming together of the Assembly, a spirit of great moderation was shown by the representatives, and the Diet made haste to give sincere assurances of loyalty to the existing Monarchy, and to the King as its head. Frederick William had taken care that in choosing representatives by provinces, that is, *territorially*, the Feudal principle should be observed, as against the democratic method of a popular election.

It could hardly be expected that a body so chosen under the auspices of the Government itself, and by a plan in no wise republican, would do any daring thing in the way of reform, or be regarded as a menace to the existing order. Nevertheless, some of the utterances of the Diet, especially such as related to the substitution of elections for territorial appointment as the origin of membership in the Assembly, gave alarm to the King, and he in his turn proceeded to announce in a most royal manner his own claims to the crown, his prerogatives as a sovereign, whose rights were derived from on high instead of from the people of the earth, and his determination to uphold at all hazards the ancient and immemorial usages of the Government. There was thus a dead-lock between the old-time monarchical absolutism and the reformatory movement. As a consequence, the project for reform in the Diet came to naught.

It was the peculiarity of the second quarter of the nineteenth century in the history of France and Germany, that the political agitations in the former found a quick and sympathetic echo in the latter. The mind of Germany was attuned to liberty, and the chords of the German harp vibrated by induction when that of France was struck by the swift hand of the Revolutionist. So it had been in 1830. So it was again in 1848. In that year, as we have already seen, the Republicans of Paris rose against the Citizen King, Louis Philippe, and drove him and his court and dynasty from the kingdom. The Republic was once more proclaimed, and the mercurial nature of the French trembled with enthusiasm. Swiftly the news flew to the Rhine. Swiftly it penetrated Würtemberg, and Baden, and Bavaria. Swiftly it pervaded Rhenish Prussia, Westphalia, and Hanover. Swiftly it overpassed the mountain-tops, and flew across the plains of Brandenburg and Posen, to the borders of Poland and the banks of the Niemen. Throughout Germany the great event at Paris was hailed with delight by the people, and heard with dismay by the rulers.

A belief in the possibility of a like political emancipation for the German race took possession of the public mind, and the sensation was profound from border to border. The people had now come to believe that little dependence could be placed in the quasi-pledges and *double-ententes* of their kings. The first great movement reached its climax

at a convention held at Manheim, the old capital of the Palatinate, in Baden. Four demands were here formulated in the name of the people. These were, first, freedom of the press; second, trial by jury; third, national armies for the defense of the Fatherland; and fourth, national representation. The times were ripe for the work done by the convention. The articles became the charter of the German Liberals, and the latter went forth everywhere triumphant. Within a week a new Ministry, in harmony with the people had been constituted in almost all the smaller States. King Louis of Bavaria, whose policy had been to distract the attention of his subjects from their political rights by making Munich a center of art, was obliged to resign his crown in favor of his son Maximilian. The popular clamor for political emancipation rose high. Austria was shaken. In Vienna an insurrection broke out, and Prince Metternich, who had been virtually the Austrian Government ever since the overthrow of Napoleon, and the Apostle of the Reäction to all Europe, was driven from power. Hungary quivered with a new life, and a Liberal Cabinet responded to the national demand.

PRINCE METTERNICH.

In Prussia the agitation was still more far-reaching and profound. The people rose as one man and demanded their rights. Frederick William, whose mind was as penetrating as it was witty, perceived the peril of the situation, and yielded with a sort of royal grace to the swiftly coming storm. On the 18th of March, 1848, he issued a proclamation announcing his purpose to favor the creation of a constitutional form of government and a general reform of the existing institutions of Prussia. Just at this point, however, the excited people, in a half rebellious mood, rushed through the streets of Berlin and came into conflict with the soldiers, who fired upon the crowd, killing several citizens. The excitement became intense; the people, gathering up their dead, carried the lifeless bodies in ghastly procession before the King's palace, and compelled him to look upon the spectacle. The Revolution triumphed without further bloodshed, and Frederick William, wiser than most monarchs under the circumstances, took the Black-and-red Imperial banner, rode through the crowded streets, and took an oath to grant the demands of his subjects. He also openly espoused the principles of the German Liberals who were aiming to unify the Fatherland, and published a proclamation to the effect that henceforth Prussia was merged into Germany. These well-timed concessions on the part of the King produced the desired effect, and in a few weeks the tumult of the people fell to a calm.

From this moment forth the struggle for the national unity of the German peoples began in earnest. The conviction spread that only by such means could the Fatherland be rescued from the chaos which had supervened in all the German countries. In such a state of

affairs, and such a condition of the public mind, the hopes of the people turned naturally to the old Imperial Diet, which was now convened at Frankfort to consider the condition of the various countries represented. It was an interesting—almost an amusing—spectacle to see this antiquated body falling in with the overwhelming current of German sentiment, before which the great questions of the hour were debated.

Now it was that the popular impulses rose as high as the delegated body, and the latter at once decided that a new National Assembly should be constituted on the basis of universal suffrage, the apportionment being one representative for every fifty thousand electors.

THE BERLIN INSURRECTION OF 1848.

ment, floating with the tide, and trying to attune its mediæval jargon to the language of liberty. On the 1st of March, 1848, a resolution was passed by the Diet inviting the various States to send representatives to Frankfort, to discuss the best means of attaining German unity. The invitation was accepted, and more than five hundred delegates came together in a sort of preliminary Parliament, floating with the tide, and trying to attune its mediæval jargon to the language of liberty. These provisions being made, the preliminary Parliament appointed a Committee of Fifty, *ad interim*, to await the result of the national elections. About this time a revolt broke out in Baden, which had to be suppressed by force of arms. It was noted in the interval that every possible hindrance was thrown in the way of the popular elections, and that the Governments of Prussia and Austria were still,

at heart, in league with the past. But the elections were held, and representatives were duly chosen for the new National Assembly.

In the meantime, a truly democratic party, under the leadership of Frederick Karl Hecker, had been formed, and the proclamation of a Republic was demanded by this faction. A proposition to this effect had been presented in the preliminary Parliament, but was voted down. A second resolution, however, offered by the Republicans, declaring the sovereignty of the *People*, was triumphantly carried. Schleswig and Holstein were recognized as a part of Germany, and participated in the national election. It was found that the Committee of Fifty, sole surviving relic of the ancient order, had little to do, unless it were to assist the Imperial Diet at its own funeral!

Great was the expectation produced in the German States by these proceedings. The mass of the people heartily approved of the course which events seemed now to take of their own direction. It was noted that the enthusiasm of the populace was great in the work of the elections. The leading men of the German race, to the number of six hundred, were chosen as representatives. Such was their reputation, intelligence, learning, and patriotism that the destiny of any State and country might well have been committed to their keeping. Only one thing was lacking to complete the qualifications of the National Assembly for one of the greatest acts of modern history, and that one thing was—*experience.* Political experience was wanting. The history of the Fatherland and its people had flowed into such shape as to produce greatness of mind and heart, will, resolution, patriotic purpose, every quality of intellect and soul requisite for such an emergency, but had not given experience.

It was on the 18th of May, 1848, that the National Parliament assembled in St. Paul's Church, in the city of Frankfort. Everything betokened a speedy regeneration of German institutions. The whole body politic moved forward steadily to the accomplishment of this result. The event showed, however, that the German representatives who came together in the great Parliament had little skill in the usages of a free political life. There were found in the body some of the most learned professors from the German universities. Deep-minded philosphers were there, talkative journalists, earnest students of history, patriots of every class and calling. All were inspired with great thoughts, and directed by earnest purposes. But the speculative spirit triumphed over practicality. The individualism of the German mind asserted itself most strongly. Each thinker would fain construct a system based on philosophical concepts rather than on the current imperfect conditions of human society. To each, the views of the other, failing to accord with his own philosophy, seemed absurd. It was clear that Hecker and Struve, and the other political optimists of the day, had a stock of patriotism greatly in excess of their patience. The debates in the Assembly became interminable. The philosophy of government must be discussed; abstract principles of truth must be discovered; the ultimate theory of civil society must be propounded and elucidated.

Meanwhile, the people outside and beyond began to grow restless. In the hope of hurrying the lagging feet of history, the partisans of various opinions, particularly of the more radical sort, began to organize political clubs, and presently took up arms against the very Government which seemed to be so sincerely engaged in the endeavor to reform its methods and itself. The insurgents gathered head at Freiburg and in the Black Forest; but they were soon overthrown and driven into Switzerland.

The First National Parliament of Germany was, in many respects, the counterpart of the French States-General of 1789. Many of the distinguished and learned men who composed the Parliament may well remind the student of history of those enthusiastic and strong patriots who assembled at Versailles to redeem France from the intolerable dominion of Feudalism. The phenomena of faction also appeared alike in both the French and the German National Assembly. In the latter body, on the 28th of June, 1848, a resolution was adopted abolishing the old Imperial Diet. Shortly afterwards an act was passed instituting a provisional Central Government, and over this the Archduke John of Austria was chosen as Vicar-General of the Empire. The theory of the new frame of government

was that a Directory of three members should be constituted by the German States, subject to the approval of the Assembly, and that a Ministry should be appointed whose responsibility should lie to the Parliament. Over these bodies the Imperial Vicar should preside as Chief Executive.

While this elaborate scheme was in process of creation the debates went on, and the fact was presently revealed that under all there lay a deep-seated antagonism of opinion on the fundamental question, whether the German States should henceforth be republican in form or should continue monarchical, as they had been before. Along this line the people were divided, and the legislators also. The scheme of government provided by the Assembly under which Archduke John received the appointment of Vicar-General was antagonized by Austria and Prussia, the two strongest of the representative States. Each, no doubt, was anxious to secure the unity of Germany, *provided* that unity could be reached under Prussian or Austrian leadership; but each was equally unwilling to be merged in some general power of a larger growth.

While all of these questions were still open and vital to the German people, a popular revolution broke out in the Peninsular States of Schleswig and Holstein. The question was now on whether the peoples of these two provinces should henceforth fall, by their political and ethnic preferences, with the German or the Danish nation. It was in these countries that the race-watershed was found, on the one side of which the streams flowed into the Teutonic, and on the other into the Scandinavian Seas. The ostensible object of the revolt which we are now considering was to throw off the Danish yoke and secure the political independence of Schleswig-Holstein. Germany became profoundly interested in the conflict. Volunteers flocked from the Fatherland to the standards of the insurgents, and the Danish army was driven into Jutland proper. The movement began to assume the character of a conquest. Prussia was authorized by the Confederation to act against Denmark, and a Prussian army was accordingly sent into the peninsula. On the other side, Russia was favorable to the Danes, and proceeded so far as to blockade the German ports in the Baltic. At this juncture, England put forth her hand for mediation and peace, and Frederick William was obliged to agree to an armistice of seven months, dating from the 26th of August.

The new Government, or form of a government, which had just been constituted by the National Assembly at Frankfort, was greatly offended at the armistice. In that Government the popular will was reflected. Though Prussia had just been authorized to prosecute the war in Schleswig in the name of the Confederation, and to act for that Power, a disposition was at once shown to disallow the armistice, which was regarded as a humiliation to Germany. The pressure became so great that the Ministry was obliged to resign; but a new Cabinet could not be formed, and the former Ministers were restored. The Government was authorized to proceed to the establishment of peace, if the same could be had on honorable terms. Such, however, was the popular discontent, especially among the Republicans and Radicals, that the Government was shaken, and a tumult occurred in Frankfort in which two of the representatives were killed. St. Paul's Cathedral, in which the Parliament was in session, was stormed by the rioters, and many other acts of violence were committed; but the event was unfortunate in the last degree to the cause of popular liberty and political reform. The scenes in Frankfort furnished an excuse to the German kings and princes for a more rigorous and repressive policy with respect to the Republican agitation. Both Austria and Prussia found reason in the things done to assume an attitude of half-hostility to the popular movement in all its forms, and the Revolution, by its own excesses, was obliged to descend from victory to supplication.

This is the epoch in which the mighty effort—originated in France and extended into other countries—for the regeneration of society, began to agitate almost all the peoples of Europe. The sheet-lightnings of revolution flashed up all around the horizon. Rebellions broke out in Lombardy, Hungary, and Bohemia. Vienna herself was shaken by the social earthquake. It appeared that the Austrian Empire was about to fall to pieces. In the capital, one riot followed another. Count Latour, a former Minister of War, was seized and

hanged to a lamp-post. The Revolutionary party gained possession of the city. The Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, who, at the head of his people, was leading them on the high-road to independence, began a march to the Austrian capital, but was met and defeated by the Croats, under their Ban, Jellachich. Meanwhile, General Windischgratz, commander of the Austrian army, undertook to recapture Vienna from the Revolutionists. He and Jellachich formed a junction, and then bombarded and took the city. Military rule was established, and several of the leaders of the revolt were tried by court-martial and shot.

HUNGARIAN VOLUNTEERS.
After the painting of A. von Pettenkofen.

The Hungarian Revolution, however, rising to the full tide, had swept on to a complete success. Kossuth was placed at the head of a provisional government, as Dictator of Hungary. The Hungarians were almost unanimous for the Revolution. An army of a hundred thousand patriots was raised, equipped, and disciplined. Several able generals, notably Arthur Görgey, and the Polish commanders, Bem and Dembinski, appeared, and the year 1848 closed auspiciously for the cause of Hungarian liberty.

No sooner, however, had the Austrians under Windischgratz succeeded in restoring order in Vienna, than they began a formidable invasion of Hungary. It was not in the nature of the House of Hapsburg to see so large a part of its ancient dominions torn away by a republican revolution. In the first months of 1849 a powerful Austrian army was thrown forward to subvert, by force, the new order of things which Kossuth and his associates had instituted. The Hungarians boldly met the invasion, and, during the spring, won several brilliant victories. The Austrians were beaten back, and Ferdinand was obliged

to appeal to his friend, the Czar, for aid. The autocrat of all the Russias very gladly entered the contest, and sent forward to the help of Austria an army of a hundred and forty thousand men. Hungary, in her dire extremity, called on England and France for assistance; but called in vain. With a heroism worthy of endless eulogium, she struggled on alone against the mighty forces which were closing around her. Her sons rose to her support from every quarter, and flying detachments of Hungarian volunteers were seen flying across the plains under the inspiration of battle and independence. But the cause was hopeless. Patriotism might not prevail

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against the irresistible pressure of the Austrian and Russian armies. By the beginning of summer, all rational hope of the success of the Revolution had departed.

The Provisional Government and the larger part of the Polish army retreated to Arad, and there, on the 11th of August, Kossuth resigned the Dictatorship in favor of Görgey, in whom, up to that time, the Hungarians had had the greatest confidence. Within two days, however, either through treachery or from sheer hopelessness, he surrendered his entire army to the Russians! By his countrymen, Görgey's conduct was regarded as base treason, and his name became as infamous in Hungary as that of Arnold in America. It subsequently appeared, however, that Kossuth himself had agreed to surrender, as the proper course to be pursued. Under the necesssity of the situation, Görgey's course was, perhaps, justified by the conditions, and the pen of impartial history has been disposed, especially in the last quarter of our century, to re-write his reputation in more favorable terms. His sudden obscuration and ruin in the esteem of his countrymen was doubtless attributable to the blind sorrow and rage of a disappointed patriotism, which could take no denial. As for Kossuth, he, together with Bem and Dembinski, escaped from his native land, and made his way into Turkey. For a brief season the Hungarians, hoping against hope, held out in the fortress of Comorn, their stronghold on the Danube. But this place was besieged and taken by Haynau, who had succeeded Windischgratz in command of the Austrian army, and who, by his massacres and other barbarities, asily vindicated his reputation as one of the miltary monsters of modern times.

Thus was the Austrian domination reëstablished over mutilated and bleeding Hungary. Kossuth went abroad into England and the United States, and became the lion of English-speaking patriots in both Europe and America. The men of the present generation still remember the profound sympathy which his presence in our country excited for the cause of Hungarian independence, and especially for the personal sorrows which had fallen upon its chiefs. As Kossuth journeyed from city to city he was received as a conqueror rather than as a political refugee, and so great was the admiration excited, that the young men of the American cities imitated his dress and manners, and adopted that *style of hat* which bore his name, and which, to the present day, survives as a popular reminiscence of the lost cause of Hungary.

It remained for the House of Hapsburg to reässert its sway over rebellious Italy. In that country the Lombard insurrection had made great headway. The Austrian Governor of Milan, the veteran Marshal Johann Radetzky, who had been one of the German heroes in the Napoleonic Wars, now eighty-two years of age, was obliged, after a five days' struggle, to fly from the city and his princi-

pality. The Sardinians, under their king, Charles Albert, made common cause with the Lombards, and during the summer of 1848 the authority of Austria was virtually destroyed in the greater part of Italy. In course of time, Radetzky made an armistice with Sardinia, and by this means recovered sufficient ground to undartake the subjugation of Venice. Having succeeded in this enterprise, he sought to reconquer all that he had lost. In the following spring Charles Albert again took the field, and met the Austrians at Novara. Here, on the 23d of March, 1849, was fought the bloody and decisive battle in which the Sardinian cause—and indeed that of all Italy—was ruined. The king was constrained to abdicate on the very field of his defeat. He resigned the crown to his son, Prince Victor Emanuel, destined in after years to become forever associated with the resurrection and rehabilitation of modern Italy. For the time, however, he was obliged to yield to the dictation of the conqueror, and to accept at the hands of Francis Joseph, the new Austrian Emperor, such terms and conditions as that monarch was pleased to prescribe.

In the Summer of 1849 Venice was forced to capitulate, and the Austrian yoke was reimposed on Italy. Meanwhile, in the National Parliament at Frankfort, the reäction against Republicanism had set in with fearful force. Nevertheless, the project of unifying Germany was still debated with commendable zeal. The great obstacle to the accomplishment of this end was the rivalry between Austria and Prussia, in each of which States the heartburn of jealousy wrought its worst results. In Austria a reäctionary Ministry, under the leadership of Prince Schwarzenberg, had been constituted, and everything went at full tide for the reëstablishment of the acient absolutism. In order further to promote the plans of the Conservatives, the half-witted Ferdinand was, on the 2d of December, 1848, induced to abdicate, and his cousin, the youthful Francis Joseph, was raised to the throne. Nor could it be denied that the change of rulers was in many respects salutary to the reputation of Austria.

The time had now come for a real trial, as between Austria and Prussia, for the leadership of Germany. The Government established at Frankfort was a theory. It was not made after the manner of history. The Governments of the German States, on the other hand, were realities. They had an existence. Bad as they were, their roots were in the past, and their substance had been drawn from the deeds of men. It might have been foreseen, even at this early day, if any had had the wit to see it, that it was not by a theoretical government that German unity would be attained, but rather by the growing ascendency and final domination of some one of the existing Powers. As a rule, the political structures of mankind have had little analogy to those edifices which the architect devises, first in

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his own brain, then draws on paper, and finally puts into a material form. Human governments rather have grown out of the preëxisting conditions, and have been patched, improved, amended, and repaired, like the Feudal castles of the Middle Ages on which the labor and skill of different builders of different race and instinct have been bestowed through centuries of time.

Thus it was destined to be in the unification of Germany. In reality, the question was narrowed down to the possible leadership of either Prussia or Austria. On the 28th of March, 1849, a measure was actually adopted by the National Parliament conferring on

Frederick IV. of Prussia the title and dignity of Hereditary Emperor of Germany. All of the smaller German States accepted the choice of the Assembly; but Austria stood aloof, and Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover refused their assent to the project. King William himself declined the honor which had been tendered; and thus, after nine months of debating, during which time the great minds of the German race had exhausted themselves upon the general problem of government and the particular question of consolidating the States of the Fatherland under a common administration, the magnificent scheme of German unity ended in—smoke!

Bitter was the disappointment of the people. It had been believed in a great part of Germany that Frederick William would undertake the duty imposed upon him by the Parliament. In the early days after his accession he had himself spoken with enthusiasm of German unity, and the circumstances now present in the country seemed to favor the project. As to the opposition of Austria, that was to be expected out of the nature of the case; for when had the House of Hapsburg, weak as it was, and imbecile with old age, ever assented to be subordinate to anything? Had not the Hapsburgs themselves of old time, since the days of Rudolph, founder of the dynasty, been accustumed to wear the diadem and hold themselves as the successors of Charlemagne?

But the conditions now present in Germany were favorable to undo the history and pretensions of the Austrian line. The Empire was now in the heat and crisis of the struggle with Hungary, and was actually crying out to the Czar for help. It appears, in the light of the retrospect, that Frederick William had not the courage of his conviction. He let *I dare not* wait upon *I would*, and the unification of Germany was postponed for twenty-one years. In declining the Imperial crown, the King covered his own weakness with the pretense that the free cities, and certain of the German princes, had not given their assent to the recreation of the Empire under the hegemony of the House of Hohenzollern.

The disappointment in the Fatherland, the mortification and anger, were so extreme, that insurrections became the order of the day. Mobs appeared in many localities, and popular fury, striking out blindly at whatever opposed, attested the chagrin of the nation. Revolutions were again started in Dresden, Würtemberg, and Baden. The Grand Duke of the latter State was driven from power, and the rebellion made such headway that a Prussian army was sent to quell the revolt. In the course of the summer the insurrection was put down, and, with its extinction, the rebellion of the German people against the system which had been imposed upon them by the Congress of Vienna, thirty-four years previously, came to an end. The representatives in the National Parliament who still toiled on, in a hopeless sort of way, at the problem before them, were gradually recalled, and Germany resumed her former political status.

We shall now see, however, how the ideas which had been put forth in the abstract by the National Parliament at Frankfort, began to take corporeal form and to enter into the administration of the German States. Though Frederick William had refused the Imperial crown, he did not wholly neglect to promote the rising influence of Prussia. He invited the German States to send delegates to Berlin, with whom he and his Ministers might discuss, in a practical way, the condition of the Fatherland and the remedies to be applied. The movement resulted in a treaty between Prussia on the one side, and the kings of Saxony and Hanover, by which an alliance of the three Powers was made on a basis very similar to that which had been adopted by the Frankfort Parliament. It was agreed that the Imperial name should not, indeed, be proposed, but that the King of Prussia should have a certain supremacy over a College of Princes representing the States of the so-called Union. Under this arrangement, a Parliament consisting of two Houses was devised, and on the 20th of March, 1850, held its first session at Erfurt. The body thus constituted ratified the frame of government, and the College of Princes was accordingly appointed to meet at Berlin. For the time it appeared that the work which had come to naught in the hands of the great Assembly at Frankfort, was about to be practically carried out under the leadership of the Prussian, Saxonian, and Hanoverian kings.

By this date, however, Austria, supported by a Russian army, had succeeded in stamping out the Hungarian Revolution. In the moment that this work was accomplished she turned upon Prussia, in order that that power might not secure to herself the leadership of the German States. An intrigue was set on foot by which Hanover and Saxony were induced to withdraw from the Union which they had so recently aided in establishing. A pretext for this sudden reäction was found in the project which was now fomenting by Saxony, Würtemberg, and Bavaria, to form a new Union of their own. Meanwhile, Austria continued to promote her own views by inviting the three States just mentioned to join her in the restoration of the Diet, which was convened at Frankfort on the 4th of September, 1850. It was now the turn of the Hapsburg to bid for the leadership of the German States; but Prussia had gone into opposition. She was not able, however, to prevent the temporary revival, under Austrian influence, of the ancient Diet at Frankfort. The work of that body was, out of the nature of things, a mere echo and mockery. The Assembly was only a shadow projected from the realities of the eighteenth century among the realities of the nineteenth, and the whole enterprise proved abortive. The utmost reach of the influence of the restored Diet extended no further than the temporary dissolution of the Zollverein—a measure effected by the Austrian intrigue. Francis Joseph, in 1851, pressed his advantage to the extent of soliciting a Congress of the German States, to be held in Vienna, which call, accepted by most of the kings and princes except Frederick William IV., resulted in strengthening for a season the Austrian pretensions. But Prussia was the stumbling-block, and under her dictation the Tariff Union was restored, and Austria obliged to make important commercial concessions to the other German Powers.

The period from 1850 to 1860 was a dismal epoch in the history of the German peoples. With every year the chasm between the growing and aspiring mind of the nation and the effete political institutions of the country became wider and deeper. Whenever the evidences of popular discontent took the form of practical action, martial law was proclaimed, and the murmurs of the people were choked into silence. The ancient petty despotisms flourished, and the small principalities rejoiced in their localism, as though the Middle Ages had come again, and Feudalism had been revived as the natural form of society.

Such was the condition of affairs when the Crimean War provoked the interest of all Europe. In this again the antagonism of Austria and Prussia was clearly developed.

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The former Power fell into strong sympathy with England and France in their policy of upholding the autonomy and independence of the Ottoman Empire. Prussia, on the other hand, could not well renounce her long-prevalent sympathy with the Czar. Russian influence prevailed at Berlin over the geographical and historical relations which would otherwise have controlled the course of the Government. At length Frederick William was obliged to recede from his position to the extent of entering into a compact with Austria; but he was able to prevent the organ-

ization of a Confederate army in the common cause of Germany. This manifest policy of the Prussian King tended still further to irritate his subjects, whose sympathies flowed in the common stream with those of Western Europe, and who could but be angered and tormented to find their sovereign in alliance with the most arbitrary and despotic master among all the rulers west of the Ural Mountains.

But the Prussian King had several advantages in promoting the reäction against Liberalism. The example of the successful Republican Revolution of 1848, in France, could no longer be cited as an instance of what the Liberals in other States should do; for the French Republic had been suddenly transformed by a *coup d'etat*, before the end of the first Presidency, into an absolutism. The Emperor Louis Napoleon had emerged, and Prussia found herself between two autocrats of high estate, one French and the other Russian. The example had turned the reverse of the medal to the observer, and he was able to read around the circumference of an Imperial head the mocking aphorism, *L'Empire c'Est la Paix.*

All this could but be pleasing to Frederick William, and the Prussian Government made the most of the situation. In the autumn of 1855 the general elections in Prussia were corrupted by governmental influence to such an extent that only a handful of Liberal representatives were chosen in all the kingdom. Not satisfied with what had already been accomplished, the apostles of Feudalism went forward to demand that the reforms which had been accomplished by Stein and Hardenberg should be abolished. The Prussians, for the time being, were reduced to a state of pitiable docility under the absolutist domination. It was observed, moreover, that in Bavaria and Hanover the popular cause was handled with the same ruthless severity. In the latter country the Liberals were denounced as Revolutionists and put under the ban of the law. In Austria the same complete overthrow and condemnation of Liberalism took place, and on the 18th of August, 1855, a Concordat was signed by the Government whereby Austria, as a sovereignty, was virtually remanded to the control and direction of the Church. It appeared for the hour that the spirit of Madame Krüdener was again hovering over the German nations.

It is, however, the peculiarity of such a condition of human society that it revives from its depression and reässerts its dignity. Deep down in the bottom of the German heart was an unspoken protest against all the dominant forces which then prevailed. It could but be discerned that as soon as the absolute system of government, now in full tide in both the leading German States, should be subjected to a strain—as soon as the Government in such an emergency as war must place its hand upon the people for support—the cry of the Liberal multitudes would again break forth as the voice of roaring waters. Nor was such a contingency far removed. The strain came first to Prussia on the occasion of a trouble with Switzerland. In that country, namely, in Neuchâtel, over which the House of Hohenzollern claimed a suzerainty, certain Royalist disturbers of the peace were seized and thrown into prison. Hereupon Prussia demanded their release, and threatened war in case of a refusal. Switzerland yielded to the pressure, and the Royalists were set free; but not until a billow of public opinion had risen high enough in Prussia to give warning to Frederick William of what he might expect in case of war.

We now come to the personal part in the impending change. The reader of history, if he have read profoundly, will have perceived that human affairs are in all their larger aspects the result of general causes over which men in their individual capacity have little or no control. On the contrary, the men themselves, even the greatest and strongest, are the products of general causation, and perform their respective parts in obedience to laws higher and stronger than they. Such is the fundamental concept of history; and all other concepts of it are erroneous and misleading. But the individual forces, nevertheless, have a certain play. At times the general lines of causation are bent somewhat from their natural course by the tremendous current discharged against them by the battery of some single brain. In many instances a slight deflection is perceptible under the force of a great hand like that of Cæsar, or Charlemagne, or Luther, or Cromwell, or Washington.

The dyke-wall may be sometimes dangerously bored through by a single burrowing crawfish, totally unconscious of his own work. So operates the individual man in the walls of history.

The personal event to which we have referred above was the fall of Frederick William IV. under a stroke of apoplexy, which came in the autumn of 1857. Prussian absolutism was paralyzed with the same attack. Though the King lingered for a season, his ability to rule was gone forever. Now it was that his brother, Prince William of Prussia, already sixty years of age, but hale and strong, a German of the Germans, was called upon to assume and exercise authority in the King's name. For a while this status was maintained, but William at length informed the Ministry and the Diet that he would no longer be a *quasi* King of Prussia. He was then chosen Prince Regent, and on the 2d of January, 1861, became King, with the title of William I.

It has been noticed, as a peculiar circumstance among the royal houses of Germany and England, that the Crown Prince, the heir apparent, or by whatever name he may be called, is generally of an opposite political principle and party to that by which the current Administration is upheld. The Prince of Wales has generally sympathized with the Opposition. In Prussia, in our own time, we have seen the reversal and sudden re-reversal of policy and principles on the occasions of the transference of the crown from the head of this same Emperor William to that of his son, the dying Frederick III., and from him again to his son William II. So it was in 1857 when Prince William came into power. To the great gratification of the Prussian people, the new Government began under auspicious omens. The old Absolutists who had composed the Ministry of Frederick William IV. were dismissed from office, and while the Government did not openly declare its adherence to the policy of the National Parliament, its sympathy in that direction could not be mistaken.

It was under the regency of Prince William that the struggle was renewed for the independence of Italy. Napoleon III., now Emperor of the French, had taken up the Italian cause as against the House of Hapsburg. As a consequence of this policy, a brief but bloody war—a fuller account of which is reserved for a succeeding chapter—broke out between France and Austria. On the 4th of June, 1859, Bonaparte, having announced his intention to make Italy free from the Alps to Sicily, encountered the Austrians on the field of Magenta, where he won a brilliant victory. Again, on the 24th of the same month, he inflicted a still more decisive overthrow on the Austrians, in the great battle of Solferino. It appeared for a time that a genuine Bonaparte had again drawn his sword in Europe. Germany—more particularly Prussia—flushed with excitement. A clamor was raised for an alliance with Austria against the reviving ambition of France. Perhaps the Government would have yielded to the demand had not the shrewd Napoleon stopped short in the glorious middle of his war, and concluded a mild-mannered peace with Francis Joseph at Villafranca.

It was soon apparent, however, that the movement in Italy, which had received so strong an impulse from the recent war, could not be stayed. It had now acquired a momentum of its own, which was destined to roll on in full volume until a United Italy should rise upon the crest of the wave. The year 1860 witnessed a great insurrection of the Italians in favor of nationality, and a consequent general collapse of the absurd principalities, among which the Peninsula had been divided. The masses rallied around the standard of King Victor Emanuel, who became henceforth the representative and impersonation of the new and united Italy.

Meanwhile, the attention of Austria had been limited for the most part to her affairs at home. The blow delivered at Solferino had at least subserved the purpose of sobering and tempering the absolutism of Francis Joseph and his Government. Ever and anon the voice of political agitation was heard in the land, until, at length, even the Austrian Emperor was constrained to make some salutary concessions to his subjects. In Prussia the Liberals found henceforth little cause to complain of the policy of the acting King. The Prince Regent had ordered, soon after his accession to power, a general election, at which the people, to their delight and astonishment, found themselves free to vote as they pleased. Govern-

mental interference was withdrawn, and a new Parliament was returned, in which the late overwhelming Feudal majority was not only reduced, but actually reversed, by the Liberals. The effect was electrical, and the Prussian people and the Prince Regent came into greater accord than had been known between a king and his subjects for half a century.

The Italian war and its beneficent results became a contagion in all Germany. The people of the Fatherland saw, with delight, the example and demonstration of Italian unity. The old passion for a union of the German peoples revived, and was reflected into the Government. What the Italians had accomplished was now more than ever believed in as possible for the Germans. An organization, called the National Union, was formed, which became henceforth the propaganda of those principles and measures which conduced to the consolidation of the German States. The movement was, of course, violently opposed. The old jealousy of the smaller States was excited. When it was known that overtures for a National Union were passed between Austria and Prussia, Baron Beust, Minister of Saxony, came to the fore with the policy to put the two leading States—Prussia and Austria—into antagonism, which, were it once accomplished, must result in the continued independence of the smaller Powers. This evil-doing diplomacy of Beust prevailed with Austria, who had by this time become thoroughly alarmed at the prospect of Prussian ascendency. The proposal of the Saxon Minister, however, received in Prussia the emphatic indorsement of profound—silence! The Regent, now become King William, and his Government, were little disposed to submit to an intrigue by which the leadership of Prussia among the German Powers was to be either long postponed or altogether prevented.

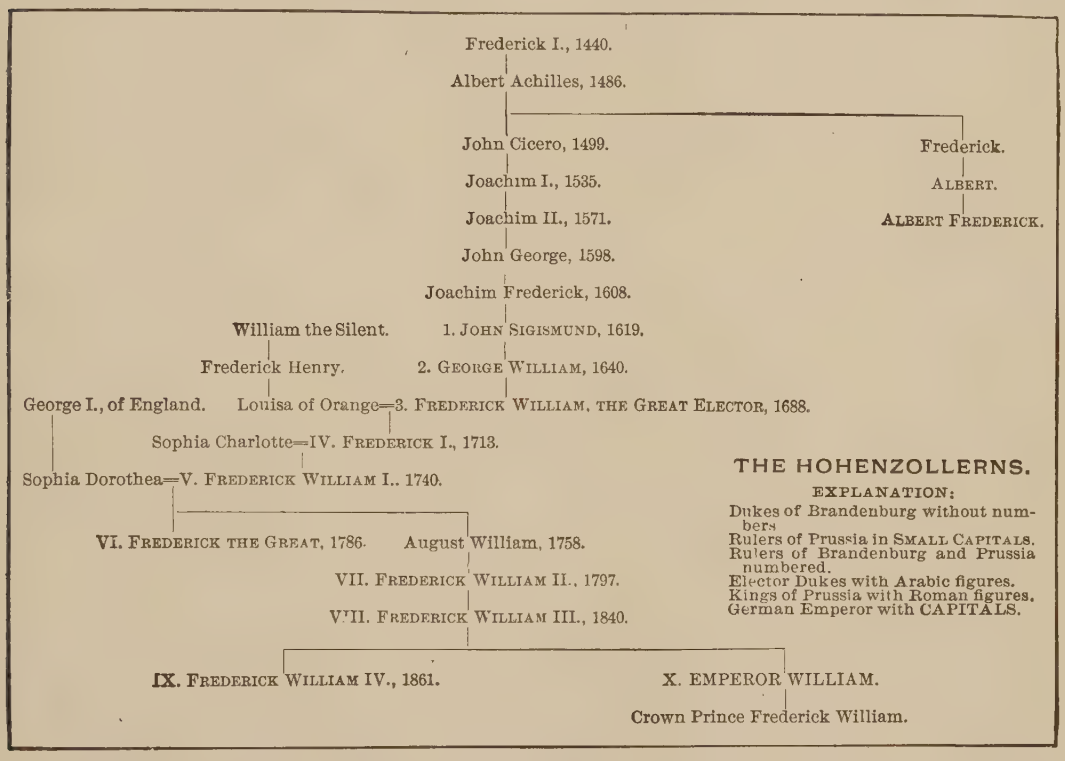
CHAPTER CXLIII.—ASCENDENCY OF HOHENZOLLERN.

THE accession of William I. marked the beginning of the ascendency of the House of Hohenzollern, and of Prussia under its sway, in the affairs of Continental Europe. From the first it was a pronounced and settled policy of the King to reörganize, develop, and bring into the highest efficiency the Prussian army; and to this end every energy of the State was directed. True, the appropriations for military purposes were at first refused by the Legislative Assembly of the Kingdom. The representatives had not yet caught the spirit of the reign. They had not perceived that a real king had come, a true representative of the great Hohenzollerns of old days, one who could not be lightly turned from his purpose. Such, indeed, had risen up, and his presence became a power. He did not hesitate to dismiss his refractory Liberal Ministry for refusing support and sanction to his military measures. In the second year of his reign he had the great good-fortune to place at the head of the Government the celebrated Baron Otto Von Bismarck, of Schönhausen, who became henceforth the soul and might of the Prussian Administration.

Bismarck was now forty-seven years of age. He was the representative of a family which had been well known in Prussia for more than five centuries. In his youth he had studied law and history at Göttingen. In 1835 he had become a member of the bar in Berlin, after his graduation from the university of that city. He afterwards served his full term in the army, then became a delegate of the Nobility in the Diet. In the Parliaments of Frankfort and Erfurt he opposed the schemes of German unity there debated, believing the same to be detrimental to the interests and greatness of Prussia. It can hardly be doubted that he had already had a prevision of the coming preëminence and glory of his own country, and was not willing to see her chances of Empire theorized away in the National Assembly. Gradually Bismarck extended his influence and reputation until the King laid his hand upon his shoulder as the

impersonation of his policy and Government. If the history of the succeeding twenty years has shown anything, it is that the genius of Bismarck has been the dominant personal force in the affairs of Europe. In his previous political career he had been regarded as a conservative of the Conservatives. He had been the Metternich of Prussian politics, and his accession to power was looked upon by the German Liberals as the worst of misfortunes to them and their cause. It remained for them to discover that a Napoleon in politics is sometimes as necessary as a Napoleon on the field of battle. rough and despotic way until his iron will resolved his dream into a reality. His persistency of purpose was equal to every occasion. In spite of the popular clamor with which he was at first assailed, he adopted and pursued the king's policy and his own, of making Prussia the great military Power of the Continent, and when the Assembly refused to make appropriations for the support and development of the army, he went straight ahead with the work, as though he had the concurrence of the people.

The Prussians were astonished at these



In his previous career as Prussian plenipotentiary at the Diet, and as ambassador at Paris and St. Petersburg, Bismarck had made himself familiar not only with the overflow, but with all the undercurrents in the political history of the age. When he came to the place of Prime Minister, in 1862, he had already—if we may judge motives and purposes by results—formed a fixed resolution to place Prussia in the leadership of all Germany, and, if possible, to set the House of Hohenzollern at the head of a restored German Empire. It was clearly under this motive that he undertook the conduct of affairs, and he pursued it in a proceedings, and could not for the time understand that another great reformer of the tyrannic order had appeared on the stage. A brief period of confusion and turmoil ensued, during which Austria sought to regain her prestige, by calling a Congress of the German princes, to meet in Frankfort, to the end that the old Imperial Diet might be abolished, and a reformed body, called the Assembly of Delegates, be substituted in its stead. The reörganization was to be effected, as a matter of course, under the primacy of Austria, and the presidency of the Assembly was to be given to that Power. But the

whole movement was brought to naught by the act of Prussia, who refused to attend the Congress, and left Austria to the ridicule of the small.

It was at this juncture that Bismarck first began to frighten the ancient owls out of their covert. It was seen that he was a man with a purpose, and that with him the shortest distance between two points was a straight line. When the fact was cited that in his path directly lay the sacred traditions of European diplomacy which none might overpass and

OTTO VON BISMARCK.

live, Bismarck *laughed!* His Teutonic guttural was heard with astonishment from the mouth of the Danube to Land's End. Even in America his name began to be pronounced with various comments on the tongues of publicists and statesmen. When it was seen that a tradition was, in his estimation, only a fiction to be laughed away, the next movement of the German diplomates against him was to show forth solemn treaties which had been made to this effect and that. The Past had said that things should be thus and so. It had been agreed to, and the agreement must stand or the heavens fall. At this there was another German laugh, more boisterous than the first. A treaty, said the Prime Minister, is good so long as it can be defended on rational principles. If it be immoral to break up the mummeries which Mediæval States have uttered withal in the times of ignorance, it is necessary. Necessity, said the boisterous Premier, is the law, not only of Prussia, but of all Germany and the world, and the weakest goes to the wall. It was, for the time, a Government of such audacity as had never before been instituted or imagined in the Fatherland.

Exitus acta probat! If the end does not exactly justify the means, the outcome at least approves the things done. The motto of the Father of his County might well have been taken as the aphorism of the Bismarckian policy. Under such a policy it must needs be that offenses come, and woe unto him by whom the offense cometh. The first violence came on the sides of the north. The year 1863 witnessed the outbreak of that war between Germany and Denmark, to which we have already several times referred. The Danish throne passed at that date from Frederick VII. to Christian IX., who began his Administration with an attempt to detach Schleswig and Holstein from their German affiliations, and to incorporate the former province with his own kingdom. This course was in contravention of the Treaty of London of 1852, and produced great excitement in Germany. A Diet was convened, and it was determined to prevent by force the consummation of King Christian's plans. A German army was accordingly thrown into Schleswig, and the Danes, after some valorous fighting, were driven back to a line of fortifications called the Dannewerk, which they had drawn across the Peninsula. The student of history will not fail to note that these military works were coincident with the ethnic line dividing the Teutonic from the Scandinavian nations. The position was strong, both geographically and historically; but the Danes were not able to hold their lines against the masses of their assailants. In April of 1864 the Dannewerk fortifications were carried by storm by the Prus-

sians, and about the same time the Austrians gained a decisive victory over the Danish army in the battle of Oversee.

It now appeared that Denmark, in attempting to hold her provinces, was herself about to be driven to the wall. In her distress she called upon the neutral Powers for assistance. Hereupon, England, France, and Russia came forward as mediators, and an armistice was declared, pending a conference in London. But the ambassadors there assembled could not reach a settlement, and the war was resumed. Everything went against the Danes; and Christian, in the course of two months, was obliged to accept peace on such terms as the German allies were pleased to grant. It will be remembered that Holstein was already nominally a member of the German Confederation. It was claimed by Prussia and Austria that Denmark had, on account of the affiliation of Holstein with Germany, treated that province with unjustifiable severity. This fact was made the excuse for wresting both the disputed duchies from Denmark, and for giving them in jointure to Austria and Prussia.

At this juncture Prince Frederick of Augustenburg came forward, and in virtue of his descent from the ducal family of Holstein, laid claim to the disputed territory in his own right. He set up his Government at Kiel, and whether he should or should not be recognized, became a question of dispute between Austria and Prussia, the former affirming and the latter denying the rightfulness of the Prince's claim. Through the whole complication, Bismarck had had his own ulterior ends in view, and he now bent everything to his purpose. The quarrel between Austria and

STORMING THE DANNEWERK.

Prussia deepened in the channel which he had prepared for it, and hostilities were about to break out between the late allies. But the dispute was at length adjusted by King William and Francis Joseph, in a conference held at Gastein on the 1st of August, 1865.

It was here agreed by the monarchs that Schleswig should be put under the protectorate of Prussia, and Holstein be assigned to Austria. It soon appeared, however, that the quarrel was only filmed over, and not healed. Doubtless, Count Bismarck never intended that the Gastein Treaty should subserve other than a temporary purpose. No eye, not even the eye of History, perceived more clearly than his that the issue between Prussia and Austria must be speedily and sharply settled with the drawn sword. Two Powers could not be first in Germany. Only one could be first. Bismarck had made up his mind that this one should be the country of his master, King William. Moreover, the opportunity which now presented itself was better than any which might be expected soon to arise again. This is to say, that the circumstances of a Prusso-Austrian quarrel were more conspicuous and rational than might be hoped for thereafter.

Dipping again into the motives of those who were now in the leadership of German Europe, we may say in a word that Bismarck had determined to fight Austria, to prepare the conditions of a quarrel which she could not obviate, and then, with the swiftness of an eagle, swoop down upon that rather effete monarchy, tearing and rending her with war-missiles and terror into complete submission. Austria, on her part, may have perceived the coming struggle; but to her imagination it was only as other storms, which would pass. Besides, it was well-nigh impossible for her to recede out of the complication in which she was involved. She must break through it in order to be free. She accordingly at once began openly to renew her support of the Duke of Augustenburg in his claims to the Government of Holstein. To be sure, something had to be done with the duchies which the late allies had wrested from Denmark, and what more rational than to assign Holstein to the representative of its own Ducal House?

But Count Bismarck did not intend that any such disposition of the duchy should be made. As to Lauenburg, which Prussia had received at the Gastein Convention, there was no thought that that bit of territory should be restored to its former position. Prussia would keep all that she gained, and prevent Austria from gaining anything. The course now taken by Francis Joseph was in truth perfidious. All his political methods had the character of subtlety. Seeing the rising power of Prussia, he now sought, by his agents and correspondents, to poison the mind of the people, in the smaller German States, against Prussia and her policy. In this business he was, in a great measure, successful. At the same time the Austrian Governor of Holstein, supported and encouraged from Vienna, continued to promote the pretensions of the Prince of Augustenburg. This was made the subject of an angry despatch from Bismarck to Count Mensdorf, the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs. King William and his Government remonstrated firmly, and in no peaceable terms, against the general conduct of Austria relative to the Danish complication. But the King found himself without support from the smaller principalities. Even his own subjects, who for the most part hated Bismarck as cordially as ever a Minister was hated, refused to sanction the anti-Austrian policy of the Government. In the Prussian Assembly Bismarck was outvoted by five to one. Nevertheless, a Prussian army was hurried into Holstein as the initial movement of the coming war.

Austria, at this juncture was greatly elated at the prospect. Nearly all the German principalities were on her side. She accordingly pressed her advantage, and demanded of the Diet that the armies of the States should act with her own in repelling the aggressions of Prussia. Meanwhile, the latter Power had been on the alert. Bismarck cast his eye on Italy, and saw in that country the exact conditions which he desired. The Italians were, as we have seen, profoundly humiliated on account of the small outcome of the late Franco-Austrian war, which had promised so much for the liberation and unity of their country. Venetia had been allowed by the Treaty of Villafranca, to remain in the hands of Austria. This was the circumstance which Count Bismarck now seized upon as the motive of a

Prusso-Italian alliance. If Italy would join him in the impending struggle with Austria, then Venetia of a certainty should be wrested from the House of Hapsburg and be assigned to Victor Emanuel.

The promised gain was gladly accepted by the Italian Government; and while all the smaller German Powers, with the exception of Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, the Saxon States, and three Free Cities, took their stand with Austria, the defection from Prussia was fully compensated by the alliance of Italy. The German Diet approved of the Austrian demand, and Prussia, so far as German support was concerned, was left naked to all the winds of hostility. The events soon showed, however, that that great Power was now in her element. She chose to consider the action of the Diet, under the dictation of Francis Joseph, not only as a menace but as overt hostility. She accordingly made a declaration of war, and boldly entered the field. Though, numerically, her foes were nearly three to one against her, she quailed not in the face of the array.

PRINCE FREDERICK, OF AUGUSTENBURG.

Rarely has been seen such a display of energy and activity as that now exhibited by the Prussian Government. It was like the days of Frederick the Great come again. On the 15th of June, 1866, King William called upon Saxony, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Nassau to remain neutral in the impending conflict, and gave them *twelve hours* in which to decide! Receiving no answer, he ordered the Prussians out of Holstein to seize Hanover. This work was accomplished in two days. In two days more Hesse-Cassel was occupied by an army from the Rhine, while at the same time a third division of the Prussian forces was thrown into Dresden and Leipsic. On the 27th of the month a battle was fought with the Hanoverians, in which the latter were at first successful, but were soon overpowered and compelled to surrender. George V., King of Hanover, fled for refuge to Vienna.

Having thus, in the brief space of two weeks, cleared the field in the south, the

Prussians at once turned upon Austria. The three divisions composing the army of King William numbered two hundred and sixty thousand men, and were commanded by the Crown Prince Frederick William, his cousin Prince Frederick Charles, and General Bittenfeld. The Austrian forces were equally formidable, and were brought into the field under General Benedek, a man of great military reputation. On the 27th and the 29th of June, Frederick Charles met and defeated the Austrian advance in four engagements; but the battles were indecisive, except that Count Clam-Galas, the Austrian General, was obliged to fall back on the main body for support. Meanwhile, the Crown Prince had engaged the Austrians under Benedek, and had gained several victories from the 27th to the 30th of June.

As soon as the Prussian forces could be concentrated it was resolved to fight a general battle, and, if possible, to end the war at a blow. King William, Count Bismarck, and Generals Von Moltke and Roon, were all present with the army. The House of Hohenzollern had virtually staked not only the prize of victory, but its own existence, on the issue. The Austrians lay in great force on the river Bistritz, in Bohemia, about sixty miles from Prague. On the 6th of July, 1866, was fought one of the great battles of modern times. The conflict is known in history by the names of Sadowa and Königgrätz, from the two towns near which the struggle occurred. The battle proved to be the Waterloo of Austria. The Prussian attack was led by Frederick Charles and Bittenfeld. It began at eight o'clock in the morning, and raged with the utmost fury until two in the afternoon. Thus far the Prussians had gained but little advantage; but at that hour the powerful division of the Crown Prince, which, like those of Blücher at Waterloo, had been delayed by recent rains, appeared on the Austrian right. That wing of Benedek's army was soon turned. Bittenfeld then broke the left, and under a general advance of the Prussian lines the Austrian center gave way in confusion. The field was

AUSTRIAN-PRUSSIAN CAVALRY CHARGE, 1866.
Drawn by W. Camphausen.

quickly and completely won. The overthrow of Benedek's army became a ruinous rout, and the outflashing sun of evening looked upon the demoralized and flying hosts of Austria, scattering in all directions before the victorious charges of the Prussian cavalry.

The battle of Sadowa was to Francis Joseph the handwriting on the wall; but he made the greatest exertions to save his tottering fabric. On the 4th of July he ceded Venetia to France—an act which all the world could but perceive to be an open bid for the help of Napoleon III. The Prussians, however, had no thought of losing their advantage. They pressed forward with great rapidity to the Danube. They put Vienna at their mercy. In another part of the field they drove the Bavarians beyond the Main. Frankfort was taken. The Austrian allies gave way on every side. Francis Joseph was obliged to succumb, and to do so with all haste. He cried out for an armistice, which was granted, and then for a conference, which was held at Nikolsburg, on the 27th of July. The preliminaries were agreed upon without much formality, and on the 23d of August a definitive treaty of peace was concluded at Prague. No such summary proceedings had been witnessed since the days of Napoleon the Great. Only *seven weeks* had elapsed from the outbreak of the war; but that short period had sufficed to inflict on Austria the most deadly hurt which she had received since the Corsican thrust her through.

The shadow of a great hand was now seen behind the conflict. It was the hand of Bismarck. As the smoke of battle cleared away, his plans began to be developed. Schleswig and Holstein were almost forgotten in the grander scheme of the unification of Germany, under the leadership of Prussia. The obstacles to this scheme had been, for the most part, removed by the war. Poor old Austria lay prostrate. Feudal Germany was kicked out of sight. The effete constitutions of the principalities were relegated to the confused heap of mediæval rubbish. Never in history did the maxim that nothing succeeds like success receive a more brilliant exemplification than in the political revolution which now swept over Prussia. The Nationals and Liberals went over in a body to King William and Bismarck. The one became the most popular ruler and the other the most powerful Minister in Christendom.

Things had now come, by the tremendous agitation of war, to a basis of practicality. There was no longer any room for speculation and theory. Abstraction and political vagary found no place in the crush of transformation. A new order was evoked, and out of the chaotic elements Cosmos rose, and stood. A new Confederation, called the NORTH-GERMAN UNION, was at once formed on the basis of Protestantism and national unity. Austria was excluded from Germany. Hanover and Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Schleswig-Holstein, and Frankfort were incorporated with the New Germany, which now arose out of the deeps, vital and strong and glorious. The population of Prussia was suddenly augmented by five millions of people. All the States north of the river Main accepted her leadership under the crest of Hohenzollern. The four Southern States — Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Würtemberg, and Bavaria—were conceded independence, with the right, should they so elect, to form a South-German Confederation, and even to enter the North-German Union. Between the Southern States and the German Prime Minister a secret agreement was also made that, in case of future war, the armies of the South *should be at the disposal of Prussia*—a clause of the then current history showing that Bismarck already foresaw the inevitable struggle with France.

The first months of 1867 were occupied with the work of transformation. On the 16th of April in that year, the National Parliament, consisting of representatives chosen by the people, was inaugurated at Berlin. The new Constitution was readily accepted and confirmed by the body. The German States, to the number of twenty-two, were merged into a nation having a common system of administration. Count Bismarck became Chancellor of the Union, and Prussia rose suddenly to the rank of the first Power of Continental Europe. Already it could be perceived that in Würtemberg, Baden, and Bavaria the sentiment for union with the North was finding expression among the people. Upon this sentiment, both North and South, the new party called the National Liberals was formed, on the distinct principle

BATTLE OF SADOWA.—After the painting by W. Camphausen.

of consolidating *all* the German States under the crown of Prussia. It could but be in the midst of so great victory and progress that they who still stood in their political preferences for the ancient order must look with more than half regret on their own persistency in pursuing a losing game.

It was not long until the North-German Union thus established had an opportunity to display its influence in the general affairs of Europe. Of all the European rulers none looked with greater dissatisfaction on the Treaty of Prague, and its consequences, than did the Emperor Napoleon III. He could but see that France, under the Imperial sway, had lost her primacy. He at once sought compensation for the aggrandizement of Prussia by demanding the Rhine as the Eastern frontier of France; but this demand was refused; and, since he was not for the moment prepared to go to war, he was obliged to acquiesce. He next sought, by a secret intrigue, to procure Belgium for his part of the spoils, under the condition that Prussia might do as she pleased with the rest. But Prussia was now in a condition to do as she pleased without conditions, and again the Emperor must content himself with—nothing. In the third place, he undertook to acquire Luxemburg from Holland. It happened that by the dissolution of the old German Diet, this State had been, in a measure, separated from the destinies of the other principalities. Nevertheless, Luxemburg was German rather than French; and when Napoleon was on the eve of success, Bismarck suddenly put forth his hand and forbade the bans. He issued a protest in the name of the North-German Union; and the French Emperor, foiled for the third time, was obliged, once more, to content himself with—*nothing!* Such were the first passes made between the two Powers, which were soon destined to close in mortal combat.

While the International complication, to which we have just referred, was preparing the way for another European war, the unity of Germany was still further promoted by a new treaty with the Southern States. By the terms of this settlement it was agreed that all questions henceforth arising with respect to the customs-duties should be remanded for settlement to the Federal Council and Diet of Germany. To this end it was arranged that representatives from the States south of the river Main should repair to Berlin, to participate in the discussion of such matters as might arise under the treaty. It was still clear, however, that a great majority of the South Germans, particularly the Bavarians, were heart and soul against a complete National Union. The South-German Democrats still looked upon Prussia as a great despotism, and Bismarck as the impersonation of all that was arbitrary and tyrannical in human government.

Under this merely political antagonism was the still profounder antagonism of the Mother Church. The Ultramontanes in South Germany hated Prussia *in extremis*, because they could but regard her as the stronghold, not only of that hateful Protestantism by which aforetime Rome had been disrupted, but of that still more hateful Free Thought by the agency of which the world had slipped from her dominion. It was noticed that in the Customs Parliament of 1868 the delegates chosen from the Southern States were almost unanimously the apostles of anti-Union—opposed to the last to the cause of German Nationality. Thus, while the Parliament would have gladly gone on, from the consideration of the merely commercial questions arising out of the Customs-Union to consider the larger questions of National Union, the delegates from the South thwarted all such measures, and confined the discussions of the body under a strict construction of the treaty.

Before entering upon the great and tragic story of the Franco-Prussian War, which was now about to ensue, it is only necessary to note the effect of the battle of Sadowa on the course of events in Austria. That Power found herself suddenly stripped of her Imperial pretensions. She was remanded by defeat to the rank of a second-rate kingdom, under the ban of contempt, by all the progressive States of Europe. The Hungarian patriots openly rejoiced at the humiliation of the House of Hapsburg. At last the logic of events came in to accomplish, in that inexorable way by which all such movements are effected, what reason and right had not sufficed to do. The old Ministry, planted in the days agone by Prince Metternich, was torn

out by the roots, and a new Council established under the lead of Count von Beust, a Saxonian Protestant. Even in Vienna the Past got down on its knees to the Present. An epoch of reform was ushered in; and the institutions of Austria, civil and political, were almost as much liberalized by her overthrow as those of Prussia had been by her victory at Königgrätz.

While the great year 1867 thus brought power and renown to the German Union, with the promise of still greater things to come, the same year brought repeated disasters and humiliations to France. Now it was that the Quixotical project of setting up, under the auspices of France, an alleged Empire in Mexico reached its fitting *finale*. The unfortunate Maximilian, brother of Francis Joseph, selected by Napoleon III. as his knight of the chess-board, whom he had lifted in a circular move across the Atlantic, and set down in the halls of the Montezumas, came to his death at Queretaro. The Emperor's excuse that he had a desire "to restore the supremacy of the Latin race in the New World," was laughed at by the Old World. A wiser man than he might have faltered in the situation. The International fallacy had resulted in a startling wreck of the Imperial logistics. The Mexican Empire collapsed, and brought dismay and confusion to its abettors. The French Emperor, to whom, as a bid for his assistance, Francis Joseph had thrown the province of Venetia, was obliged by the victorious emergence of Prussia from the Seven Weeks' War, to make over the territory to Italy! Once more he had been mated, and the suppressed anger in the Elysée became extreme. The Luxemburg project also came to naught, and it appeared that all the prestige gained by Louis Napoleon in the Crimean War, in the Treaty of Paris, and on the fields of Magenta and Solferino, was about to be lost in a season. The situation was such as to irritate even the stoical Bonaparte; and as to the French people, their distemper became so great that they were ready and anxious to rush to war on the slightest provocation. Their jealousy of Prussia after her victorious struggle with Austria knew no bounds. Nor can it be doubted that the suddenly awakened pride of the Hohenzollern Government, and of the peoples who had accepted it, was more than willing to be gratified by the further humiliation of the traditional enemy of Germany.

Nor was it long until a complication arose of precisely the kind to be made the occasion of war. The event itself may appear sufficiently ridiculous to the judgment of posterity; and the historian of the future may well wonder how, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a thing so essentially absurd should be made the pretext for spilling an ocean of human blood. In 1868 the moribund monarchy of Spain was shaken with a political revolution, by which Queen Isabella II., so orthodox and Bourbon, was driven from the throne. We have had occasion in a former chapter to make plain the complication by which the Spanish Liberals gained the upper hand of the monarch, and presently sent her flying with her priest, her lover, and her son, beyond the Pyrenees.

Between the fugitive Queen and the Empress of the French deep sympathy existed, and Eugénie did as much as she could to shore up the fortunes of Isabella and her dynasty. The Spanish authorities must needs find a new sovereign, and, after much debating, the votes of the Cortes were given, as we have seen, to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, a relative of King William of Prussia. The fact that his name was Hohenzollern, and the possibility that his family relationship might tend to a union of interests between Germany and Spain, were used by the French Ministers and statesmen as a pretext for declaring that the Prince's candidature was injurious to the honor and the influence of France.

It is impossible for the American reader to apprehend in full measure the importance which might be attributed to the circumstance here considered, by the Second Empire. We have had occasion to note how greatly Emperor Napoleon III. was concerned about the destinies of the Latin race. We have seen him running the risk of the Mexican imbroglio in the hope of securing a dynastic foothold for that race in North America. The French people and the Roman Church have always looked with a pang of regret upon those historical processes by which, in the middle and latter part of the eighteenth century, the dominion of France in the New World was obliterated,

KING WILLIAM AND HIS GENERALS.—After the painting by W. Camphausen.

and English institutions, language, and laws planted instead. There has thus come to pass a peculiar sympathy among the Latin States of Europe. This has been felt most powerfully between France and Spain. The ruling powers in the former country have sought immemorially to effect a solidarity of the kingdoms north and south of the Pyrenees. That Germany, beyond the Rhine, dominated by the Teutonic race, so strange and foreign through all history to the sentiments and instincts of the Latin peoples, should seek to overspan

VON MOLTKE.

France with a political arch, the southern foot of which should rest in the Spanish Peninsula, could but appear to the jealous French a measure so monstrous as to warrant the sternest rebuke.

Deeper, however, than this ethnic and historical cause of the war now imminent were the political causes. The Imperial Government of Napoleon III. had reached that most fatal of all conditions, a *climax*. Empire is a form of government which, in modern times at least, has always a greater height beyond. Woe to the Empire, when the highest Alp is at last scaled, and the sovereign stands looking down the slopes and precipices into the valleys of decadence and oblivion beyond. It can not be doubted that the Second Empire had passed its grand climacteric, and hastened to its end, but what Government ever saw its own end approaching without a shudder? What human institution ever assented to its own death? In particular, what example of personal government could be cited as an instance of willingness to enter the valley and the shadow?

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and the adherents of his Dynasty, saw all this in vision. The fact was, that with the continuance of peace in France, the Liberal party, opposed not only to the methods of the Empire, but to the Empire itself, would continue to gain until revolution would supervene, with the probable upheaval of the whole Imperial formula. It can not well be doubted that Napoleon III. desired to keep the peace of Europe. In this respect the Nephew was unlike the Uncle. The Second Bonaparte was a sort of political philosopher, who was anxious to institute an Imperial schedule by which the European trains should come and go. But as between the maintenance of his system and the maintenance of peace he would, of course, choose war and Imperialism in preference to peace and Republicanism. At length, he and his Government had come into the very horn of the dilemma. Sixty-five years before, the Corsican had gone through Germany like an elk through a vineyard. Through all the interim the opinion had become settled in France that the same thing could be done again. All that was wanting was the occasion and the Bonaparte. The Bonaparte was on the throne, and the occasion was quickly found, or made.

We have already seen how, on the 6th of July, 1870, the Duke de Grammont came into the French Assembly, declaring that the election of the Hohenzollern Prince Leopold by the Spanish Cortes should not, and would not, be tolerated by the Imperial Government. Hohenzollern declined; and the complication seemed on the eve of unraveling itself. But the war party in France could not be satisfied with the meek *Well-enough* which now offered

itself in mediation. Passion hurried the Government on to demand of Prussia a general engagement that no Hohenzollern should ever be offered for the Spanish throne. This was too much. Old William, walking at early morning in the promenade at Ems, turned on his heel from Benedetti, the French Ambassador, with that unrepeatable objurgation which was to light the dreadful torch. Of course, now that the representative of France had been "insulted," war must come; and the same was immediately declared.

We have already, in a former chapter, given a tolerably full account of the startling events which now came in rapid succession. The War Minister, Baron Le Bœuf, had declared that France was ready to the last button of her gaiter. So the French army was hurried to the frontier, and gained its first and only success in the ridiculous skirmish at Saarbrück. That was the end of comedy, the beginning of tragedy. There the Prince Imperial picked up his bullet on the field. There he was cheered by the French soldiers. There he had, according to the father's despatch to Eugénie, his baptism of fire. Poor boy! From this to the Zulu Land, Destiny, indeed, will lead thee by as strange a course as ever a lad before thee has trodden. Here thou art taking thy baptism of fire, and there thou shalt be absolved under the cruel assagais of the Zulus.

The vicissitudes of the great conflict, the ever-repeated victories of the Germans, the ruin of the French armies in a score of critical battles, have already been recounted. Germany descended into the field like an avalanche from the Alps. There the Warrior King rode with his cavalcade of generals, including the greatest living Germans. There were Von Moltke, the iron and infallible soldier; the Crown Prince, heir expectant to the throne, the idol of the Nation; Prince Frederick Charles, his cousin; Steinmetz, and Manteuffel, and a hundred others, great in battle and story. The impact was irresistible. It appeared that the Gallic race was about to be ground into the earth under the pressure of the invasion. Nothing could stay the progress of the German arms—nothing stand in the battle-blast of the German artillery—until the wreck was complete, the ruin beyond remedy.

PRINCE FREDERICK CHARLES.

The Franco-Prussian War was to Napoleon III. and to the Second Empire a swift resolution of fallacies. The first was the fallacy that those South Germans, the men of Würtemberg, of Bavaria, of Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, would seize the opportunity afforded by the French invasion to throw off the Prussian yoke and make common cause with the

deliverer. The deliverer was to be Napoleon himself. But the illusion was quickly dispelled. The Germans south of the Main sprang to the cause of the Fatherland with as much enthusiasm as the rest. The second Imperial fallacy was that Italy and Austria would seize the occasion to humble the pride and arrogance of this overweening House of Hohenzollern, obtruding itself upon the destinies of modern Europe. But Italy and Austria stood aloof from the conflict, and would have none of it. The one had discovered that, on the whole, Prussia was for her and her cause a safer ally than France, and the other had still in quick memory the vision and terror of Sadowa. So neither interfered.

VIEW OF WILHEMSHÖHE

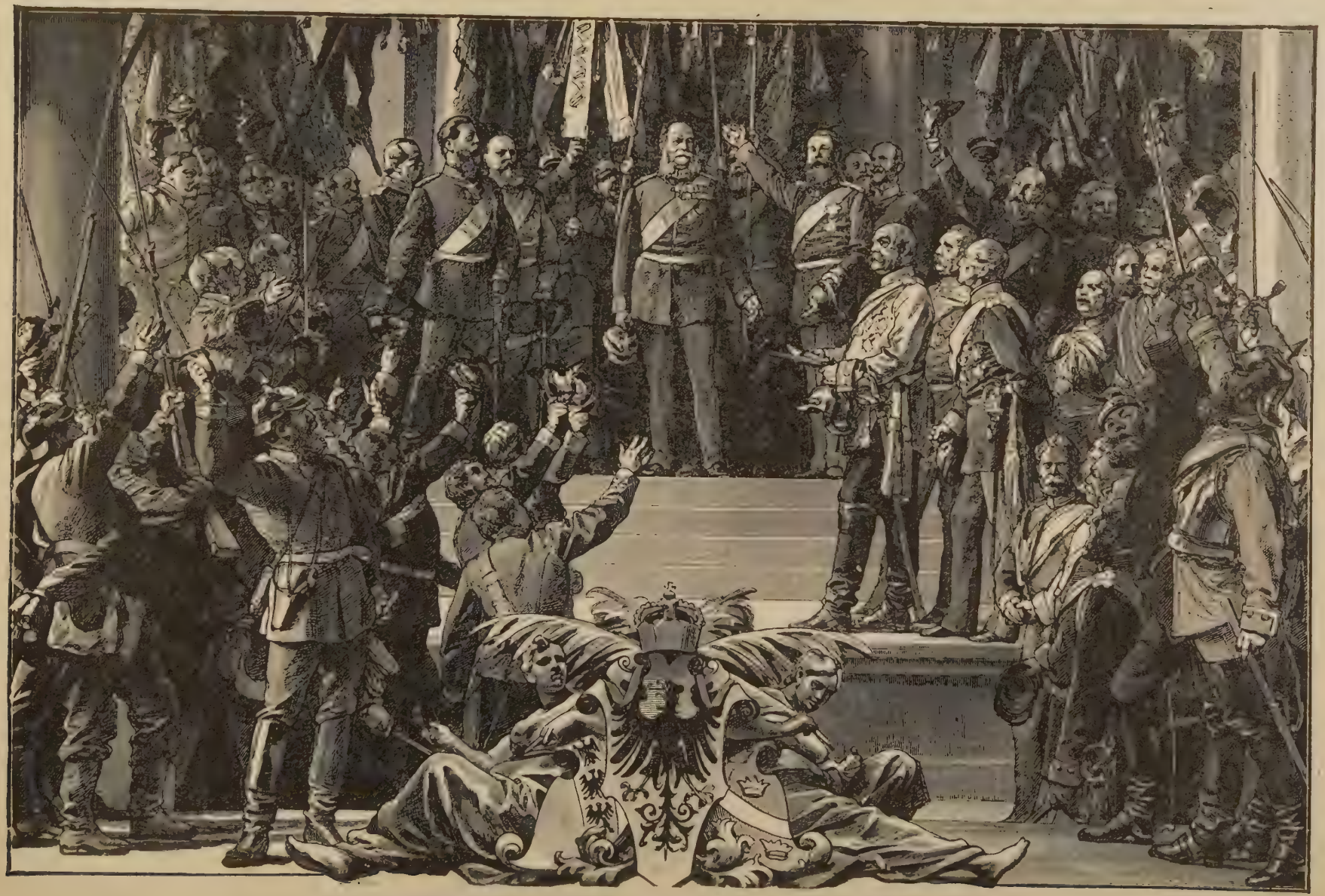
INTERVIEW OF JULES FAVRE WITH BISMARCK.

Napoleon was thus left to the cold discovery that, while the Germans of the various States might wrangle among themselves, they were as against *him* a unit. From the day of Saarbrück he began to recede. The command of the army got out of his hands. He was seen henceforth as an Imperial specter on the smoky confines of battle. Victory after victory came to the Germans. Finally the French line of retreat was cut in two, and Bazaine was forced back into Metz, there to be driven by siege to the most astounding capitulation of modern times. Then came Sedan. The French army was crushed in the horrid crater, and pounded into a bloody mass by the vomiting artillery of Germany, planted on the surrounding hills. Up went the white flag. The Emperor was down. The Palace of the Elysée was exchanged for Wilhelmshöhe. The Empire passed away. Eugénie and her son escaped from Paris, and the Republican leaders seized the reins of the plunging Government and mounted the fiery car.

THE UHLANS IN PARIS.

After Sedan, the Franco-Prussian War might well have ended. The French invasion had been hurled back in rout and ruin. The brave soldiers of France had been done to death by multiplied thousands, and other multiplied thousands were cooped up in the prisons of Germany. The humiliation of the aggressor was already extreme. Many liberal-minded Germans believed that the war had gone far enough. It is likely, as subsequent developments have shown, that the Crown Prince himself was of this opinion and desire. But Germany had become an avenger. Bismarck and the King, and the nation at large, had not yet satisfied themselves with the punishment of that traditional enemy. The memory of Jena and Friedland was still fresh with William, who recalled from the bitter recollections of boyhood the disasters of his country and the sorrows of his father and mother. Should such things remain without requital in the day of victory? Should not Paris herself be trodden under foot?

So the war continued. After a brief and murderous tragedy, the parallel of which can



PROCLAMATION OF KING WILLIAM AS EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

not be furnished from the ample *repertoire* of Modern History, the humiliation of France was complete. The victorious Germans walked in her high places, and muttered their objurgatory gutturals in her palaces. In vain did M. Gambetta seek to revive the cause of his countrymen. In vain did Jules Favre seek out the iron-hearted Bismarck, and entreat him to concede more favorable terms to his ruined country. On the 28th of January, 1871, Paris was surrendered. The armistice was declared and extended, and then, on the 10th of May, the Treaty of Frankfort was signed. The determined utterances of the French Republican statesmen, repeated almost daily from the day of Sedan to the downfall of the capital, that not a foot of land or a stone of a fortress should be given up to Germany, were blown away before the stern conditions of diplomacy and victory as so much political bombast. France was obliged to pay the enormous indemnity of five billions of francs to the German treasury, and to cede the Provinces of Alsace and German Lorraine to her conqueror.

The pride of the Teutonic race flamed high in victory The achievements of the German armies could hardly be paralleled. The struggle had been one of the fiercest known in history. Within the short space of seven months, seventeen great battles had been fought between the armies of the two leading Powers of Continental Europe. More than a hundred and fifty minor engagements had occurred, and twenty-two fortified places had been either carried by storm or taken by regular siege. Nearly four hundred thousand soldiers of France had been made prisoners of war, while more than seven thousand of her cannon and six hundred thousand of her small arms remained in the hands of her foe. It could but be, under such conditions, that the feeling of nationality, the pride of power and conquest, should inflame the victors to that high heat of transformation from which the new acts of history were prepared.

In all this the people of Southern Germany had had their full share. In the glow of anger and enthusiasm they had come to feel the common impulses of the race, and to forget the prejudices by which they had been isolated from the North-German States. Already, in the autumn of 1870, while the full tide of victory was on, the Southern Governments had entered into negotiation first and treaty afterward with the North-German Union, by which the former became members of the Confederation. Bavaria was the last to hold out against the historical forces which were bearing on to the end of German unity. She accordingly, on entering the Confederation, reserved certain important rights, such as the conduct of her own diplomacy, the maintenance of her postal, telegraphic, and railway system, and the command of her own army. The States of Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt also made certain reservations; but otherwise, the union between the North and the South was already effected before the capture of Paris.

With the progress of events during the early winter, the old prejudices were still further forgotten, and then ceased to operate. Everything set in at full tide for the complete consolidation of the German Union, and for the conversion of that Union into the Empire. The tremendous prestige gained by Prussia in the field had now made it easy for her to assume, and for all the other States to accept, her unequivocal leadership of United Germany. Such was the unbounded enthusiasm for King William and his Government that the Imperial crown seemed to be held over his head by the hands of the German millions. The logic of events, against which the individual power of man is impotent, had brought about the inevitable. Even before the capitulation of Paris, Bavaria, last of the German Powers to yield, had yielded. It was therefore a mixture of compliment and necessity when the young Bavarian King, Louis II., was selected to invite King William, still with his army before the forts of Paris, to accept the crown of the German Empire. The suggestion met with universal approval, and, on the 18th of January, 1871, in the great Hall of Mirrors, in the Palace of Versailles, where the German Princes and Generals had thronged together, the proclamation of William was formally made.

The place and the occasion were sufficiently memorable. Here had Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon conversed in gorgeous state, and arrogated to themselves

GERMANS EVACUATING PARIS.

the first place in Christendom. Here, for many generations, had the great House of Bourbon glorified itself in the sunshine of power. Here had the Little Corsican trode up and down with his victorious sword by his side. It looked like fate—like the very work of Nemesis—that in *this* place the crown of

EMPEROR WILLIAM REËNTERING BERLIN.

the new-created German Empire should be placed, with loud acclaim, on the head of the grim old soldier, William I., of Hohenzollern.

With the capitulation of Paris and the withdrawal of the German armies the tumult rapidly subsided. France was for a season a house left desolate. We have already seen how the dreadful tragedy of the Commune was enacted in the French capital, and how the remaining military and civil energies of the nation were wasted in the fierce conflict with the Red Scepter which had planted itself in the Hôtel De Ville. Meanwhile the tremendous wave of Teutonism receded and sank away beyond the Rhine. There, to the remotest border of the Fatherland, was the outburst of pride and jubilation. The Emperor reëntered Berlin in a blaze of glory, the like of which had not been witnessed since the days of Napoleon I. It now remains to resume the narrative from the Prussian center, and to consider the progress, the development, and the triumphs of the New Empire.

CHAPTER CXLIV.—THE NEW EMPIRE.

IT can hardly be said that the formality of recognizing King William as Emperor of Germany contributed much to the power and glory of Prussia. Her real renown had been won before the 18th of January. Her emergence from her humiliations at the beginning of the century had begun long ago with that splendid system of education which was projected by Wilhelm von Humboldt, and which bore its full fruitage after a half century. With that came the light of free thought, flashing in effulgent streams from the great German Universities. It was this element of strength which William and Bismarck had laid hold upon, and which, combined with the policy of making every Prussian into a soldier, brought to perfection the legitimate fruits of intelligence and power before the day of Sedan, before the fall of Metz, before the taking of Paris, before the proclamation of the Empire.

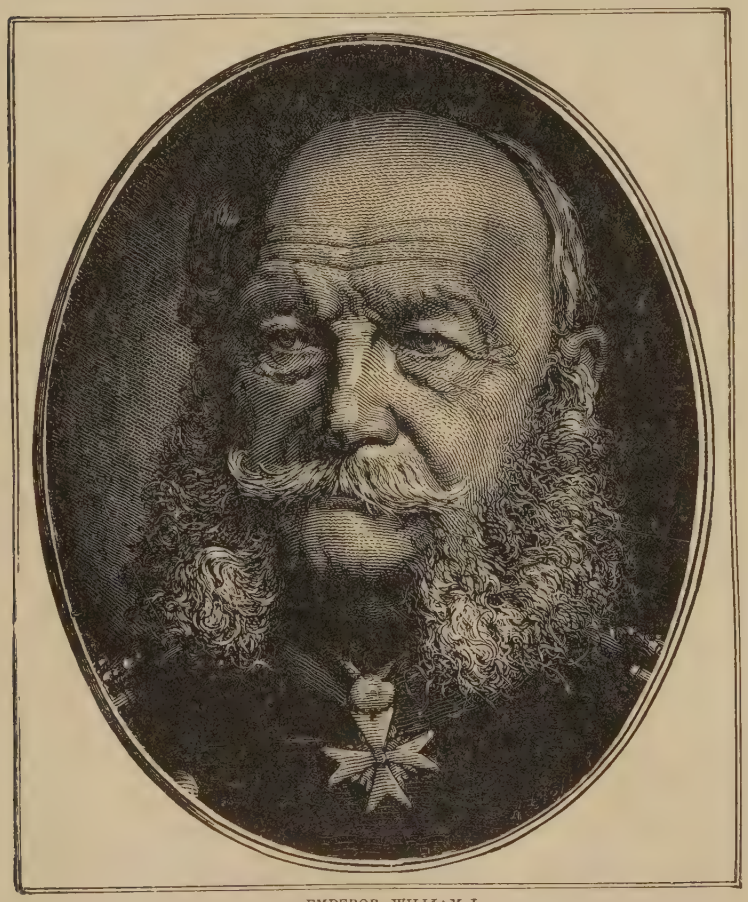
After the war-storm cleared away, the German Nation proceeded on the march under the impulse of national unity. In the spring of 1871 the first Imperial Diet was convened at Berlin. The constitution of the North German Union was taken as a basis of the Constitution of the Empire. The former was extended, amplified, and made applicable to the changed political conditions which had come with the setting up of the Imperial order. But the essential character of the system prevalent before 1871 was retained. The governmental theory which we here meet was one of great rigor. It conceded little to the people—much to the government. The Constitution of 1871 was in reality the expression of that Bismarckian policy which had prevailed more and more since 1858. It was the expression of Imperial autocracy and military force. It repeated in some sense the apothegm of Frederick the Great to the purport that he permitted his subjects to *say* whatever they pleased, on condition that he should *do* whatever he pleased.

It can not be doubted, however, that the Imperial Government, upon the progress of which we are now to enter, was fairly well adapted to the genius, dispositions, and peculiar political devolopments of the German people. The latter, either by race preference or by the historical education to which they had been subjected, attribute more to the Government and expect less of themselves than any other modern people of equal intellectual greatness and force. They expect the Government to do for the nation what almost any other enlightened people would expect the nation to do for itself; and it thus happens that a stronger, more concentrated, and more vehement form of administration is accepted and acceptable in Germany than would be tolerated for a moment in any English-speaking country—a fact which has been in recent years marvelously exemplified by the exodus of Germans to the United States. While the great majority have been content to accept the pressure and hardships of the Imperial system, the discontented have fled from it, and accepted voluntary expatriation in its place.

With the subsidence of the Franco-Prussian War many important questions confronted the Imperial Government. Now came the great struggle between the State and the Church in Prussia. While the premonitory swirls of the coming storm were felt along the Rhine in the summer of 1870, the Ecumenical Council, sitting in Rome, had pronounced the dogma of Papal Infallibility. Of all countries and conditions, Prussia and the new Empire were least favorable for the reception of any infallibility save their own. Nevertheless, the Mother Church in Germany accepted the Papal dogma, and there were reasons to believe that the old-time intrigue with respect to the subordination of the State to the Holy See was once more in the winds. It was a condition likely to bring out all the belligerency of Bismarck and the Imperial Government. He set himself like a pillar of stone against the Ultramontanes, and instituted vigorous precautionary measures against their schemes.

In this crisis, as might have been expected, the Jesuits were again the head and front of the offending. Their conduct led, in 1872, to a decree against them, and they were expelled from Prussia. This action was followed up in the following year by a series of measures called the May Laws, formulated and promoted by Dr. Falk, Minister of Public Worship.

The State was thus made to thrust back vigorously at the offending Church. The new statutes required all candidates for clerical offices to undergo, in the first place, a certain secular training at the universities, and after this was accomplished, to accept ecclesiastical appointment at the hands of the secular authority. A royal court was also established, to have jurisdiction over such matters as might arise under the new laws. Out of the nature of things, such legislation must meet the severe condemnation of the Pope. That dignitary accordingly pronounced the German statutes invalid, and the Catholic Bishops of Germany were authorized to disregard the law. The indignation of Bismarck and the Government rose to the pitch of vindictive action, and the recusant Bishops were subjected to many punishments for their disregard and infraction of the statutes. Many of the ecclesiastics were deposed and banished from the country. From others the support of the Government was withdrawn. In several instances religious orders were dissolved, and in other cases lay trustees were appointed to administer on property which had been forfeited by the Church. The general effect of these measures, which so largely occupied the attention of the Government in 1872–73, was to alienate the Catholic Church from the German Empire, and to place Prince Bismarck in the attitude of the arch enemy of the Papacy.



EMPEROR WILLIAM I.

Hard after the conflict to which we have just referred came the great agitation of Socialism. It would appear that the German mind, at the epoch under consideration, was in that peculiar state of development at which ideas of socialistic progress find their easiest germination. The seeds of such a growth had already been widely scattered by Karl Marx and his following at the middle of the century. But the great diffusion of Socialism in Germany must be referred to the teachings of that enthusiast and scholar, Ferdinand Lassalle. As early as 1862 he made his appearance among the workingmen of Berlin and Leipsic, and became the recognized head of the Socialist party. It can not be doubted that Lassalle was inspired to an unusual degree with what the author of *Ecce Homo* has called the Enthusiasm of Humanity. He was not a labor agitator of the type peculiar to such conditions in America, but was a man of fortune and of luxurious habits. The bottom thought which he came to promulgate was simply this·

NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Zealand
Funen
Great Belt
Little Belt
Sjaelland
Laaland
Falster
Möen
Fano
Rhe
Römö
Sylt
Tondern
Apenrade
Duppel
Aasen
Sonderburg
Aero
Flensburg
Kiel Bay
Schleswig
Husum
Tonning
Kiel
Canal
Eutin
Neustadt
Fehmern
Hiddensee I.
Stralsund
Rostock
Greifswald
Heligoland
Cuxhaven
Elbe
Itzehoe
Neumünster
Travemünde
Dassow
Wismar
Rutzow
Güstrow
Bargun
Treptow
East Frisian Islands
Emden
Friesland
Aurich
Jever
Wilhelmshaven
Varel
Bremer Hafen
Geestemünde
Stade
Altona
Hamburg
Lübeck
Schwerin
Hagenow
Parchim
Grabow
Harburg
Lüneburg
Leer
Harlingen
Groningen
Oldenburg
Bremen
Rotenburg
Bevesen
Domitz
Perleberg
Pritzwalk
Wittstock
Langwedel
Verden
Uelzen
Luchow
Wittenberge
Neu Ruppin
Zuyder Zee
Meppen
Hoya
Walsrode
Osterburg
Havelberg
Lingen
Steyerberg
Nienburg
Celle
Wittingen
Salzwedel
Bismark
Gardelegen
Stendal
Osnabrück
Minden
Neustadt
Hanover
Githorn
Genthin
Brandenburg
Burgsteinfurt
Rheine
Buckeburg
Lehrte
Brunswick
Helmstedt
Magdeburg
Aruhem
Vreden
Münster
Ilerford
Hameln
Hildesheim
Wolfenbuttel
Detmold
Bielefeld
Oschersleben
Schönebeck
Halberstadt
Emmerich
Wesel
Hamm
Lippstadt
Paderborn
Northeim
Carlshafen
Quedlinburg
Aschersleben
Dessau
Soest
Warburg
Elsleben
Dortmund
Arnsberg
Arolsen
Göttingen
Bochum
Iserlohn
Barmen
Düsseldorf
Remscheid
Solingen
Gladbach
Mühlheim
Deutz
Cologne
Bonn
Duren
Rheydt
Aix-la-Chapelle
Euskirchen
Siegen
Hersfeld
Neustadt
Marburg
Corbach
Cassel
Eschwege
Heiligenstadt
Mühlhausen
Sondershausen
Merseburg
Leipsig
Naumburg
Langensalza
Weimar
Erfurt
Gotha
Eisenach
Jena
Gera
Altenburg
Zwickau
Chemnitz
Schneeberg
Annaberg
Meiningen
Hildburghausen
Schleiz
Sonneberg
Coburg
Hof
Fichtel
Eger
Kissingen
Schweinfurt
Gemünden
Aschaffenburg
Offenbach
Frankfort
Hanau
Wiesbaden
Neuwied
Ems
Coblenz
Homburg
Ob. Wesel
Neuburg
Luxemburg
Mersch
Bingen
Kreuznach
Mayence
Oppenheim
Darmstadt
Worms
Wurzburg
Bamberg
Bayreuth
Forchheim
Erlangen
Furth
Nurnberg
Amberg
Pfreimt
Weiden
Schwandorf
Ochsenfurt
Neustadt
Birkenfeld
Kaiserslautern
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Mosbach
Ansbach
Heilbronn
Hall
Ellwangen
Gunzenhausen
Ludwigsburg
Cannstadt
Aalen
Nordlingen
Donauwörth
Ingolstadt
Kelheim
Regensburg
Landau
Bitsch
Zweibrücken
Homburg
Spires
Metz
Forbach
Saarbrücken
Saargemund
Chateau Salins
Salzburg
Dieuze
Dürkheim
Durlach
Rastadt
Carlsruhe
Worth
Wildbad
Pforzheim
Stuttgart
Esslingen
Göppingen
Nancy
Luneville
Strasburg
Kehl
Offenburg
Baden
Tübingen
Ulm
Günzburg
Neuburg
Wittelsbach
Moosburg
Freising
Landshut
Augsburg
Epinal
Schlettstadt
Rufwell
Breisach
Freiburg
Villingen
Sigmaringen
Riedlingen
Biberach
Munich
Mühlhausen
Belfort
Montbeliard
Basle
Zell
Lorrach
Waldshut
Constance
Radolfzell
Waldsee
Kempten
Friedrichshafen
Immenstadt
Lindau
Kaufbeuren
Weilheim
Rosenheim
Salzb
Reichenh
Chiem See
Konig See
SWITZERLAND
Fisk & Co. N.Y.

MAP XXVI.
GERMAN EMPIRE
English Miles
20 0 20 40 60 80 100
Railways shown thus
Longitude East 16 of Greenwich
14
16
18
20
22
54
52
50
48
Pornholm
Rixhoft
Dirschheim
Königsberg
Tilsit
Insterburg
Gumbinnen
Heidekrug
Labiau
Gulf of Danzig
Danzig
Elbing
Braunsberg
Frauenburg
Goldapp
Lötzen
Rastenburg
Bischofsburg
Nikolaiken
Allenstein
Johannisburg
Marienwerder
Graudenz
Neidenburg
Willenberg
Stolpe
Rügenwalde
Cöslin
Butow
Bereut
Dirschau
Colberg
Rummelsburg
Stargard
Baldenburg
Czersk
Konitz
Polzin
Neu Stettin
Tempelburg
Jastrow
Vandsburg
Schwetz
Culm
Strasburg
Gollub
Culmsee
Thorn
Bromberg
Nackel
Flatow
Schneidemühl
Buschendorf
Arnswalde
Friedland
Markisch
Stettin
Politz
Gollnow
Pyritz
Schönlanke
Soldin
Zehden
Landsberg
Custrin
Frankfort
Meseritz
Posen
Pinne
Wreschen
Gnesen
Znin
Inowraclaw
Wagrowiec
Czarnikau
Kreutz
Filehne
Obornik
Radgorze
Soldau
Gilgenburg
Neumarkt
Deutsch Eylau
Freystadt
Preussisch Eylau
Hohen
Erdmannen
Bischofsburg
Spirding
Lyck
Oletzko
Angerburg
Mauer See
Goldapp
Pillau
Wehlau
Landsberg
Heilsberg
Mehlsack
Frauenburg
Braunsberg
Frischer Haff
Curisches Haff
Memel or Niemen
Ragnit
Eydtkuhnen
Stallupohnen
Tapiau
Wartenburg
Allenstein
Seeburg
Geserich See
Mauer See
Lötzen
Rastenburg
Baffenstein
Kranzburg
Friedland
Eylau
Landsberg
Heilsberg
Pr. Holland
Mehlsack
Marienburg
Dirschau
Stargard
Rummelsburg
Belgard
Stolpe
Rügenwalde
Colberg
Cöslin
Butow
Bereut
Lauenburg
Leba
Putzig
Neustadt
Rixhoft
Pornholm
Usedom I.
Swinemünde
Wollin I.
Treptow
Cammin
Regenwalde
Belgard
Baldenburg
Neu Stettin
Polzin
Jastrow
Tempelburg
Peterswalde
Drambura

That under the existing order of society it is simply impossible for the workingman to improve his condition; to emerge and stand forth on the plane of a higher and more rational life. If this fundamental assumption be correct, then the existing order of society is wrong, or at least seriously defective; for no system of social organization which holds down, by its whole weight and tendency, the toiling masses, who create, out of the elements, all forms of value, can be other than oppressive, vicious, and, in the end, self-destructive. Therefore a change is demanded. And here it was that Lassalle, from being a philosopher, became a German. His doctrine was that the change demanded was the patronage by the State of productive associations, to be organized for the benefit of labor and the laborer, such patronage to extend to the furnishing of the requisite capital with which the associated industries were to be promoted, the security of justice to all such bodies and the members thereof, and the regulation, by statute and judicial appeal, of the markets of the world.

When the agitation was fairly on, Lassalle died; but his theory and teachings had taken a strong hold upon the mind of Germany. His memory was revered among the common people as that of an apostle and deliverer. As nearly always happens, the socialistic teachers who now appeared, wrested many of Lassalle's doctrines from their purpose, and became the evangels of mischief. The doctrine of the distribution of property, and of revolution as a means of effecting it, appeared, and the agitation took on that dangerous form which all such movements assume in the hands of the ignorant. It was at this time that the Socialist party as such appeared in the arena as an active force.

We have seen how a party of Liberals and Progressists sprang up as soon as the Imperial Diet was constituted, and how Prince Bismarck had to contend with these in the legislative department of the Government. They were so strong a force that the Chancellor of the Empire was, at times, seriously pressed by their opposition. It was under these circumstances that he adopted the policy of encouraging the Socialists. The latter were, if possible, more hostile in a political sense, to the Liberal than to the Imperial party. The principles which the Progressists represented were, on the whole, more obstructive of the advance of Socialism than were the principles of the Empire. It was in this respect that the German Government differed so greatly in its fundamentals from all other great States of Europe and America. It was not only a measure of political expediency, but a quasi sympathy on Bismarck's part for the Socialists, which led him into the way of encouraging them.

We should here observe, also, the favorable condition of Germany at this time to the progress and development of such views as were held by the Socialists. It was a time, not only of national emancipation, but also of triumph and the consciousness of power. Why should not this amazing strength and victory be turned to the good of the people, to the end of their elevation to a higher plane of life? Some fallacies also aided the spread of Socialism. The German common people had an exaggerated idea of the scope and variety of the advantages to be derived from the conquest of France. There, for one thing, was the war indemnity, a really enormous sum, equivalent to a billion of dollars in American money. How should it be expended? Of a certainty it belonged to the Government only in trust for the people. Why should it not be put forth in the promotion of industrial enterprises? Why should not the coöperative industries be made to spring forward under the tremendous impact of this mass of capital? Was it not sufficient, indeed, virtually to enrich, or at least make comfortable, the whole middle classes of Germany?

It could but happen under such beliefs that the ignorant masses, always quick to discount a dream, would begin a manner of life unsuited to their resources. They would anticipate impossible benefits, and thrust up their hand from the rushing stream to clutch the elusive bough of Tantalus. In the wake of all this came disappointment and hardship. The war indemnity melted away under the exigencies of the Government. Behold that military system, that tremendous engine, whose glowing furnaces must be fed with an infinity of fuel! Why not disband? said Liberalism. To this the answer of the Empire was ever ready,—*France!* There lay France, sweltering

in the heat and effluvia of an uncontrollable hatred. Would she not revive? Would not the memory of Gravelotte and Metz and Sedan and Paris rankle in her breast until her revenge should come?

Bismarck, the Emperor, the Government, must act ever on this assumption. They must presuppose that France will fight again. She will make ready, and then spring across the Rhine. Therefore, Germany must remain a nation of soldiers. The tremendous army must be kept in discipline and mobilization. The military spirit must be fanned ever to the point of flaming forth. Under such a system, the five milliards of francs will soon melt away. The old hardships of the laboring men will return, and the country will continue to be drained for the support of the army. Such were the conditions which favored the Socialistic agitation, and gave opportunity to its leaders to win a powerful following.

By the middle of the eighth decade the evils of the German military system, and of the ideal and material forces to which we have referred above, were felt in full force. The price of labor fell off. Large numbers of workmen, particularly in the cities, lost employment, and joined the discontented. Publicists the world over must learn that under such conditions the agitator, however illogical his argument, will find a ready hearing. Whoever proposes a remedy, even though the remedy be worse than the disease, will gather a numerous following. Here it was that the new scheme of emancipation in Germany differed so widely from anything with which the reader is acquainted in the history of Great Britain. In that country the masses, when they are aroused, do not turn readily to socialistic dreams, but rather to the reform of abuses by means of the political machinery in their hands. The English common people have had a long and varied political education; and although its lessons have in so many instances proved, in application, a delusion and a snare, they have always chosen to reform, and reform, rather than to break with the existing order of society.

In Germany the conditions of political and social life are widely different from those of Great Britain. The German, instead of being greatest when he is governed least, would appear to augment his powers with the increase and energy of his governmental machinery. He relies upon the Government to do for him what the man who speaks English would prefer to do for himself. In other words, the German expects his Government to be good for something, and not to exist as a mere political figment to which an appeal, in times of emergency, is as foolish a mockery as to invoke a dream. Out of these conditions the German Imperial system became the strongest, and one might almost say the *most useful*, of human governments. Those who exercised its functions desired that it should be felt in every part and precinct of the national life. For this reason, when the clamor of Socialism came, the Government was not unwilling to be invoked in the matter of undertaking the patronage of labor. The monstrous nature of such an interference, which would at once have shocked the political sentiments of any other enlightened people, would seem not to have been felt as an abuse among the Germans. Arbitrary as was—and is—the whole Imperial system, it nevertheless sympathized, to a considerable degree, with the extravagant propositions of Socialism relative to the support of national industries by the public—by the State.

As in France and England in the times following revolutionary commotions, bitter personal animosities now appeared in Germany, and in some instances were directed against those in authority. While Socialism was growing and strengthening its stakes; while a not extravagant estimate showed that about one-tenth of the German voters had espoused the cause and principles of the new party, some deeds of violence done against the Government brought on a reäction. In the spring of 1878, while the old Emperor was driving with his daughter, the Grand Duchess of Baden, along Unter den Linden, a young Socialist named Hödel fired at him with a pistol, but missed his aim. As usual in such cases, the would-be assassin sought to glorify his act as something done at the peril of his life in the interest of the people. All this was at once charged up to the Socialists and their teaching. Hitherto the question of putting down Socialism by force had scarcely been suggested; but here was an attempt

made to destroy the head of the Empire. The grim old ruler who had ridden with his armies across France, and had lately stood surrounded with kings and princes in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, was shot at like a dog.

The reäction was immense. The nation was angered to its remotest border. The anti-Socialist party quickly seized the opportunity to drive home a public indignation against the faction from whose ranks the violence to public order had proceeded. The Government itself swayed under the excitement, and severe measures were at once projected to put down the Socialists by force of law and authority. It could but be noticed, moreover, that the measures in question were sweeping in their character. The repressive scheme did not stop with Socialist agitators, with the theorizers who sought a revolution of society, but was extended to all politicians whose language and actions were constructively disturbing to the existing system. Many who, for the moment, were earnestly in favor of repression for the Socialists, found that, under the impulse of the hour, a gag had been prepared for the freedom of speech, and was about to become a part of the German Constitution.

At the last, however, public opinion rallied, and righted itself in time to prevent a great wrong to the people. The Liberals discerned the drift of the proposed legislation, and it was rejected by a large majority in the Reichstag. But it was not long until another crazed assassin fired at Emperor William, and the news at once flew to the four quarters of Germany that the veteran defender of the Fatherland had been wounded by a Socialist bullet. By this time, however, the suspicion went abroad that there was something factitious about the business, and that the Government was not unwilling to receive a few stray shots for political effect. At least, with the prorogation of the Reichstag and the ordering of a new election, it was found that the electors were as much concerned about the preservation of their rights, the freedom of discussion, the unimpeded prerogatives of citizenship, as they were about the dangers and excesses of Socialism. The representatives elected in the summer of 1878 were as liberal and progressive as their predecessors, and were, at first, but little disposed to concede any measure to the Government of a kind to augment its power.

With the progress of parliamentary business, however, Prince Bismarck put in his powerful hand, and a large number of the Liberals were gained over to the support of the proposed repressive legislation. The measure suggested by the Government was coated with sweetness, by fixing the limit of two and a half years to the operation of the law. During this time, it was enacted that the police of the Empire should be intrusted with special powers for the entire suppression of Socialism. The new statute was at once vigorously enforced, and the Socialist phenomena melted quickly away. The Government, in the years 1879–80, might well flatter itself that the end had been attained, and that the agitation had disappeared forever.

The event, however, did not justify the expectation. Bismarck himself soon perceived that the sore in German society was only filmed. There is in that statesman an element of unrest in the presence of every condition which he can not control. Believing thoroughly in the autocracy of the Empire, and staking everything on its ability to manage with success the whole affairs of the German peoples, he could but be restive under the belief that Socialism was suppressed and not extinguished. Under the influence of motives thus supplied, he accordingly undertook by means of the Imperial system to patronize and direct the very cause which he had so recently attempted to extinguish by force. At the opening of the Reichstag, in November of 1881, the Imperial message was devoted in a considerable measure to the question of social democracy in Germany, to the means of its repression on the one side, and of the promotion of its favorite measures on the other. A system of State Socialism was actually declared as a fact and a principle which the Government was ready to promote. A scheme of positive measures was suggested as the remedy, and the Emperor, by his Chancellor, was made to declare that the healing of the existing social disorders was a part of his governmental policy. The new statutes proposed covered a great variety of provisions favorable to the workingmen of Germany.

An insurance was provided against sickness, accident, and old age. Inability to labor longer, from any honorable cause, was to be compensated by the public. The Imperial programme, while it recognized the difficulty of the task which it was thus imposing on itself, declared its purpose to recognize the industrial interests of society and the condition of the working people throughout the Empire as of the highest possible concern to the Government. The plan suggested by Lassalle of forming coöperative associations under the protection and patronage of the State was openly espoused in the governmental scheme, and proclaimed as a legitimate project for "organizing the life of the people."

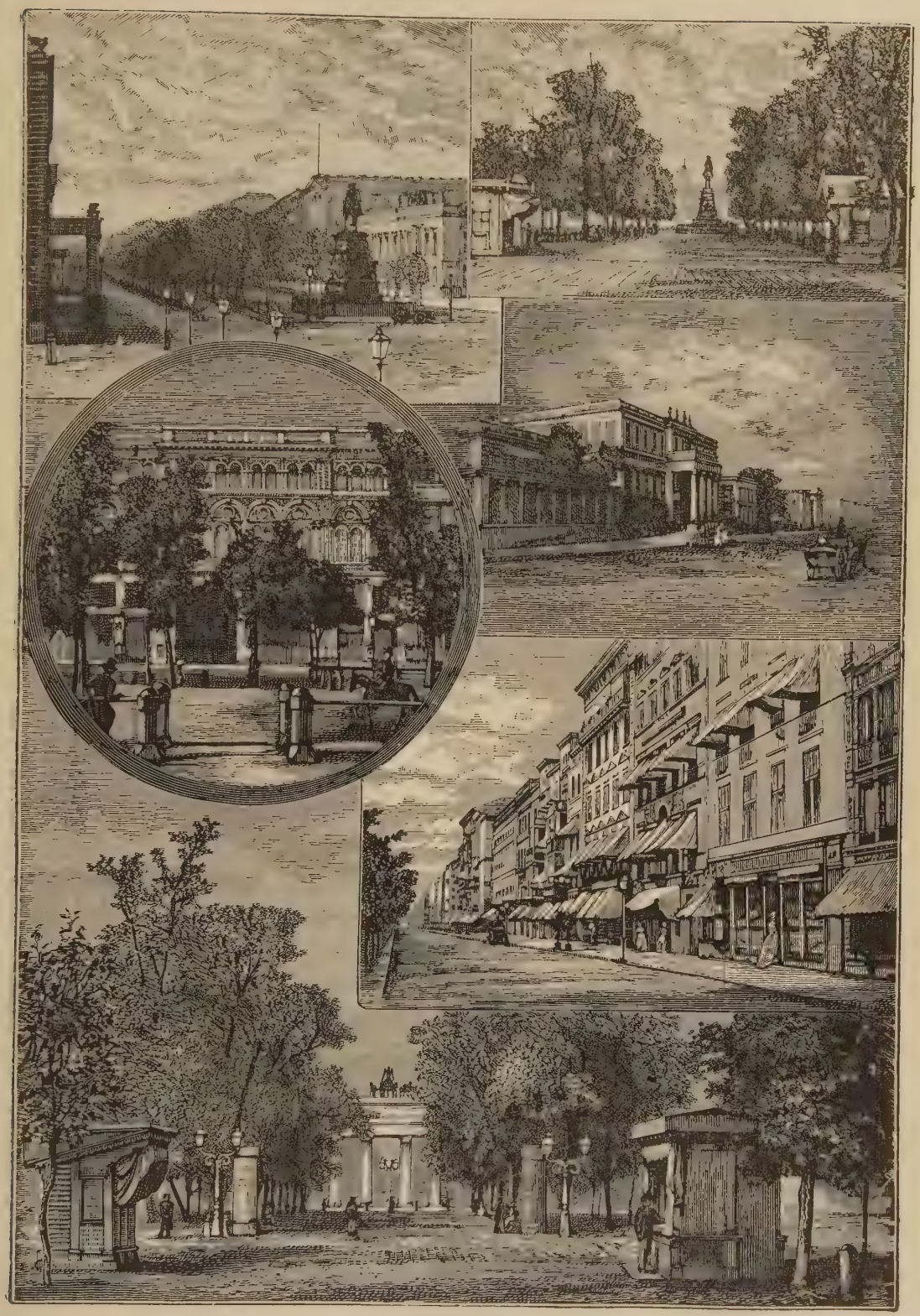
The measures thus proposed might well have satisfied the most ardent Socialists of Germany. They were indeed so radical and fundamental to the constitution of society as to awaken the opposition of Liberals and Conservatives alike, who succeeded by their combined action in preventing the adoption of many of the important articles of the proposed Act. Unto the present day[1] the political and legal status of Socialism under the German Empire are matters indeterminate and uncertain.

The reader may well pause here to inquire into the success of the great scheme for unifying the German nations. The unthoughtful may suppose that the only necessary condition to such a union of States and nationalities is the mere formal agreement to be henceforth united, and to pursue a common course. Than this no other view can be more incorrect. Peoples do not assimilate thus easily. In the moment of enthusiasm union may be declared; but actual union can only be born of time and trial and tedious evolution. This principle was fully elucidated in the transformation of Germany from the loose confederation to the North-German Union, and afterwards into the Empire. Many signs of a true national life appeared from the first years of these constitutional changes. Nevertheless, the old customs and prejudices reässerted themselves at times with great force and persistency. A party called the Particularists appeared as the representatives of the past. They stood for the old individual nationalities, and opposed the consolidation of the German peoples, much after the manner of the Democratic statesmen in the United States in the years immediately following the Civil War.

Such publicists and politicians are, by their natures, the representatives of the Feudal instincts in man. The American fathers who established, first the Colonies, and then the Confederation, on our Atlantic sea-board, were strongly under the influence of the anti-national instinct. In Germany, with the setting up of the Imperial system, the Particularists must needs find occasion of great cavil and complaint. The mergement of the old individual liberties of the German race appeared to such minds as the last extreme of political despotism. The hostility to the Empire proceeded sometimes to the verge of disruption; but the new system was too firmly established, the new Administration too powerful and salutary, to permit any serious harm to the Imperial order. During the first five years after the proclamation of the Empire, the anarchic condition of Germany was brought into cosmic regularity. Every department of life passed under the sway of the new forces of society. An Imperial coinage was established, and the old local moneys of the different German States were replaced with a uniform unit of money and account. Imperial paper money and a system of banking were devised for the convenience of the whole people. More important still was the constitution of the great Reichsgericht, or Supreme Court, of Germany, for which provision was made in 1877. Nor may the student of history omit to note the contest of the time with respect to the *place* where the Reichsgericht should hold its sittings.

From the American point of view it would seem most natural that Berlin, the capital of the Empire, should be the permanent seat of the Supreme Court. But a strong prejudice had now appeared in Germany against the concentration in one city of so many governmental powers. It was said, and not without some ground for the saying, that Berlin is not Germany. The fatal example of Paris, long dominant in the affairs of France, long dictating by her imperial position the destinies of Kingdom, Empire, and Republic, was much cited by the Liberal German statesmen, and

[1] April, of 1890.



VIEWS IN BERLIN.

by the Particularists, who, for other reasons, coïncided with the Liberal view, that the High Court of the nation should sit at some place other than Berlin. A large majority adopted this policy, and it was decided that Leipsic, and not the Prussian capital, should be the permanent seat of the Reichsgericht.

The beginning of the year 1880 was marked in Germany by the reäppearance of a true symptom from the Middle Ages. To an American, little disposed as he is to pay attention to the accidents of birth, to the mere fortuities of human condition, and more particularly to the advantages or disadvantages of a given race descent, it must appear almost inexplicable that near the close of the nineteenth century a race war, or what threatened to become a war of races, should break out in one of the greatest and most enlightened States of Europe. It was at this time that the old hatred of the Germans for the Jews—and, it may be added, of the Jews for them—was revived in an aggravated form. It is one of the strangest circumstances in the history of Christendom, that that peculiar people, out of whose antecedent history the possibility of the Christian religion arose, should have been so universally despised, contemned, and persecuted. If the history of all the calamities and sorrows purposely inflicted on the Jewish race by the peoples among whom they have dwelt could be eliminated from the general story of nations, and set forth in vivid narrative and pictorial illustration, the world might well shudder at the one and stand aghast before the other.

In Germany these hardships of the Israelitish race have recurred with unusual severity and repetition. As early as the middle of the century those who had already begun the advocacy of German unification spoke favorably of the Jews as a people. Bismarck himself had declared, in 1847, that he was willing that all the offices of the State, except the administrative, might be filled by Israelites. It happened that in the year 1880 the German Government was desirous of recognizing the independence of Roumania. The Jews in that principality had been emancipated. It had happened that some Roumanian railroads had been built with money furnished by a Jewish syndicate in Berlin; and Prince Bismarck, espousing the cause of the syndicate, held that the interests of the same should be upheld in Roumania. This seems to have given rise to the agitation. The German press, beginning with the construction and ownership of foreign railroads by Jewish capitalists, began to assail the race for its alleged mercenary and unpatriotic character. It was declared that the Jews in Germany were foreigners in every fiber, inimical, as a body, to every interest of the Fatherland. It was said that the Jew knows no plow, no trowel, no hammer, no pickaxe, no spade; that he is a mere speculator on the proceeds of that human industry to which he contributes nothing. The animadversion continued to the effect that the Jew makes for himself a monopoly of commerce, and obtains control of the money market, using the same for the exclusive advantage of himself and his people. It was declared that he is a resident of the countries in which he is found only as a stranger in a hotel, living on the best, seeking the most profitable and easy places, intruding into the first seats, and working his way by intrigue and finesse into a financial station from which he is able to put his foot on the neck of the people.

Professor Treitschke was the chief agitator. He published a pamphlet on the Jewish question, in which he alleged that the sons of Israel out of the North and East were overrunning and eating up Germany. He set forth statistics showing that, while Italy has only about forty thousand, and England and France have each but forty-five thousand Jews, Germany has six hundred thousand, and that even this great number was constantly augmented by immigration. Finally the author declared that the anti-Semitic movement was powerful and deep; that it had stirred the most enlightened and cultivated circles of society; that it was not based on ideas of religious intolerance or national pride, but upon the natural right of self-defense; and that the Jews were, as a matter of fact, "the curse of Germany."

To the vociferous tirade raised against them, the Jews replied as best they might. They fell back upon the historical antecedents of their condition, showing that the real cause of their comparative isolation in modern society

had been the horrid persecutions to which they had been subjected in all Christian countries; that they had been excluded by society, and driven into the pursuits of the trader and the money-changer at a time when such vocations were under the ban; that the peculiar form of their modern activities was traceable, not to original preference, but to the necessities of the situation into which they had been forced by oppression and crime; that the pursuits which they now followed had become habitual to them by the very discipline to which they had been subjected; that such pursuits were open to all men alike, and that they themselves were successful by the very means which others ought to employ in commerce and the market; that they are not a people devoid of noble purposes; that they have public spirit and patriotism, and that the race itself, in so far from having contributed nothing to the welfare of the peoples among whom it has been distributed, had, on the contrary, given to the world such men as Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Heine, Spinoza, Rothschild, Montefiore, Disraeli, to say nothing of the ancients, the prophets and teachers of antiquity, of Moses, and the Maccabees, and the Christ.

Such were the essentials of the controversy which broke out afresh in 1880, and continued for several years to agitate and distract Germany. Much legislation was proposed, but little effected, with respect to the Jewish race. The question obtruded itself first into the Landtag, and then into the Reichstag, where the debates waxed furious pro and contra, until the issue seemed to engross the attention alike of the Government and the people. On the whole, the party in power held to the position of Jewish toleration, and of concession of equal rights to the race. The Crown Prince of Prussia was open in his manifestation of sympathy; but this embittered, rather than appeased, the anti-Semitic party. Many of the ablest statesmen entered into the discussion; but it was found impossible to proceed in any practicable manner to the suppression or expulsion of so great a body distributed through the German States. With the progress of debate, moreover, it was made evident that the abuses of which the anti-Semitic faction so bitterly complained, were in large part exaggerated and factitious, and that, in some particulars, the Jews, as bankers and merchants and traders, had been, and were, one of the most beneficial elements of German society. The whole controversy is repeated and enlarged upon in this connection, rather with a view of illustrating one of the strange aspects of the current history of the world, than with the purpose of defining any exact results springing from the controversy.

Near the beginning of 1880, Prince Bismarck, acting for the Imperial Government, brought into the Reichstag a proposition for the further increase of the German army. The demand was made for an addition of twenty-seven thousand men to the ranks, and of a large increment of artillery besides. The public was at once shaken with excitement and alarm. What, forsooth, could Germany wish with more soldiers? Had she not already one of the most powerful armies in Christendom? Was she not impregnable? And again the answer was—*France!* The Government, however, defended itself on other grounds, declaring emphatically that the motive was peace; that the army was not, as a matter of fact, as large as it should be, considered merely as a pacific force and argument.

In fact, a state of circumstances had now supervened which seemed to make it necessary for the Powers of Europe to overtop each other in their respective military organizations. The addition of military contingents in one country seemed to make it necessary for the others to make greater additions to their equipments. At the time of which we speak, Germany had actually under arms about six hundred thousand men, and the annual call brought into the ranks a hundred and ninety thousand recruits, to serve their term. It was estimated that the whole army which could be called forth in an emergency amounted, with the reserves, to fully a million five hundred thousand. The French army was about equally extensive, calling annually to the ranks a hundred and sixty-eight thousand new men. The annual call of Russia amounted to two hundred and ten thousand, and her whole army numbered about a million nine hundred thousand men. The Austrian force at the same date numbered, with reserves, about a million; so that, taken altogether, the armies of Europe, or rather of the four great Powers

of the Continent, numbered, in this time of profound peace, about six millions. Each of the Powers stoutly asserted, however, that everything in its own movements and preparations was distinctly pacific; that war was not desired and not expected, and that, in short, the withdrawal of six millions of men from all productive industries, and their organization into a destroying force, the momentum of which it were impossible to estimate, was necessary, as a sort of police contingent, for the maintenance of the peace! Von Moltke, in the Reichstag, declared that Germany had no fear, no expectation of war with anybody, and that the addition to the army was no more than a proper equipoise to the military powers of other countries.

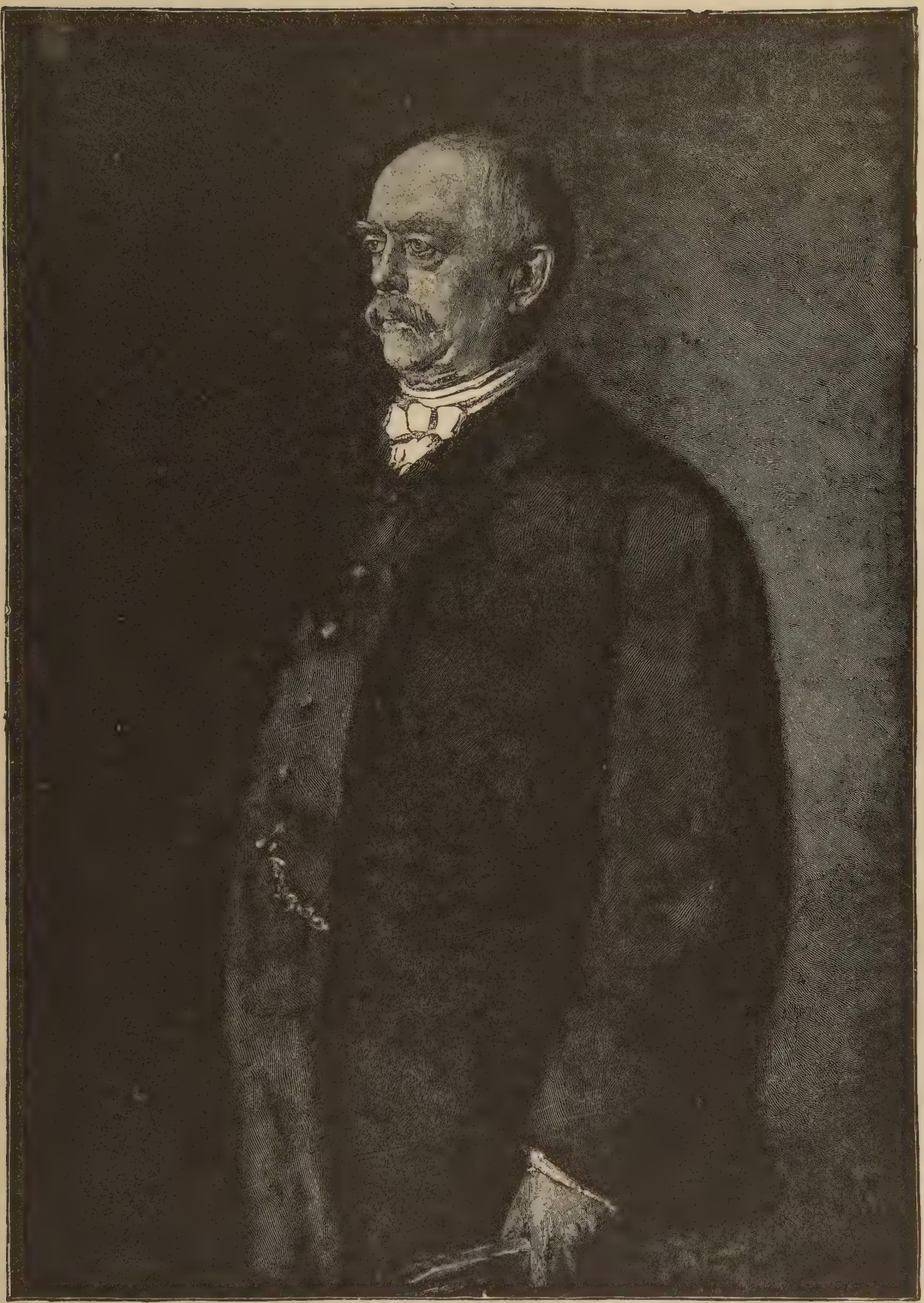
In the beginning of April of this year Prince Bismarck fell into a quarrel with the Bundesrath, or German Senate, relative to a measure for imposing a stamp-duty on the receipts for postal money-orders. The Government proposition was defeated by a combination of the smaller States, each of which, however insignificant, is, according to the German system, entitled to one member in the Bundesrath. Prince Bismarck hereupon resigned, and was disposed to insist upon his retirement, notwithstanding the refusal of the Emperor to accept his resignation. The Chancellor had discovered by this time his ability to force the legislative bodies into a surrender by threatening to withdraw from the conduct of the Government.

The situation which had now supervened in Germany with respect to this remarkable personage has had no parallel in other countries, at least within the present century. The conduct of the Chancellor in each crisis—which would have appeared to be mere bluster on the part of any other Premier in Christendom—was, in Germany, profoundly significant. The threat of resignation actually meant confusion come again. Bismarck knew it, and so did the Reichstag and the people. There was no other statesman in Germany that could presume to take up the Bismarckian burden. He alone,

> "Above the rest,
> In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
> Stood like a tower."

The menace of resignation, therefore, must be considered as an actual thing, and be dealt with as a calamity to be avoided. The result was that in the present decade the ascendency of Prince Bismarck in the German Parliament has amounted to an absolutism, the like of which could not be found, or even expected, in any other enlightened State. In the present instance the Bundesrath was obliged, for prudential reasons, and against its own judgment, to recede from its position and to accept the proposition of the Government for a stamp-duty on the postal money-orders of the Empire.

Difficulties of the kind above referred to became recurrent in the following years. The will of the nation on political and civil questions sought to express itself by its representatives in the German Parliament; but it was the theory of the Government that the needs of Germany were better understood by the Emperor and his Council than by the people themselves. Since the Government was in power, and the people were not in power, the policy of the former prevailed. Ever and anon a crisis of some kind would be precipitated, which would be broken in the habitual manner. The Chancellor would present his resignation. The Emperor would decline to accept it; and the refractory Reichstag, or Bundesrath, would be obliged to recede from its position. To the English-speaking reader this system must appear an intolerable despotism; but such a view is only partial, and does not fully cover the conditions present in Germany. True, the Government became, at the time of which we speak, arbitrary and severe in the last degree. Public opinion was many times trampled under foot, and the public will treated as though it were not. But there was never a more sincere, honest, and benevolent Government than this same Imperial tyranny. What charge of selfish ambition or of ulterior designs beyond the good of the Fatherland could be brought against this aged Emperor? Was not he, were not those whom he trusted, and to whom he committed the powers of the State, earnestly, thoroughly, devoted to the interests of all Germany and all the Germans? This is not offered in the way of an apology for the system itself, so harsh, so irrational, so intolerable, we might say, to the instincts of an enlightened people; but it is offered as an explanation of the peculiar form of the German despotism, and as an exposition of the



PRINCE BISMARCK.

reasons why the German people, little acquainted in their past history with the uses and usages of civil liberty, have, as a rule, so patiently and willingly accepted the Imperial order as a thing of dignity, of honor, and salutary force.

Prince Bismarck, nevertheless, felt, at intervals, the necessity of promoting concord between himself and the legislative bodies. In March of 1881 he took the occasion to address the Reichstag in a speech, which, though little apologetic, was explanatory of his own place in the Imperial system, and to a considerable extent of that system itself. It had been recently alleged by Herr Richter, leader of the Opposition, that Bismarck constituted the German Government in too large a sense for the welfare of the Empire, and that, since the Chancellor was in ill-health, many of his duties should be remanded to the charge of others. The Chancellor's answer was to the effect that, so far as his health was concerned, it was no affair of Herr Richter's, but only his own affair and the Emperor's. He declared that under the Imperial system the Chancellor was the only responsible functionary; but when it came to defining or finding the person or party *to whom* he was responsible, he was obliged to admit that none such existed. It was virtually a moral responsibility, as much as to say that he was responsible to himself. He declared his duty to be, under authority of the Emperor, to bring before the Reichstag for debate the decisions of the Council. This duty he must perform. Still, the performance or the non-performance of it rested with himself. Should he think it best, he might hold back the decisions of the Council. Should a bill be prepared by the Council, and have the approval of the Emperor, he, as Chancellor, might refuse to sign it. In that event, the Emperor and the Council would have to yield, or else the Emperor would be under the necessity of finding another Chancellor. The Prince knew well enough that in such a situation, his Imperial master would not seek another Chancellor, but would retain the one whom he knew and trusted. Since, under the Constitution of the Empire, legislation must originate in the Council, it followed, as a necessary sequence, that it must originate with the Chancellor. Otherwise, he might not transmit to the Reichstag any proposition whatsoever. It thus happened that every enactment must come from him. He was not responsible to either House or both Houses of the German Parliament. He could not be dismissed from office save by the Emperor himself. Wherefore the Chancellor of the German Empire, under the Emperor's authority, governs, and the Reichstag has no prerogative beyond the discussion of such measures as are submitted to it for such purpose by the Chancellor. To the American reader it must seem amazing that such a scheme of civil government could be openly avowed by a Prime Minister in the presence of one of the greatest deliberative bodies in Christendom, and survive the declaration for a single hour.

In the meantime, the controversy with the Catholic Church in Germany continued. The Falk Laws, so-called from their originator, were still in force; but these were not recognized as valid by the Catholics. The Pope and the Catholic organs set themselves in bold opposition to the repressive statutes, declaring that they were invalid *per se*, and that any Catholic deputy who should accept them or recognize them in any way should therefor suffer excommunication. The Ultramontane party found a leader in the Reichstag in the person of Herr Windhorst, who stood boldly forth as the defender of the Mother Church.

The operation of the Falk Laws had already wrought great mischief with them of the ancient faith in all Germany. Distress supervened, and Prince Bismarck came at length to see that something must be done to restore a better feeling among the Catholics of the country. It was found that fully a thousand parishes had been left without priests, and that nine out of the eleven Bishops of Germany were absent and virtually exiled from their dioceses. The support of the Falk Laws was now derived almost wholly from the Liberals, under the leadership of Doctor Falk himself, and by this wing of anti-Catholics the opposition to the Church was as vigorously maintained as ever. The Ministry, however, were at length driven to a more pacific course with respect to the Church. Negotiations were opened between Prince Bismarck and the Vatican, with a view to the restoration

of friendship. Great was the clamor raised against the Government for this policy. It was said that Bismarck, like the Emperor Henry IV., was ready to go barefoot in the snows of the Pope's door-yard. But, as usual, the Chancellor held on in his own way, until peace was at length attained by the concession of nearly everything that the Church had contended for. The Clericals regained, to a considerable extent, their former position in the religious society of Germany, and the hopes of Liberalism that a master had at last been found for the Church of Rome were doomed to disappointment.

In the autumn of 1881 the political interests of Europe were for a time excited by the meeting of the Emperors of Germany, Austria, and Russia, at Dantzic. The conference originated with the rulers themselves, and was supposed to have had its origin in a fear entertained by the Czar that Prince Bismarck was contemplating a rectification of the German frontier on the side of Russia. It was believed that the German Chancellor had it in mind to amend the map of Europe by transferring Poland from both Austria and Russia to the dominions of his Imperial master. It was thought that the scheme contemplated, in a compensatory way, the giving of the Balkan principalities to Austria, but it did not appear in what way the Czar was to be compensated for the supposititious loss of territory. His Majesty was therefore ill at ease, and sought by means of the conference to satisfy himself that no such mischief was intended.

As usual in such business a pretext was devised other than the true one. Ostensibly the Emperors came together to discuss the question of Socialism in Europe—how it might be suppressed and dissipated from the scene of politics and government. By this time the Socialist goblin towered up in the imagination of the Emperors, especially those of Russia and Austria, as a specter of ill-omen to the whole existing order. The presence of such a shadow was made the excuse of the Imperial meeting, much as a conference of American Senators, bent on the promotion or invention of some prodigious scheme, might call a conference to consider the evils of Mormonism in the United States. Though the meeting of the sovereigns was private, though the subjects discussed and the tone of the discussion was known only to themselves and their secretaries, yet the business was divined by the world at large, and it came to be understood that the Czar was satisfied with the existing condition in the West, and that his fears of the excision of Poland from his dominions were removed.

Shortly after the meeting of the Emperors the German National election was held, resulting in great gains to the Opposition. While the Liberals did not of themselves succeed in gaining a majority in the Reichstag, their increment of strength was considerable, and the combination of the factions in opposition to the Government was sufficient to turn the majority against it. It therefore became a question in what manner the Chancellor might deal with the intractable body upon which he must depend for support in the conduct of civil affairs. At the opening of the Reichstag in November of 1881, the speech from the throne was delivered by the Chancellor, who, in the first place, dwelt at length upon the pacific disposition of the Powers, and the confidence of the Emperor that the peace of Europe was in no danger of disturbance. In the subsequent part of the message the Chancellor dwelt upon domestic affairs, taking up the very same propositions which the Government had formerly made and which had been passed upon adversely in the recent election. The result of the elections was treated as a nullity. Prince Bismarck went on to recommend the granting to the Government of a monopoly of the tobacco trade; to ask appropriations for the ensuing two years; to recommend the establishment of a four-year term as the period of membership in the Reichstag; to insist on a system of insurance by the State for the invalid workingmen of Germany. It was noted at the time that the parts of the Chancellor's speech reviving and pressing upon the Reichstag the very propositions which the German people had just decided in the negative, were received "with icy coldness, and that not one sentence was applauded." No sooner had the Imperial speech been delivered than the Liberal batteries were opened, and it was at once discovered that not only a majority, but a majority of two-thirds

could be commanded against the Imperial programme.

In the beginning of December, a bill for the establishment of an Economical Council, upon which Bismarck exhausted his powers of persuasion and influence, was rejected by the Reichstag, which refused the requisite appropriation by a vote of a hundred and sixty-nine to eighty-three. In any other country than Germany, under any other system than that of the Empire, under any other Emperor and Prime Minister than William and Bismarck, such a vote would have been instantly fatal to the existing Administration; but the Chancellor and his master gave as little seeming heed to the result as though the Prince had lost a game of chess to a friendly competitor!

It could be seen at the beginning of 1882 that the German Government was seriously engaged in the work of making its peace with the Mother Church. The Liberals noted, with ever-increasing mortification, the rising sympathy between the Conservative and the Clerical party. The project of Bismarck was clearly to gain the support of the Clericals, in order that the Government might, at all hazards, secure a majority. The inconvenience of conducting the Imperial Administration without the backing of a majority in the Reichstag, bore with ever-increasing weight upon the Chancellor, impeding his plans and disturbing his temper; and he became willing to confederate with the party of the Ancient Church in order to put an end to his embarrassments.

The course of Prince Bismarck within the current decade has fully illustrated the pliability of his political principles. Indeed, it might be difficult to discover what his principles really are. As we have already remarked, the Imperial Government sought the advantage and welfare of Germany; but the ends were pursued from the particular point of view occupied by the Emperor and the Chancellor. Bismarck, in his relation to the Nation, may well remind the reader of Lord Palmerston and his career in England. The policy in either case meant success, and the means thereto were at no time tested by the standards of a high political morality. Thus, in the year 1882, we begin to find Prince Bismarck and Herr Windhorst in affiliation. In January, the latter, as leader of the Clerical party, brought into the Reichstag a bill for the abrogation of the Falk Laws, by which the exercise of ecclesiastical rights in Germany, without the sanction of secular authority, was forbidden. The debates on this proposition continued until late in the month, when the third reading of Windhorst's Act was carried, and the measure soon afterwards became a law. All the principal features of the Falk statutes were repealed, and the Church swung back into her ancient position.

It was said by the adherents of the Government that the policy of "overwhelming generosity" which had thus been adopted with respect to the Catholics would bring about a great reäction in the Church favorable to the Bismarckian ascendency. It was thought that Rome would be set aglow by the concessions which had been made to her subjects in Germany. Great, therefore, was the mortification of the Conservative party when no such warmth of feeling was seen among the Catholics. On the contrary, they accepted the repeal of the Falk Laws as a matter of course. The Vatican considered the repeal simply as an act of justice which a refractory son had at length been induced, by right reason and conscience, to do to an injured party. It thus happened that when Prince Bismarck looked around for the support of the Clericals, the same could nowhere be found. When he demanded that his tobacco monopoly should be conceded by the Reichstag as the reward of virtue, the proposition was rejected in committee by a majority of six to one. It could but be noted, however, that the iron Chancellor was to all seeming little disturbed at the ill-success of his concessions to Rome. It had now become his habit never to acknowledge defeat, never to recognize the fact, and to proceed in the same manner as though no such thing had occurred. It was at once given out by the Government that the bills for the establishment of the tobacco monopoly, for biennial appropriations, for the quadriennial term of membership in the Reichstag, and for other favorite projects of the Chancellor, would be brought forward again and again, be debated and re-debated until argument and persistency should prevail over opposition, and the Government have its way.

Later in this year another important measure was agitated which, it was thought, would be the crowning act in the reconciliation with Rome. There had been established by the Government a law for Compulsory Civil Marriage, which was exceedingly distasteful to the Catholics. The Mother Church had always claimed, and had immemorially exercised, the right of performing marriages under the sanction of religion, and of religion only. Little had she concerned herself about the civil law or the preferences of secular society. In Germany, as in most other countries, the double usage had grown up of civil and religious marriage. In the times when the Imperial Government was at sword's-points with Rome it had been enacted, as a part of the repressive policy which Bismarck was then pursuing, that all marriages should thenceforth have the civil sanction. The act was of a character to put the marriages of the Church under the ban to the extent of not recognizing them as valid until the civil magistrate had ratified or repeated the ceremony.

This law, both in its theory and application, was an eye-sore to the Church; and in 1882 a strenuous effort was made for the repeal of the existing statute. Now it was that another example was afforded of the inevitable union of all classes of ecclesiastics whenever the privileges of any are endangered. What in this case should the Protestant clergy do but *join the Catholics* in the demand for the abolition of compulsory civil marriage. They, too, as well as the Romish priests, would fain gain and keep a monopoly of that relation by which man and woman are established in the family. It was believed at the time of the agitation that the Government itself, particularly the Emperor and Empress, were secretly in sympathy with the movement to reëstablish independent religious marriage under the sanction of either Church. But the whole project came to naught. It was found that the body of the German Senators were immovable for the maintenance of the prerogatives of secular society. Perhaps they had recently seen of how small an advantage were the greatest concessions made to Rome. In the Bundesrath, the motion for the abolition of compulsory civil marriage was definitely rejected, and the Clericals retired in defeat.

The policy of the Vatican in its dealings with the civil governments of the world could not be better illustrated than in the course of the Pope after he had gained the day in Prussia. We have seen above how the old question of requiring the sanction of the secular authorities in the matter of ecclesiastical appointments and offices was carried in the negative, and how the Mother Church regained her place in the economy of Germany. The Government, however, had forced upon her a single clause to her dislike. This required that when ecclesiastical officers should hereafter be appointed in the German Empire, the Government should be "notified" of such appointments, and the persons by whom the Church offices were to be filled. This was equivalent to saying that the Church should, out of courtesy, tell the Government that she had done as she pleased! At this very time, however, an effort was making by the Catholics to establish themselves on favorable grounds in Russia. There His Holiness must be meek and discreet until what time he had gained sufficient footing to throw off his humility. He accordingly entered into negotiations with the Czar, and the latter with him, with respect to the filling of Catholic vacancies within the dominions of Russia. In this case it was agreed that the ecclesiastical offices should be filled with persons mutually agreed upon by the Czar and the Pope, or by their representatives. The Vatican cheerfully assented to the proposition that the Russian Minister of Public Worship should pass upon all the appointments made for the Catholic Church within the Russian Empire. The Pope was very willing thus by concession and prudence to gain a status for the Romish Church in Russia, not being able in that country to dictate, as he had recently done in Prussia, the terms on which his subjects might be obedient to the law.

The spring of 1883 witnessed an unusual incident in the relations of the German Empire and the United States. Hitherto Germany had been open to all the products of the American market, and among these pork constituted one of the most important items. It happened at this juncture that a disease, having its origin in the *Trichina spiralis*, spread among the swine in some parts of the United States, and in a few instances diseased pork

had found its way into the markets. But trichiniasis was never so prevalent as public report had made it. The news of the disease, however, was carried to Europe, and the German Government, in its usual paternal manner, determined that the American product should be excluded. There was much shrewdness in the measure, which was at bottom a protective scheme, devised in the interest of the landowners, swineherds, and pork-packers of Germany. The appearance of trichiniasis in the United States was seized upon as the pretext for the exclusion of American pork, and the consequent protection to that of Germany.

Investigation immediately showed that the apprehension of disease from American importations was wholly factitious. The importers of Hamburg and other commercial bodies in Germany held up the measure of the Government in its true light, but the discussion was not sufficient to remove the restriction. Not a little ill-feeling was produced in the United States on account of the inhibition of her products. But since her own established policy was that of protection, and since she possessed abundant opportunities to retaliate in kind, it was determined to meet the German scheme in this manner, and by a diplomatical remonstrance rather than by harsher means.[1]

It might well have been thought that the concessions made by the Imperial Government to Rome in the first two years of the decade would have been sufficient; but not so. The clause in the settlement requiring notification to the secular authorities of ecclesiastical appointments in Germany still implied a sort of veto upon such appointments, or at least admitted the right of the Government *to know* what the Church was doing. Even so much as this was soon found to be highly displeasing to the Clerical party, and it was decided from the Vatican that still further concessions should be demanded. The Government had now begun the policy of "overwhelming generosity," and there was no telling where the same was to end. The discussion broke out anew in the Landtag, where the necessities of the Government seemed to be dependent upon the support of the Clericals. The latter made the most of the situation, by requiring, as a condition of their support, the removal of that offending clause of the religious settlement, by which the principle of a civil revision of the Church offices was declared, and to this the Government, out of the stress of the situation, was induced at length to yield.

During the years which we are here considering, the slumbering animosity between France and Germany seemed ever ready to burst forth into a conflagration. In the summer of 1883 the situation for awhile grew critical. At this time the French operations in Tonquin were at full tide, and the news from the East brought repetitions of the story of success. The French were, for the season, greatly elated, when, to the astonishment of Paris, and indeed of all Europe, a semi-official article appeared in the *North-German Gazette*, accusing France of disturbing, and attempting to disturb, the peace of the nations. It was believed in the diplomatical circles of Europe that the publication in question had been inspired by Prince Bismarck; but what the real significance of the article might be was no more than a guess to any. The effect of it was to spread a sort of chill among the European Governments, and to disturb the money-market of the world. The funds fell seriously in both Paris and Berlin; but the summer passed, and the alarm subsided. It was recalled in the retrospect that, while the French were engaged in their Tunisian campaigns, similar oracular utterances had appeared in the official papers at Berlin, from which the inference was drawn that Prince Bismarck, in order to prevent, or at least to mar, the success of the French arms abroad, had adopted the policy of making publications portending war as a measure *in terrorem*, intended for effect not only in Germany and France, but throughout Europe.

Another incident of the year was the visit of the Crown Prince of Germany to the Court of Spain. The King of Spain was one of the sovereigns who had recently paid his respects in person to the Imperial Government at Berlin. These small civilities would have had little significance in themselves, but for the

[1] The restriction on the importation of American pork into Germany continued until February of 1890, when the absurdity of the interdict, becoming manifest, led to its abrogation.

temper with which they were viewed in France. On the occasion of King Alphonso's visit to the German capital he went through Paris *en route*, and was there subjected to some indignities by the French Radicals, who were angered at the thought that a Spanish King should, under any circumstances, make a visit to Germany. A scheme was concocted between the irreconcilables of Paris and Madrid, that on the occasion of the Crown Prince's coming to the latter city, he should be duly insulted by the rabble. The existence of so mean and pitiable a plot was chiefly significant as another evidence of the unquenchable hatred existing between the two nations.

In the following year the somewhat superficial unfriendliness between Germany and the United States reäppeared in the diplomacy of the two countries. At the time of the incident referred to above, relative to the exclusion of certain American articles from the German markets, the place of American Minister at Berlin was held by Honorable A. A. Sargent, formerly a Senator from Massachusetts. He it was who gave notice to the State authorities at Washington City of what he conceived to be the true animus of the German Government in closing the markets of the country against American pork. The communication of the Minister was made public in the United States, and since it assigned other than the avowed motives of Prince Bismarck, it was regarded as an act not only of indiscretion, but of injustice and untruth. For this reason the American Minister fell into disparagement, if not disgrace, at Berlin, the German Government going so far as to recognize his presence and office only under the strictest formalities of etiquette.

While this state of affairs continued the public was informed of the death of Herr Lasker, one of the most prominent leaders of the Liberal party in all Germany. He was a man who had acquired great influence in his own country, and had drawn to himself the admiration of American Germans to an unusual degree. His admirers in the United States were sincerely grieved at his death, holding him in much the same esteem that Friedrich Hecker had enjoyed in his day. The German influence was felt in the House

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of Representatives, and Congressman Ochiltree in that body offered a resolution of condolence on Herr Lasker's death, with the request that the same be forwarded to the German Government. In the resolution a passage was found in which it was asserted that Herr Lasker's "firm and constant exposition of and devotion to free and liberal ideas had materially advanced the social, political, and economical condition" of the German people. Of course such an assertion could not well be accepted

by Prince Bismarck without a stultification of the principles of his Administration. For Herr Lasker had been one of his ablest and most successful opponents at the bar of public opinion in Germany. Instead, therefore, of transmitting to the Reichstag the resolutions of the House of Representatives, Bismarck returned them to the German Minister at Washington with instructions that they be handed back to the body with which they originated. He accompanied the returned message of the House with a communication wherein, it may be fairly confessed, that he showed the justice of the position which he had taken. Referring to the expressions of the resolution in favor of the political principles of Herr Lasker, the Chancellor said:

"I should not venture to oppose my judgment to the opinion of such an illustrious body as the House of Representatives if I had not, by more than thirty years' active participation in the internal policy of Germany, gained an experience which justified me in attaching a certain value to my judgment in questions of home affairs."

The pacific and modest reply made by Bismarck did much to allay the excitement, and even dispel the interest of the American people in the controversy. Presently afterwards, it was known that the American Minister at Berlin had been invited to a State dinner, at which he was received with the usual courtesies and marks of public respect. It was found, however, that the dislike of the German Government to Mr. Sargent was only concealed under a necessary formality. His position became at length so distasteful to himself, as well as to those to whom he was sent, that he resigned his position, and returned to the United States.

It can but serve as a further illustration of the prevalent spirit in German history to note the sequel to the Lasker resolutions. To the Liberal party in Germany, the expressions of the American House of Representatives were most grateful. The action of Bismarck in sending back the paper of condolence was bitterly resented in his own country. The Executive Committee of the Liberal Union of Germany prepared an address of thanks to our House of Representatives for its action in the premises. It might have been supposed that such a course would anger Bismarck, and that the political warfare between the Government and the Liberal party would be intensified But no such visible result came of the controversy. The Prince remained in his Chancellorship, and, to all seeming, gave as little heed to the action of the Liberal Union as though the same had been taken at a town meeting in Baden. Presently afterward he made a speech in the Reichstag, declaring his entire friendliness to the United States; but saying at the same time that the Chancellor of the German Empire was not his "enemy's postman"—by which was meant that Herr Lasker, and the party which he represented, were the enemies of the German Government, and that Bismarck would not carry messages between them and their sympathizers in foreign lands.

The appearance of cholera in the South of Europe in the early summer of 1884 led to a general alarm throughout Europe and America. The news was borne abroad that at Marseilles the people were falling by hundreds from the dreadful malady. For the past two years it had been known that the disease was making its stealthy way from port to port, in its course to the West. Hitherto such an advance of the disease had always been the premonition of a campaign of death in almost all the cities of Europe and the New World. More than once already the cholera had crept from our own sea-board westward across the mountains, along the rivers and other thoroughfares of the Mississippi Valley, until the backwoods villages of Indiana and the slave-quarters of Missouri plantations were smitten with the scourge. The same thing was now expected to occur; but fortunately for the destinies of mankind, a new order had supervened, a new element been introduced into the bosom of civilization. Science had come—a belief in the beneficent reign of law, and the possibility of defeating the invisible enemy at his own chosen method of warfare. Cholera could no longer be preached as the scourge and visitation of an offended Power on high. It was met, on the contrary, simply as a poison, disseminated by natural means, infesting the water and the air, and thus assailing the citadel of life.

All the countries of Europe, and the more

enlightened Governments of America set themselves against the scourge. Instead of flying, as they had been wont to do, the people everywhere faced their foe. In Germany, especially, the celebrated Dr. Koch entered the arena, under the direction of the Government, to prevent the spread of cholera in the Fatherland. He made a report on the disease which had great influence in determining action in both Europe and America. Measures of quarantine were adopted everywhere, and in some places military blockade by land was established. The use of disinfectants was taught, and a spirit was soon diffused everywhere like that of people successfully fighting a fire. The reward was sufficient. Philanthrophists everywhere had the inexpressible happiness to witness the triumph of intelligence and science over one of the worst enemies of the human race. The cholera scarcely penetrated the interior of France. It obtained no footing in the ports of Western Europe, and the Atlantic proved an impassable barrier. With the following year it was noticed that even in the towns of the Mediterranean the reäppearance of the disease was feeble and sporadic. Instead of a universal plague, the few remaining cases only sufficed to testify in unmistakable language to the efficiency of the means which the scientific knowledge of mankind had used to trammel up and extinguish the ravages of the dreaded enemy.

The most important event in the history of Germany during the years 1885–86 was the promotion of a scheme for foreign colonization. The appearance of such a phenomenon at this date marks and emphasizes the surprisingly late political development of the German race. It also shows with equal clearness a peculiarity of the Teutonic peoples, distinguishing them from the Low-Germanic family. The latter, in its Anglo-Saxon development, has proved by far the most energetic colonizing force which has appeared in the modern world. We have had occasion in other parts of the present Work to point out the feebleness and unwisdom of the Gallic race in the matter of colonization. It would appear that the Germans are more like the French in this particular than in almost any other feature of the national life. The reader may well marvel to find the German Government and people awaking in the latter part of the nineteenth century to the thought and purpose of planting colonies in foreign parts, as though the idea were new to the world. The project above referred to was indeed a part of the new national consciousness which came to Germany with the Franco-Prussian War and the founding of the Empire. It may also be referred in part to the personal vision of Bismarck, who was not averse to seeing the German Nation perform abroad the same work and destiny which other nations were doing and fulfilling.

Under the impulse just described, the colonization fever appeared in Germany. The movement took practical form from the action of the local Senates of Bremen and Hamburg, as early as 1883. Afterwards it was decided by the Imperial Government to take Africa as the field of its colonial enterprises. In May of 1884, Dr. Nachtigal was appointed a Consular Commissioner, and sent out in a war-vessel to the African coast. It appears that the Hamburg merchants, already established at the mouth of the Cameroons, had prepared the way for the work in hand by negotiating treaties with the native kings. The part of the coast selected for the establishment of the German foothold extended from Bimbia to beyond Batanga, that is, the country between parallels 4° and 2° N. It appears that the African princes in this part of the country had already sought to put themselves under the protectorate of Great Britain; but that Government had moved clumsily in the matter, and was now headed off by the German Consular expedition. Afterwards, when the British Consul arrived, his protest against the German preöccupation was futile. The success of the German enterprise was marked from its incipiency. The Lüderitz settlement, Angra Pequena, and the coasts of Namaqua and Demara Lands as far northward as Cape Frio, were secured to the German flag. The coast from two degrees of north latitude to twenty-six degrees south was, for the most part, organized under the protectorate of the Imperial Government. The other Powers acquiesced in the result, and a conference was called at Berlin to discuss and fix more definitely the political condition of the West African coast.

It was not long, however, until the advantage thus gained by Germany began to be doubted even by herself. The fact came to be recognized that the true age of colonization had passed with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was noticed that the recent efforts of France in Tunis, Tonquin, and Madagascar had entailed nothing but trouble upon the French Republic. It was seen and realized that the better parts of the barbarian world had been occupied, colonized, and taken by Great Britain, Spain, Holland, France, and Portugal nearly two hundred years ago. England herself had ceased to exploit colonization as a feature of her power. On the contrary, the great and successful colonies of our Mother Country had either long since attained actual independence or had reached a condition of semi-independence which, in some instances, threatened the solidarity of the Empire.

Meanwhile, the national greatness of the various countries had been established on another and totally different basis. The power of Germany had been due to concentration rather than expansion. More than any other modern nation her greatness was fixed and riveted to her own ancestral territory. It was perceived that it was in the nature of a dissipation of power to send out colonial establishments to the African coast and the South Pacific, which must needs be defended with the military arm and a vast expenditure of treasure. All this tended to dampen the colonizing ardor of the German people, and to remand them to the home interests of the Empire.

Another circumstance contributed to bring back the Imperial Government to its normal methods. This was a complication with Spain relative to a colonizing experiment in the Caroline Islands. It happened that one of this group, called Yap, had fallen under the notice of both Germany and Spain. The latter Power sent out an armament for the occupation of the island, which arrived at its destination in August of 1885. It chanced, however, that after the manner of Spanish enterprises, the armament floated lazily about Yap, failing to take possession, until suddenly a German gun-boat arrived in the harbor, and a few hours afterwards the German flag was hoisted in the island. At this the indignation of the Spaniards knew no bounds. When the news was borne to Madrid, the war passion flamed up instantly. The Spanish Liberals attacked the Government for any sign of hesitancy or moderation in declaring war against Germany. For the time the King and Ministry were well-nigh swept off their feet by the wave of excitement. But the German Government was not correspondingly agitated. In a short time Prince Bismarck sent a pacific note to the Spanish authorities, disclaiming all intention of violating the rights of Spain. With the opening of negotiations the difficulty was easily adjusted. The too energetic occupation of Yap by the German commander was disavowed, and Spain was permitted to resume her sway in that part of the Pacific waters. The event was chiefly significant for the check which it gave to the colonization policy in Germany. Nor may the critical reader fail to note the further "overwhelming generosity" of the German Government in nominating the Pope as the arbitrator in the recent pending disturbance between the Empire and Spain.

While the colonial agitation was on in Germany, the passion for emigration appeared, and rose to such a heat as almost to threaten the depopulation of the country. Of a certainty, grave reasons have existed in the Fatherland for the exodus of her people. The Germans are by ethnic instinct a home-producing and home-staying division of mankind. The charge of unpatriotism can never be truthfully brought against men of the Teutonic race. On the contrary, since the days of Tacitus the Germans have been cited and approved for their domestic and patriotic ties. Some unusual force has therefore been necessary to raise so large a part of the German population from its home moorings in the Fatherland and send it across the sea. The vastness of the German emigration in the last two decades may be referred in part to the adventurous spirit which has led many to approve of the establishment of foreign settlements as the best means of opening a larger field to the enterprise of those who have the courage to seek it. But by far the stronger force has been the military system of the German Empire.

We have already seen with what rigor the Imperial Government has insisted upon the maintenance, improvement, and increase of its

war establishment. The Government has demanded that all Germans shall be soldiers; that at a certain age, when life and enterprise are at their highest tide, the German youth shall leave their homes, enter the army, and for a period of years give their services to the public. All this has been done when no war existed, and when the repeated assurances of the Government were given forth that peace was the great desideratum to which the Empire was devoted. Such a system must needs be regarded as a great hardship by the German people. Liberty-loving as they are, they have borne with ill-concealed dislike and repugnance the rigors of the military *régime* which have appeared never to relax. The Liberal party in Germany has constantly denounced the military system and the means by which it has been sustained. The people have to a great extent sympathized with the anti-military policy of the Liberal party. The result has been that, rather than bear the enormous pressure of the established order, thousands and hundreds of thousands of the most enterprising Germans have sought refuge by expatriation and voyage into foreign lands.

Out of the nature of things, America, that is, the United States, have been the chosen asylum of the emigrant Germans. They have flowed in a continuous stream into our country, until many American cities have been Germanized. This element of American population has distributed itself into all parts of the country, accumulating, however, in certain districts to the extent of forming a new population of foreign birth. The rate of German immigration has risen higher and higher, reaching, in some periods, almost a hundred thousand per annum. Statisticians have discovered in this movement many peculiarities, which distinguish it from any similar exodus out of foreign lands. Thus, for instance, it has been found that almost as many German women as German men are involved in the American emigration. It has been found that out of every one thousand German emigrants four hundred and four are women and five hundred and ninety-six men. It has also been found that in the case of other foreigners a very large per cent. of them are people in the prime of life. This fact would indicate that adventure, rather than settlement, has been the prevailing motive. But with the Germans the case is wholly different. It has been found that only six hundred and twenty-two persons out of the one thousand German emigrants to America are men and women in the prime of life. The other three hundred and eighty-eight out of every thousand have belonged to childhood and old age. No fact could more strongly attest the true nature of the movement of the Germans into the United States. It can be perceived at a glance that the German *family* is the unit in the emigration. No sight is more common in American cities than the appearance among the newly-arrived Germans of old men and women tottering under the weight of years. They have come with their families, with no thought of ever returning to the Fatherland. While the sons have fled from the military rescription and its hardships, to find freedom in the United States, the fathers and mothers and the children of the family have also come under the impulse of that ancient Teutonic instinct which has made the domestic stronger than the individual life of man.

The first half of the year 1887 was marked by the recurrence of the national elections in Germany. The contest had been anticipated by all parties as an event likely to decide for some time to come the course and tendency of governmental affairs. The Liberals came to the issue believing that, on the whole, the arbitrary and oppressive character of the Imperial *régime* would tell upon the German electors to the extent of repudiating the Government and its methods. On the other hand, the Conservatives were confident that what they were wont to designate as the political education of the people had now gone on to the extent of bringing them into more hearty accord with the Bismarckian policy. The Prince Chancellor himself appears to have shared this confidence; but his adherents entered the campaign in the spirit of men who must win by battle. An expedient was adopted by the Government party which, in the end, proved effective in the highest degree. This was the evocation of the war goblin for political effect. The Liberals were charged with being devoted to the project of another war with France. It was declared by the Conservative orators that the French Rad-

icals and German Radicals were in strict accord in their desire to come at each other's throats. On the other hand, it was urged that the Empire was for the maintenance of the peace of Germany and France first, and of all Europe afterward. The repeated declarations of the Emperor and Prince Bismarck, and their recent conduct in the affair with Spain, gave cogency to the otherwise purely factitious argument of the Conservatives.

It had come to be seen, moreover, that the Empire was great and strong. Germany, under the Imperial system, had suddenly risen to the place of arbiter in the affairs of Central Europe. Notwithstanding the exactions of

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her military system, the people, the nation, had prospered. The advantages of peace were innumerable. Besides all this, it was perceived that in case the Party of Revenge in France should actually precipitate another conflict, Germany could best meet the issue by leaving the control of her destinies in the iron grasp and invincible purpose of the same giants who had carried her triumphantly through the Franco-Prussian War. The general result was a great increment of strength to the party of the Government. Bismarck and the system which he represented came out of the contest with a full majority, and the German Government, after the summer of 1887, entered upon a more tranquil administration than had hitherto been known since the establishment of the Empire.

Another element which entered into all the political and civil movements of the decade was the personality of the aged Emperor. In the order of nature, he was now near the close of his career. With the recurrence of the 22d of March, 1887, he reached the conclusion of his ninetieth year. His birthday was celebrated with great enthusiasm. There was something pathetic, as well as inspiring, in the aspect and character of the nonogenarian Father of his people as he stood and moved among them. One might well look upon him as Barbarossa come again to spend the evening of his days in the old-time fashion in the sacred and inviolable Fatherland. There was a strong disposition among the Germans, growing out of mere personal attachment, respect, and reverence for the Emperor, to carry him down to the grave in peace and honor. The sentiment was intensified by the presence and influence of the other great civil and military characters who belonged to the period of the Franco-Prussian War. It was an age of heroes. Many of these still held their place on the stage, and shared with the Emperor the esteem and confidence of the nation. After Prince Bismarck, the veteran Von Moltke, now eighty-seven years of age, and about to retire from the active command of the armies of the Fatherland, was the most conspicuous figure of the time. He, more than any other, was the military genius by whose warlike instincts and infallible skill the German avalanche had been hurled with such deadly effect against the Second Empire of the French. Prince Frederick Charles was now dead, but the Crown Prince, Von Steinmetz, and Edwin Von Manteuffel still lived and shone as a part of the galaxy of Germany. Under these conditions the hostile attitude of the Liberal partisans seemed like sacrilege done to the aged Emperor in the last hours of his career. All this, Prince Bismarck and the Ministry, of which he constituted the soul and life, were quick to perceive and to use for the advantage of the Imperial system. The situation was thoroughly illogical, entirely human, and altogether German.

A great question now arose, however, with

respect to the immediate future. Emperor William must, in a brief space of time, reach the end of his journey. What of the *After That?* Here, indeed, stood the Crown Prince ready to receive the Empire from the hands of his father. No weakling was he, no tyro in politics or in war. On the contrary, he had covered himself with glory in the great struggle with France. He was now fifty-six years of age, and was idolized by the best classes of the German people. His connections also were such as to make him powerful in the international system of Europe. In 1858 he had wedded Victoria Adelaide, Princess Royal of Great Britain, who bore him six children, and was, besides, a woman of many accomplishments and greater genius than had been developed by most of the princes and princesses of the House of Saxe-Coburg. Of him his father had said to Napoleon III. at Sedan: "Your Majesty is mistaken. It is not Frederick Charles, but *my son*, who is in command here." So that from many points of view the transfer of the Imperial Crown to Frederick William seemed an auspicious, and in some sense, a joyful prospect.

But there were other elements in the problem. A great political question was to be solved as soon as the old Emperor should die. While the Crown Prince could not be unduly charged with Liberalism, it was known to all Germany and the world that he held altogether another theory of the Imperial Government from that which was entertained and acted on by his father and Prince Bismarck. Frederick William believed profoundly in restoring Germany to the ways and purposes of peace. He disagreed with the Government on the great question of the army. He would fain have seen the term of military service abridged and modified, and the Empire, in all its parts, turned from its perpetual aspect of war to the conditions of a great industrial, economic, and commercial life.

All this was distasteful in the last degree to the German Chancellor and his party. It could but be expected that, in case of Emperor William's death, a serious break of some sort must ensue in the high places of the Government; and the event was awaited with interest and anxiety, not only in Germany, but in all Europe and America. What, therefore, was the sensation produced when, in the autumn of 1887, the news was given out that Dr. Morell Mackenzie, a noted English specialist, had been summoned to Berlin, to treat the Crown Prince for a malignant disease which had appeared in his throat? The very fact of calling a foreign physician to the assistance of the Crown Prince of Germany became a subject of comment and criticism in all the journals of Christendom. The act in question was ascribed to the influence of Victoria, whose English preferences were natural, but perhaps inapplicable in such a situation.

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At the first the reports made by the English physician, and accepted by the public, were favorable to the Prince's recovery; but he nevertheless grew worse, and was at length sent to the South, to avoid the rigors of the North Prussian winter.

It thus happened that at the close of 1887 an expectation existed that not only Emperor William, but his distinguished son, might both alike be soon called to their account. The situation was pathetic. The father had passed into decrepitude, beyond his ninetieth year. He still stoutly held to his old warlike habits and severe dispositions. He slept at night on the same iron bedstead which had furnished his

couch in the field. His food and regimen were as simple in their kind and as thoroughly German in preparation as they had been in his youth. It really became a race for life between this father and this son, in whose throat it now became evident that a cancer had begun its ravages. With the beginning of 1888 there was still hope of the Crown Prince's recovery.

EMPEROR FREDERICK III.

The very despair of it intensified the situation. The agony of her who might presently be Empress of Germany was enough to evoke the compassion of mankind. The event came in the spring of 1888. The aged Kaiser sank under sheer old age, and was laid to rest. His death occurred on the 9th day of March, and, while not unexpected, produced a great sensation in all Europe.

The Crown Prince was at once summoned to the place of Emperor, but his coronation was almost ghastly from the reflection of the mirror in whose surface all Germany and the world saw the shadow and settling pall of another Imperial funeral. The new sovereign took the title of FREDERICK III., and the Government was continued with little modification under the Chancellorship of Bismarck. Whatever might have occurred if the new Emperor had been in the vigor of health, with a promise of life before him, it could not happen under existing circumstances that the policy of the Administration should be reversed or seriously deflected from its course.

For another striking factor had now appeared in the problem of German politics and polity. Frederick William Victor Albert, eldest son of Emperor Frederick, had now become Crown Prince, with the expectancy of the Empire immediately before him. He was now, at the age of twenty-nine, himself the father of a family, and had formed his political principles. These he had derived from Bismarck and from the late Emperor William. In all respects he was the representative of the system established and upheld by his grandfather. From his father he had drawn little of his intellectual being. His whole sympathies were known to be with that military and iron rule which now seemed to pass by a span over the head of his father to

his own hands. Any liberalism which the sinking Frederick III. may have entertained was a thing strange and foreign to the nature and disposition of Prince William.

Thus, for three months and six days, the governmental affairs of Germany hung in suspense, while the life of the Emperor Frederick wasted away. His disease and decline were very similar to the like facts in the case of General Grant, forever famous in the history of our own country. The cancerous ravages in the Emperor's throat continued until the 15th of June, 1888, when he expired, being in the fifty-seventh year of his age. His reign, if such it may be called, was one of the most sorrowful known in history. It was contrasted in every particular with the splendor of circumstance and achievement which Frederick William and his friends must for many years have anticipated. The mockery of greatness could go no further. It only remained for the Empress Victoria, already under the ban of the dominant party, to recede from sight and to hush her moans in the obscurity of widowhood, while her somewhat reckless and audacious son was raised to the Imperial seat, with the title of WILLIAM II.

DOWAGER EMPRESS FREDERICK OF GERMANY.

With his accession the military system was restored in full force. The new Emperor was naught if not a soldier. He had been by his grandfather and the Chancellor thoroughly indoctrinated with the principles and spirit of war. In the first month of his reign he could hardly be turned from his habits of the barracks to the habits of the court. More than once he was known to mount at four in the morning, and to ride, with a single aide, at full speed to the cavalry camp in the neighborhood of Berlin. While such episodes may not have been displeasing to the Conservative party, they were regarded with deep forebodings by the Liberals and the admirers of the late Emperor. It was felt, moreover, throughout Europe, that the pacific attitude of Germany, long proclaimed by the Government and now almost accepted as a fact, was much endangered by the ascendency of the young and warlike Prince, who, still in his thirtieth year, had been called to the Imperial throne.

Here, then, at the threshold of the present, the narrative of historical events in Modern Germany must cease for want of perspective. Meanwhile, a new age in literature and art, new forms of thought, new schemes of activity, have supervened, which, while they have not eclipsed the glory of that epoch of which Goethe and Schiller, world-bard and national poet, were the conspicuous and effulgent lights, have nevertheless added to the intellectual treasures, the artistic wealth, and the philosophical domain of the whole human race. It is the misfortune of the Germany of to-day that her greatness still rests upon the foundations of military force. To the extent that this is so, her strength is weakness and the Imperial system endangered. It remains for the present and the future to demonstrate whether Germany shall be able, with her powerful intellect and splendid moods of mental action, to eliminate from her political and social system the elements of force, of personal will, of Feudal antecedence, of remaining absolutism, and to leave behind in her tremendous crucible only the beauty of her genius and the liquid gold of liberty.

GERMANIA.

Book Twenty-Fifth.

ITALY.

CHAPTER CXLV.—DAWN OF NATIONALITY.

IT was the destiny of Ancient Italy to be the seat of the greatest and most centralized political power of antiquity. It was reserved for Mediæval Italy to be the scene of the most distracted condition into which civilization has, perhaps, ever fallen. It has been the part of Modern Italy to present one of the finest examples of revival, of political reörganization, and of the reïnstitution of order in civil society which has been furnished by any age or country. In the present narrative of events it will be the aim to depict, in a few comprehensive pages, those great and patriotic movements by which the Italian Nationals have succeeded in rehabilitating their long-distracted country, and of drawing to themselves the sympathy, admiration, and favor of all lovers of freedom and unity in every part of the world.

Here again we must enter upon an account of those sorrowful events and reäctionary processes which marked the first years of European history after the close of the Napoleonic wars. We have already had occasion to remark upon the peculiar lull which ensued after the Congress of Vienna. The triumphant kings and their apologists called it peace. It looked like peace. There was no longer the sound of cannon. The international commissioners, sitting at the Austrian capital, proceeded with their work as though an endless peace had been achieved. It was, on the whole, one of the most delusive epochs in all history. The mariner at sea has learned to dread such calms as the sure precursors of cyclone and ruin. In the political world, also, the day of apathy and stillness is to be dreaded as the premonition of to-morrow's storm.

Multiplied instances have already been cited of the outbreak which presently ensued in nearly every country which the French Revolution had infected. We are here to consider the brief interval of the incubation of the disease which was soon to rage in every quarter. Having already noted the course of events in Great Britain and France and Germany, we may properly take up the narrative of Italian affairs, beginning once more from the Congress of Vienna. During the Hundred Days, Murat, who had been King of Italy, calling himself Joachim Napoleon, and who

more recently had been expelled from the throne, returned to France and offered his sword once more to Napoleon. But the latter indignantly refused to trust him again. Murat then went into seclusion, first at Toulon, and afterwards in Corsica. His political ambition had not departed. Though Prince Metternich offered him an asylum at Vienna, the late King of Italy chose the hazards of attempting a counter-revolution, in the hope of regaining his throne. He accordingly made a descent on the coast of Calabria, where he was presently deserted by his followers, captured, and imprisoned. On the 13th of October, 1815, he was condemned by court-martial, under a law which he himself had decreed against disturbers of the peace. The sentence was death. He was allowed a half hour, which he occupied in writing a tender farewell to his wife and children. He then went to the place of execution, and faced death in a manner well befitting the bravest and ablest cavalry commander which Europe has known within the present century.

As soon as the *fiasco* was at an end, the Congress of Vienna proceeded to the dismemberment of Italy. She was literally torn, member from member, by the apostles and representatives of the ancient order, who had not yet learned that the turning backwards of either a watch or the world is not only impossible, but unthinkable. Sardinia was assigned to her former king. Lombardy and Venice were wrenched from their peninsular relations and given to Austria. Modena, Reggio, and several other principalities were conferred on one branch of the Hapsburgs; Tuscany, on another branch. Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were allotted to the Ex-Empress Maria Louisa, wife of Napoleon, and mother of the King of Rome. To *this*, then, had come that proud daughter of Austria, who had held to her husband's arm in Dresden, when, before the beginning of the Russian campaign, he stood, in grim gravity, as depicted by Emile Bayard, to receive the bows and salutations of more than half the kings and princes of Europe. The Papal States were given back to the Pope, and the Two Sicilies went to their former ruler. This division of political power, this rending of Italy into fragments, in order that the small dignitaries, who had swarmed up from the deeps of the past, might have something in common with the present and the future, was exceedingly distasteful to the National party, whose creed was Italian unity. Henceforth this party only awaited the opportune moment to promote the one principle for which it existed, namely, the union of all Italy. Not five years elapsed after the Treaty of Vienna until the Republican elements in the Peninsula were ripe for insurrection.

We here come again to the beneficent effects which followed the struggles of the Age of Revolution. No other epoch in human history has done so much for the emancipation of mankind and the institution of a more enlightened order, as did the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The invasions of the French armies into the surrounding States of Europe, though they seemed to work nothing but havoc and ruin, were always a blessing in disguise. True, the vineyards were trampled down. True, the gardens and orchards became a bloody mire. True, the smoke of burning cities rose and floated like clouds in every sky from the Moskwa to Finisterre. But the devastation was necessary to the new life of Europe. It has become the cant of reäctionary criticism, indulged in especially by English authors and their American imitators, to speak derisively of the "Rights of Man" as promulgated and understood by the French Revolutionists. But the Rights of Man were a verity, and they continue a verity, and will continue until the follies of government for the sake of government, as against government for the sake of the people, shall be extinguished in every part of the world. The Rights of Man are henceforth a part of the instincts of the human heart, which can not be plucked away without destroying the life.

Italy had felt the vivifying influences of the new political theory and system which had been instituted in France; and the restoration of the small princes by the Congress of Vienna proved to be a mere fiction, which the logic of events must soon sweep away. The insurrection came. The first popular outbreak against the restored order, as defined from Vienna, occurred in 1820 and 1821. In these years, Naples and Sardinia were the scenes of revolutionary movements, which gathered such head as to compel the rulers to promise the measures

of reform demanded by the people. It was at this very crisis that the Congress of Laybach, composed of representatives from the leading States of Europe, openly declared it to be the duty of the sovereigns of Christendom to join hands in the work of exterminating the patriotic revolts which had appeared in many States as a natural sequence of the French Revolution.

The work of carrying out the edict of the Congress, as it related to Italy, was assigned to Austria. That Power at once sent her armies into the Peninsula. A force of eighty thousand men was thrown, first into Lombardy, and afterwards directed against Naples. In the meantime, King Ferdinand had been so surprised by the revolt in his dominion that he declared his son Francis to be Vicar-General of the Kingdom, and then betook himself into Austria. Back he now came with the Austrian army, to recover the rights, or at least the prerogatives, of which he had been deprived by his own people. The Sardinian and Neapolitan insurgents were soon trampled under foot, and the king was left to his own pleasure in executing vengeance upon those who had rebelled against him. The suppression was so effective that for a period of ten years the spirit of Italian nationality in Naples and Sardinia lay still in despair.

But while the suppression of the insurrection in the South was under way, a revolt of like character broke out in Piedmont, where a liberal Constitution, modeled after that of Spain, was proclaimed by the people. But the sovereign of the Piedmontese, having more regard for the dictum of the Congress of Laybach than for the voice of his subjects, refused to heed their demands. On the 13th of March, 1821, he was obliged to abdicate. Having no heir direct to succeed him, the crown would have gone to the fugitive king's brother, Carlo Felice; but he being absent at the time from Piedmont, Carlo Alberto, Prince of Carignano, was appointed Regent. The latter had, under French influence, become a Liberal in politics. The House of Carignano had for two centuries been out of power, and its members, by long residence among the people, had learned much of their sympathies and dispositions. The Piedmontese Revolution, therefore, lost nothing by the brief regency of Carlo Alberto; but when Carlo Felice came back, he at once declared that his brother's abdication had been forced upon him against the law of the land, and that it would not in any way be recognized as valid. Carlo Alberto yielded his own preferences to the instinct of loyalty, and submitted to the reëstablishment of Felice's authority on the old basis of absolutism.

We here enter upon a period of nine years, extending from 1821 to 1830, in which the Italian rulers were for the most part occupied in the common business of punishment for political offenses, or in the suppression of incipient insurrections. The story of this period constitutes a brief but sad chapter in the annals of Modern Italy. One revolt occurred at Milan, which was put down by sheer terror. Silvio Pellico, leader of the movement, was tried and condemned to imprisonment for life at Spielberg. In the Papal States every symptom of popular liberty was quickly extinguished by Pope Leo XII., whose principles of government would have been regarded as severe in the Middle Ages. In the other principalities the story was the same. On every hand political conspirators against the existing order were confronted by the agents of the Government, or by the petty tyrants whom the Holy Alliance regarded as its missionaries in Italy. For the time being, civil freedom was stifled, as though it were the principal wickedness of which men had been guilty in the world.

Meanwhile, however, the conditions were preparing for a revolution by which the foundations of society in the south of Europe were destined to be broken up. Secret political organizations, founded in the interest of democracy, were established in Italy, as in other countries, under the dominion of despotism. The society of the Carbonari was formed to represent the struggle of the under man on his way from suppression to liberty. The Carbonari meant literally the Charcoal-makers. The association had its origin as early as 1808, at which time the common people of Naples began to discover that their own rights were disregarded by the Bonapartist Government as well as by the Bourbon princes. Discontented with the existing order, the founders of the Carbonari made their retreat into the

mountains of Calabria, and there perfected their organization. A highly religious character was given to the society, and its political aims were hidden under secret symbolism. A lodge of the Carbonari was called a *hut*, and the meeting a vendita, meaning a *sale*, as though the business of the order was the trade in charcoal. The secret ritual was borrowed from Christianity. There was a "Wolf" and a "Lamb," which signified in the first intent the Jew and the Christ; but symbolically the Wolf was political tyranny, and the Lamb the innocent people devoured by the savage beast.

Before the downfall of Napoleon the political importance of the Carbonari had been recognized by the Bourbon princes, who sought to use the society against the Government of King Murat. The effort was successful. The Carbonari unwittingly came to the rescue of the more oppressive against the less oppressive form of government. For two years, near the close of his reign, they carried on a war with Murat, who at length drove them into the mountains. For a while the society was virtually suppressed. When the French power in Italy went down, and Ferdinand returned to the throne, he had no further use for the Carbonari, who now found that the Bourbons represented a style of government more destructive to popular liberty than that of King Murat. The society, therefore, fell naturally into its former rebellious mood against the civil authority, and became for a season the sole representative of nationality and union.

It was under the influence and direct instigation of the Carbonari that the revolution in Naples, the Papal States, and Piedmont, in the years 1820–21, broke out. It was soon seen, however, that although the society had reached a membership of about seven hundred thousand, although it had ceased to be an Order of Charcoalists, and had brought into its ranks great numbers of patriots from the middle classes of society, many officers of the army, students from the universities, artists, and priests, the organization was incapable of conducting a revolution to a successful issue. It had been sufficient to inspire great insurrections, but not capable of directing them. Meanwhile, the Austrian armies came in, and the Congress of Laybach did the rest to overthrow, or at least disorganize, the society. The shock of 1821 was greater than the Carbonari could well bear, and they never fully revived. But in the meantime, the principles of the society had taken deep root not only in Italy, but in France, and, indeed, in all the countries west of the Rhine and the Danube.

Now it was that the great leader Giuseppe Mazzini appeared, and became, what he continued to be until his death, the leader of Italian Liberalism. Few patriots of greater abilities or purposes more sincere have arisen in ancient or modern times. He came among the chaotic elements of the disintegrated Carbonarism, and instituted a new society by the name of Young Italy. But before the latter association had sprung into power, the revolutionary fever had, of its own heat and motion, again appeared in Italy. In the spring of 1831, Parma, Modena, and the Papal States were roused from their stupor by the voice of rebellion crying in divers places. But the armies of Austria were, for the second time, called to the aid of absolutism, and the revolts were suppressed. In the following year Romagna renounced the authority of the Pope, and attempted to gain independence. But the Holy Father again called the Austrian arms to his aid, and the rebellion was unsuccessful. It was at this juncture that a French army also was sent into the Peninsula, and stationed at Ancona, where it remained until 1838.

The party of Young Italy now emerged from the confusion, and the old insurrectionary elements began to feel the control of rational forces. The society was organized to free Italy from foreign and domestic tyranny, and to secure instead a republican form of government. The bottom principle of the order was education—political education—and after that, insurrection as a right of the people against oppression. The banner of the society was inscribed on the one side with the words Unity and Independence, and on the other with Liberty, Equality, and Humanity. By this time, Carlo Felice (Charles Felix) died, and in 1831 was succeeded by Carlo Alberto, better known to American readers by his English name and title of Charles Albert of Sardinia. On his

accession it was still hoped that, since ten years previously he had been honored with the title of "the Ex-Carbonaro Conspirator," he might still hold a common sympathy with the people. It was in this belief that Mazzini, acting as "the interpreter of a hope which he did not share," addressed a letter to the king, urging him to become the leader of the Italian people in their struggle for independence. It appears to have been the misfortune of Charles Albert to be obliged to let *I would* wait upon *I can not*. This is to say, that he was so fitted into the monarchy, so placed at its head, so held in check by its traditions, so enthralled by the principles and policy which the Congresses of Vienna and Laybach had devised for the government of Europe, that he must needs reädopt the methods of the Bourbons, and fix himself, as they had done, in immemorial absolutism.

As soon as the king had taken his position, the followers of Mazzini denounced Charles Albert as a traitor to the Italian cause, and the party of Young Italy began to devise the means of resistance. Meanwhile, Mazzini, after an imprisonment in a dungeon of Savona, went into exile, first at Marseilles, and afterwards, in 1832, at Geneva. By this time the chapters of Young Italy, established at Genoa, Leghorn, and other places, had become strong enough to be formidable, and it was believed by Mazzini that a successful insurrection could now be started. Accordingly, acting from his base in Switzerland, he projected a rebellious expedition against Savoy. The movement, however, ended disastrously, even ridiculously. It served to reveal to the king the animus of the Republican party, and to put the Government on the alert against its enemies. At this time some attempts were made to take Charles Albert's life by assassination. The inevitable reäction came on in favor of the king and his Administration. A division now appeared among the Republicans, one party of more moderate proclivities daring to believe and to say that the regeneration and unification of Italy could be best achieved by the agency of the Sardinian Kingdom, while the other faction still held to its programme of naked republicanism by revolution.

The writings of Mazzini, sent forth at intervals from his covert in Switzerland, exercised a great influence on the sentients, opinions, and methods of the Italian people. His essays on political subjects were scattered by republication into all parts of the country, and were distributed by the Italian societies, so that the patriots were everywhere informed of the thoughts and purposes of their leader. At this time Vincenzo Gioberti also appeared as a political writer, publishing a treatise in 1843, which contributed much to the consolidation of public opinion. Gioberti's theory of the Italian Government was the establishment of a

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI.

confederation of all the States under the Presidency of the Pope. For the maintenance of this form, the army of Piedmont was to be evoked. The Government was to be a sort of spiritual republicanism. Gioberti would have the Papacy and the Italian Liberals coöperate in the common cause. Other writers appeared, who still further strengthened the party of the moderate Republicans, all of which tended to check and subvert the Mazzinian democracy by turning into another channel the insurrectionary forces which the latter had inspired.

At this date two other remarkable figures appeared on the Italian stage,—one of them a patriotic philosopher and the other a diplomate and statesman. The first was Alessandro Manzoni, of Milan, and the other the Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, whose name was presently to gain a world-wide significance. Coincidently with the emergence of these two important personages in the foreground of Italian history, a third figure appeared in the famous Giuseppe Garibaldi, the man of the people. He it was who was destined to win for himself the title of knight-errant of Italian liberty. While Cavour represented by his birth one of the stiffest aristocracies of Europe, being descended from an ancient and honorable family in Piedmont, Garibaldi was simply a son of man, born in obscurity at Nice, with nothing to lose but his life, and nothing to gain but the independence of his country.

ALESSANDRO MANZONI.

Before passing, however, into the political whorl which now rises before us, it is proper to note some changes which took place in the Papal government and administration of this period. Pope Pius VIII. died at the close of 1830, having lived in his brief Pontificate to hear of the Revolution in France and to feel the jar in Italy. He was succeeded in the following February by Gregory XVI. To him the tri-color flag had appeared as a flame of fire, which must be extinguished with water if that might suffice, otherwise with blood. "Imprisonment, Banishment, and Execution" might now have been written upon the Papal banner instead of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." It was during the pontificate of Gregory that the Ultramontane principles which were to become, in course of time, the very code and charter of his successor, began to be formulated and sent down from the Papal chair. The reign of the Pope lasted for fifteen years, and was terminated by his death in June of 1846. By that time the Italian societies had so multiplied and expanded that all Italy felt the heat, and the revolutionary impulses of the people were ready at any moment to break forth into formidable revolts.

Now it was, however, that a change was to be given to the tendency of affairs in the Mother Church and in the civil society of Italy, by the policy of the new Pope, Pius IX. He had before his election borne the title of Cardinal Mastai Ferretti. At the time of his election he was fifty-two years of age, and was destined to "surpass the years of Peter;" that is, to have the longest pontificate known in history. He assumed the tiara with the avowed purpose of liberalizing the States of the Church, and thus conducing to the political freedom of all Italy. Great were the hopes which were entertained of the Pope by the patriots. Pius was hailed by them as the apostle of Italian unity. Sardinia and Tuscany made haste to follow the lead of the Holy Father, and the three States soon formed a customs-union on the basis of free trade, a liberated press, and popular representation.

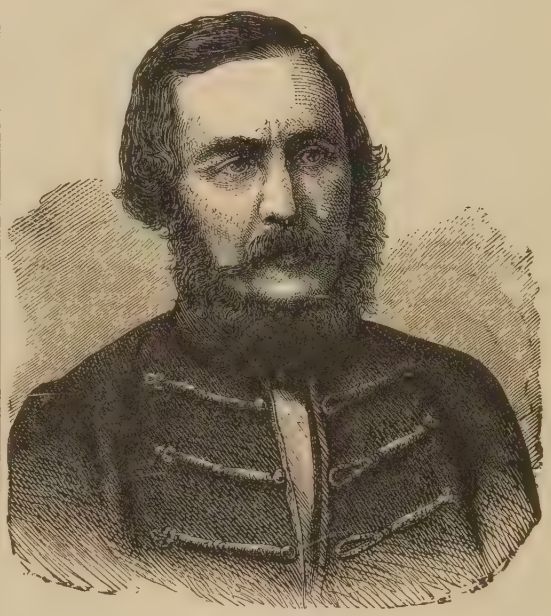
Still, however, the popular cause outran the rulers. The people having for once found vent for their aspirations and activities, dashed ahead without knowing whither. In the beginning of 1848 the island of Sicily declared its independence of the King of Naples, and the latter, as a measure of conciliation, granted a new Constitution to his subjects. A month later a revolt broke out in Lombardy, and Count Radetzky, the Austrian commander in

Northern Italy, was obliged to fall back to Verona. It looked for the moment as though Italy, by an internal exertion, was about to throw off both the civil and religious incubus, and take her place among the nations.

But absolutism in the Church and the State was not so easily to relinquish its grasp on the society of Italy. True, Charles Albert of Sardinia now openly appeared as the champion of the national cause against the Austrians. But Radetzky returned with his armies against the insurgent Italians, gained two decisive victories, and reëstablished the Imperial authority in the north. Nevertheless, Venice, Rome, and several of the Italian duchies remained under the authority of the Republicans.

So far as foreign influences were concerned, the Italian patriots had most cause to dread the domination of Austria. It was therefore a matter of the greatest concern and the profoundest gratification to the rulers of Italy when the attention of the Austrians was drawn aside to the Hungarian rebellion of 1848. So formidable had that movement become under the leadership of Louis Kossuth, Mór Jókai, and other Liberal leaders that it became a serious question whether the Austrian rule in Hungary could ever be restored. In the Italian campaign of 1849, however, Radetzky brought the Sardinian Kingdom to the brink of ruin. The Italian duchies were restored to the aristocrats. Pius IX., who in the previous November had fled from Rome to Gaëta, and had there been completely cured of his impossible liberalism, resumed the government of the Papal States. Garibaldi made unwearied efforts to uphold the national cause, but his exertions were of no avail. France had now become embroiled in the struggle, and a French army of occupation had been thrown into Italy. The march of this invading force was first directed against the city of Turin, and afterwards against Rome. The primary motive, so far as public avowal was concerned, was to relieve the distress of the Papacy. Pius IX., thus supported by the bayonets of France, found little difficulty in restoring his authority in the Eternal City. Venice also surrendered to the Austrians, and in most of the States the reactionary party gained the complete ascendency. For the time it appeared that the Pope, backed by the united power of France and Austria, was about to become once more an important figure in history. The Vatican and St. Peter's were to be once more surrounded with the panoply of foreign absolutism, and the mediæval dream of the Congress of Vienna and Madame Krüdener was to be fulfilled by the recrowning of the past in the city of the Cæsars.

But other historical forces were now at work, which were soon to counteract the jubilation of the ancients. In the summer of 1848, Charles Albert of Sardinia was hopelessly defeated by the Austrians at Custozza. The king fell back to Milan, where he made an armistice with the enemy, and presently



MÓR JÓKAI.

afterwards surrendered the city. When the truce expired he again entered the field with an army of Piedmontese, and met Marshal Radetzky on the field of NOVARA. Here he fought his last desperate battle, in which he was finally defeated and his army dispersed. He thereupon abdicated the throne in favor of his son, Victor Emanuel II., and in July of 1849 died of a broken heart. It was this young king, Victor Emanuel of Sardinia, who now became the head and front of the opposition to the reäctionary party. It is said that he wore from his youth a sword with *Vive la Republique* inscribed on the blade! Certain it is that he began his reign by fostering liberal

institutions in his own dominions, and setting the dangerous example of freedom to the other States of Italy. The Austrian authorities were soon obliged to attempt the pacification of the Italians by the material improvement of the country. They would throw a sop to the Italian Cerberus. Railroads were constructed. The harbors of Venice were improved. The postal system was revised, and a tariff reform instituted; all of which was well, but could hardly compensate for the denial of political rights to the people.

ENTRANCE OF THE FRENCH TROOPS INTO TURIN, 1848.

CHAPTER CXLVI.—VICTOR EMANUEL.

THE year 1849, with its established reäction, seemed for the moment to be the ruin of the popular cause. Here was the Pope, back in Rome, gone over finally and forever to Ultramontane principles. The Austrians were victorious in all the North. Only the young King Victor Emanuel and his Government now seemed to interpose in the way of a completed counter revolution. But at this moment there was a revival in the sea-beds of Italian humanity. The death of Charles Albert set many of the Nationals, and even many of the Republicans, to thinking whether after all the late king had not been a friend to the cause of Italian unity and liberation. The thoughtful reader will not fail to notice the parallel here presented between the changing public opinion of Italy and the corresponding fact in Germany, after the failure of the National Assembly at Frankfort. Up to that time the German Liberals had sought the unification of the Fatherland on the abstract basis of ideas and deductions. They would fain make a Constitution on theoretical principles, have it accepted by all the German peoples, and thus

weld into one the diverse nationalities between the Rhine and the confines of Poland. The project was doomed to signal failure. The attention of the country was turned by the logic of events from a government speculative to a government real. It was seen that German unity could best be attained under the leadership of Prussia and the direction of the House of Hohenzollern. In like manner the Italian patriots—not, indeed, the more radical followers of Mazzini, but the moderate Republicans and Nationals—came to believe in the possibility and practicability of regenerating and unifying Italy under the auspices of the Sardinian Kingdom and the direction of the House of Savoy.

It was found that the new sovereign had in him the mettle and enterprise of greatness. The light of promise shone forth from his policy. True, the Ultra-Republicans sought his overthrow. They excited an insurrection in Genoa, which was put down by force. They adopted the motto, "Better Italy enslaved than delivered over to the son of the traitor, Charles Albert." But the bitterness of Mazzini could not prevail against the will of the people and the irresistible course of events. It became a conviction with the National party that Piedmont was to become the nucleus of Italian independence. The intellectual party was in large measure converted to the new view of what was best for Italy. Even Gioberti recanted his former doctrines, taught as he had been by the lapse of the Papacy, and fell in with the popular cause. Many prominent Republicans became the open advocates of the policy which pointed to the Sardinian Kingdom as the beginning of national unity. At last, in 1857, the so-called National Society was founded, on secular principles, limiting its endeavor to the single end of the emancipation and nationality of Italy. Garibaldi gave in his submission to the new principle of political action, and was, in course of time, one of the presidents of the National Society.

The movement was strongly enforced by the policy of the King. Victor Emanuel from the first was proof against both the seductions and menaces of Austria. True, his mother had been an Austrian archduchess, and his wife also was a Hapsburg princess of the same high rank. The king adopted the motto, "The House of Savoy can not retreat." He pledged to Italy the fidelity of his administration, the integrity of his purposes. He reminded the country that his House had never broken faith with the people. He unertook great and salutary reforms. The army was reörganized, and the financial system of the kingdom reconstructed on scientific principles. In 1850 an act was passed by which the ecclesiastical courts were abolished and a civil judiciary established instead.

GIUSSEPPE GARIBALDI.

Four years afterwards a bill was passed by which the religious corporations were greatly restricted in their privileges, and the Church property placed under the control of the State. At this time there were in the Kingdom of Sardinia no fewer than forty-one Bishops, a thousand four hundred and seventeen religious establishments, and about eighteen thousand monks. It will be readily perceived against what tremendous pressure of bigotry, self-interest and superstition the reforms of Victor Emanuel were carried into effect.

Nor may we here fail to note the beginning of the ascendency of Count Cavour. In the Government of Victor Emanuel he held the position of Minister of Commerce. From the first, however, he was a master-spirit in the Cabinet. Though hesitant in speech, he brought to his public address the invincible logic of facts, the energy of a great purpose, and the eloquence of moral force. As early as 1852 we find Cavour forming a coälition with the Democratic leaders. This step was taken against the fears of D'Azeglio and the king,

CAMILLO BENSO DI CAVOUR.

who doubted the expediency of drawing the naked Republicanism of Italy to the support of the throne. But the influence of Cavour prevailed, and in the following year he rose to the position of Prime Minister. He immediately thrust out a powerful hand into the affairs of Europe. He almost obtruded himself into the international councils which preceded the Crimean War. No statesman in Europe understood better than he that great complication called the Eastern Question. He brought Sardinia into union with the Allies in the war with Russia; and Sardinian soldiers made their presence felt in the armies of England and France and Turkey on the shores of the Black Sea. When the struggle was over, Cavour came as the representative of the kingdom to the Congress of the Powers at Paris, and his incisive genius was one of the great agencies in the formation of the important Treaty of 1856.

The experiences thus gained by Count Cavour were soon analyzed and reduced to a theory of action for the Government of Victor Emanuel. The Count had profoundly penetrated the sentiments and political methods of Great Britain and France. He saw in the former country many evidences of sympathy with the Italian cause; but he also measured with a reed the dimensions and peculiarities of the English character. He came to understand that English political sympathy did not signify govermental action and support for the cause which had awakened the sentiment. On the other hand, he found in France an almost exact reversal of these conditions. He perceived that if Louis Napoleon, now Emperor of the French, and clearly in the ascendant in the affairs of Europe, could be won to the cause of Italy, such gain would signify a practical support to the cause, with the almost certain elevation of the House of Savoy to the sovereignty of the whole Peninsula. He accordingly adopted the policy of drawing close the ties between the Kingdom of Sardinia and the Empire of France. He sought and presently secured intimate, almost confidential, relations with Napoleon III. He perceived clearly enough that in course of time a break between France and Austria was inevitable, and in such an event his busy brain easily developed the vision of Italian liberation and unity.

No other statesman ever had a more difficult and dangerous part to perform than did Count Cavour in the period from 1856 to 1859. In several instances the rather sphinx-like Louis Napoleon was about to break away from the complication. Felice Orsini's bomb came near to exploding the whole enterprise which the Sardinian diplomatist had contrived with

so much skill. The Emperor of the French might well distrust an alliance with a country for the ultimate purpose of its liberation when the Republicans of that country were sending out evangelists of assassination to destroy his own life. But the matter was smoothed over, explained away, and expiated with a statute wherein the Government of Victor Emanuel defined the crime of political murder and prescribed severe penalties therefor.

While Cavour was thus engaged in fostering and maintaining a half-secret alliance with France, Austria adopted the policy of conciliation with respect to the Italians. The filmy eyes of the House of Hapsburg were opened wide enough to see the danger of the threatened Franco-Italian alliance, and Francis Joseph would fain win the people of Italy away from their French sympathies by conceding to them such political rights as had been hitherto denied. Well grounded were the fears of Austria, but impotent her efforts. Cavour, not satisfied with the security which he now felt on the side of France, next sought successfully to obtain the sympathy of Russia in the impending struggle. He aimed at nothing less than a triple alliance of France, Russia, and Italy against Austria in the coming struggle for the independence of his country. The great diplomatist showed himself pre-eminently qualified to prepare a crisis and to permit it to break with its own internal forces. By the beginning of 1859 he had everything in readiness. The situation was so contrived that Austria herself must go to war. The people of Lombardy had been encouraged to send repeated memorials to the cabinet of Vienna, complaining to the Austrian Government, and indeed to all Europe, of the tyrannies to which they were perpetually subjected. Austria must needs regard the Sardinian Kingdom as the origin and cause of these agitations. At length the misunderstanding proceeded so far that Francis Joseph ordered the Austrian Minister to withdraw from Turin, and at the same time to demand the disarmament of the Sardinian Kingdom. Such a demand would of course be refused, and war must thereupon ensue. On the 1st of January, in the year just named, Victor Emanuel, in opening the Parliament indicated in the speech from the throne the crisis which was imminent. "We are not," said he, "insensible to the cry of suffering (*Grido di Dolore*) that rises to us from so many parts of Italy." This *Grido di Dolore*, or Cry of Dolor, became the watch-word of the Italians in the struggle upon which they were now to enter.

On the evening of this very day on which Victor Emanuel opened the Italian Parliament and virtually predicted the war with Austria, the Emperor Napoleon held a reception for the diplomatical corps at the Palace of the Elysée. When the various Ministers were presented on that occasion, and Baron Hübner, the Austrian Ambassador, bowed to pay his respects, the Emperor, in answer, abruptly expressed his regrets at "*the altered relations between Austria and France!*" The remark occasioned a great sensation throughout Europe. There could be but one meaning given to the significant utterance of Napoleon, and that was war. For that event both Austria and France now made strenuous preparations. Italy herself became a ferment of agitation. The French Emperor gave, as an explanation of his course, the declaration of a purpose "to make Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic." This meant, however, that a certain mental reservation existed; for near the close of the preceding year Count Cavour and Napoleon, in a meeting at Plombières, had agreed that in case of the success of the project for the emancipation of Italy under the auspices of France, the Emperor should receive Nice and Savoy as his portion of the spoils.

The petty rulers of the Italian duchies sought for a while to stay the storm, but were soon obliged to fly before the wind. Thus did the small dignitaries of Parma, Tuscany, and Modena; and their flight was this time final. On the 30th of January, 1859, the Princess Clotilda, daughter of Victor Emanuel, was given in marriage to Prince Napoleon, cousin of the Emperor. Soon came, on the part of France, a declaration of war, and then the counter declaration by Austria, in which Francis Joseph denounced Napoleon III. as the fire-brand of Europe. These amenities were at once followed by actual hostilities. The French invasion began. The Sardinians were joined by the patriots of Italy, and the struggle began for the possession of the Peninsula. On the 20th of May, 1859, the first decisive battle

BATTLE OF MONTEBELLO.

CONFLICT OF THE BRIDGE OF THE BUFFALORA.

was fought at Montebello, in which the Austrians were routed. A few days afterwards a conflict at Palestro had a like result. The Austrian army then retreated across the Micino, and made a stand on the field of Magenta. Here, on the 4th of June, was fought one of the great battles of the war. The French and Sardinians, under command of Marshal MacMahon and Napoleon in person, made the attack upon the Austrian position with great spirit. One of the chief centers of the struggle was at the bridge of Buffalora, and MacMahon. The latter was made Duke of Magenta on the field of battle.

In the meantime, Garibaldi had invaded Western Lombardy and achieved some signal successes. The populations of the Lombard cities broke out in insurrection. On the day after the battle of Magenta, the people of Milan rose, and the Austrian garrison took to flight. On the 7th of June, Pavia was evacuated by the Austrians, and on the following day the Fortress of Melegnano was captured, after a hard fight, by the French and Sardin-

BATTLE OF SOLFERINO.

which was *seven times* taken and lost during the battle. The Austrians fought with great bravery. They had on the field about seventy-five thousand men, while the allied forces amounted to fifty-five thousand. The conflict continued until after sunset, when the Austrians, losing about ten thousand men in killed and wounded, besides seven thousand prisoners, were driven out of Magenta. The loss of the allies was about four thousand. The Austrians were poorly commanded, while the French and Sardinians were under splendid discipline in the hands of the Emperor ians. At the same time Victor Emanuel and the Emperor rode in triumph into Milan. The Austrian strongholds went down one by one. The defeated army fell back to what is known as the Line of the Mincio, and took up a position near the village of Solferino. Here, on the 24th of June, Francis Joseph staked everything on a decisive battle. He had under his command nearly a hundred and seventy thousand men, while the allied forces were not quite a hundred and fifty thousand strong. The battle of Solferino began early in the morning, and for sixteen

hours the allied armies of France and Sardinia, led by Napoleon in person, contended with the superior forces of Austria under Francis Joseph. Again the French were completely victorious, inflicting upon the Austrians a loss of twenty-six thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Thus the line of the Mincio was secured by the allies, who crossed over and invested Peschiera. All Europe was in expectation of another great battle. It was evident to all that the Emperor Napoleon had made himself master of the situation, and great events were awaited in the *dénouement*. Suddenly, however, Louis Napoleon changed his plan, and Europe was surprised with the news that an armistice for five weeks had been declared. The French Emperor, instead of freeing the country from the Alps to the Adriatic, had met Francis Joseph in person at Villafranca, and had concluded with him a preliminary treaty which was evidently to become definitive. Doubtless the altered purposes of Napoleon were attributable to a well-grounded belief that Prussia was about to interfere in the contest.

The preliminaries hastily agreed upon at Villafranca were soon confirmed by the Treaty of Zürich, signed on the 10th of November, 1859. Italy was not freed from foreign domination, but the cause of nationality had received a great impetus from the war. Lombardy was, by the terms of the treaty, assigned to Sardinia, but Venice remained to Austria; and the Grand Duke of Tuscany was restored. As for the rest, it was proposed that the Italian principalities of the Central Peninsula should be formed into a confederation under the presidency of the Pope.

Great was the disappointment, the mortification, of the Italian patriots. The Piedmontese who had made such heroic sacrifices felt that their king had been handled as a puppet by Napoleon, and that their great Minister had been overreached by perfidy. Others imagined that Cavour himself had been to blame—that he was one of the parties to the miserable outcome of the war. Little were the Italian Republicans disposed to accept the terms of Villafranca. They entered a protest against the restoration of their old rulers. A project was agitated for the transfer of certain of the duchies to the Kingdom of Sardinia, but Victor Emanuel deemed it imprudent, under the circumstances, to attempt the government of United Italy. He accordingly declined to accept the leadership of the discontented States, and the treaty of Zürich was nominally ratified.

It was presently divulged that Louis Napoleon, as the price of his assistance in a cause which he had abandoned in the full tide of success, had received, by the secret agreement with Cavour, the principalities of Nice and Savoy. This measure also was distasteful in the last degree to the Italian Nationalists. Instead of a complete union of all Italy, they saw two of their ancient provinces taken away and annexed to France. One of these was the ancestral seat of the House of Savoy. It chanced that Garibaldi was himself a native of Nice, and in his rage at what was done, he declared that "that man"—meaning Cavour—had made him a foreigner in his own house. Nevertheless, the tide soon turned, and it began to be seen that, although Italy had not been completely redeemed and unified, she had nevertheless made a tremendous stride in the direction of liberty and union. The high road at least was opened, and at the other end of that road lay—*Rome*.

Thus the movement for the unification of Italy continued. Notwithstanding the intervention of France, the patriots pressed forward with renewed courage in their own cause. In the beginning of 1860 an insurrection broke out in Sicily, which was destined to bring about, before its work was done, the very thing which the Franco-Austrian war had failed to accomplish—namely, the unification of Italy. The Sicilian patriots took up arms. No sooner was the news of the revolt carried to the north than Garibaldi, who was now at Genoa, went on board a Sardinian steamer, and, on the 11th of May, landed with a force of volunteers at the town of Marsala, one of the principal sea-ports on the west coast of Sicily. Here he assumed the office of Dictator; but acted in the name of Victor Emanuel. The Sicilian patriots flocked to his standard, and in a few days Sicily was conquered. It was one of the movements in which Count Cavour, constrained by international complications, was obliged to play the part of the fox.

While secretly favoring Garibaldi and his work, he made haste to tell the European Governments that Sardinia was sorry for the thing done!

Meanwhile, the popular leader, completely victorious in Sicily, crossed over into Italy. There he defeated the forces of Francis II., King of the Two Sicilies, and drove that alleged monarch into Gaëta. Thence Garibaldi marched to Naples, where he was joined by Mazzini; nor was his purpose of continuing the march to Rome much disguised from the public. It was evident that while Garibaldi proclaimed Victor Emanuel, there was a strong tide of Republicanism bearing him on. After gaining victories at Cajazzo and Volturno, he finally compelled the surrender of the Fortress of Gaëta.

LANDING OF GARIBALDI AT MARSALA.—Drawn by G. Broling.

Never was a statesman in a more troubled relation than was Count Cavour at this juncture. He perceived clearly that if the headstrong Garibaldi should make his way to Rome and disrupt the Papacy, international interference would ensue, and perhaps the great gains already made to the cause of Italian independence and unity be dissipated by counter-revolution. For a brief season anarchy was threatened, but the genius of the diplomatist stood him well in hand. He tried Napoleon again, and found out that the Emperor was willing that the Papal States should be consolidated with the Kingdom of Sardinia, if the same should be done under monarchical and Catholic auspices. This was the great point in the game. Cavour accordingly hurried forward an army to Rome, and thus anticipated the very act which the rashness of Garibaldi would have pursued in the cause of Republicanism. The Papal troops were defeated in battle by the General of Victor Emanuel. Urbino and Perugia were occupied, and the Papal States were consolidated with the other territories, under the sway of Victor Emanuel. Thus, while holding back Garibaldi with one hand, Count Cavour himself accomplished with the other what Europe would permit *him* to do, but would not permit to Garibaldi. The announcement of the result by Cavour to the Parliament at Turin was sufficiently significant. He simply said: "Garibaldi wishes to perpetuate the Revolution; we wish to terminate it." Soon afterwards, in a

despatch to the Prussian Cabinet, the Count said: "We are Italy; we work in her name; but at the same time it is our policy to moderate the national movement and maintain the monarchical principle." As to Garibaldi, he, with his usual patriotism, accepted the thing accomplished, resigned his Dictatorship, and retired to Caprera.

It thus happened that in the early months of 1861 all Italy, with the exception of Rome and Venice, had been liberated. The dominions of Francis II. in the south were annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia by a *plébiscite*. Better than all, Europe at large had virtually given her assent to the unification of Italy. The event was ripe for consummation. Victor Emanuel was accordingly proclaimed King of Italy. On the 18th of February the first Italian Parliament was convened at Turin. There, on the 26th of the month, the vote was passed to confer the crown of United Italy on the son of Charles Albert. The Italian Senate was filled with Nationalists, Liberals, patriots. There, amongst the rest, sat the aged and benign Alessandro Manzoni, whose writings, as we have already remarked, had contributed so much to the emancipation of his country.

The events here described were at once the culmination and the end of the great career of Camillo Benso di Cavour. To him most of all, so far as personal agency was concerned, the great work must be attributed. The burden which he had borne for years was well-nigh intolerable, but he lived to see the Italy of his dreams rising from the dust and degradation of the past. He saw the new Power which he had created enter the rank of nations under the banner of enlightenment and progress. Recently the Count had been sorely tried. After the treaty of Villafranca a break occurred between him and Victor Emanuel, and Cavour resigned his office. But motives of patriotism prevailed, and the king recalled him to power and honor. For several years it had been noticed by his friends that his health was becoming precarious under the stress of great exertion and constant application to the business of the kingdom. In fact, his powerful brain and nervous system began to give way under the heat and combustion of overwork, greater than any man could bear. Already at the opening of the National Parliament, in February of 1861, the Count had entered the last act of his life. He continued to participate for a short time in the discussions of the body, and in the direction of the Government. He was pressed down with a sense of increasing responsibilities; for the healing of the wounds of Italy, the closing of rents and fissures, the putting aside of the ancient prejudices and local animosities of the people, together with the institution of those reforms which he, more than any other statesman, perceived to be necessary to the future safety and prosperity of the kingdom, bore upon him as an intolerable burden which could not be thrown aside. Medical science was of no avail in postponing the catastrophe. His nerves gave way. For a few days his mind wandered through feverish talk relative to the affairs of Italy, and then, on the 6th of June, 1861, he died, being then in the fifty-first year of his age.

Such was the birth of modern Italy. The country entered upon what promised to be a career of honor among the European nations. As yet the capital of Italy was at Turin. There Victor Emanuel fixed his court, after his proclamation. The great drawback to the forward movement of Italy was the fact that Rome was still shut up against the movement of the age. Moreover, the status of the Eternal City, under the suzerainty of the Pope, was maintained by a French army of occupation. The support of the Mother Church in France had become a necessity to Napoleon III., who, in return for the favor, persisted in the policy—as indeed he must—of upholding the Pope in his sovereignty over the so-called States of the Church. This for the time prevented the establishment of the capital at Rome. The anomaly was thus presented of a kingdom of United Italy with its seat of government far in the North, at Turin, in the valley of the Po. The natural and historical capital of the Italian Peninsula and of the Roman race was held by an ecclesiastical potentate, reigning as the successor of St. Peter and the representative of the past, rather than by the will of the people, or in the interests of secular society.

From this time forth until the removal of this anachronism, the pressure was constant for the transfer of the Italian capital to its natural place on the banks of the Tiber. At length

the seat of government was removed from Turin to Florence, which was the first stage in the governmental progress toward the destined end. Victor Emanuel himself had been raised as a strict Catholic. He professed himself to be a loyal son of the Church. He was neither a religionist nor a philosopher, but was rather a stern man of affairs, dealing with practical complications, which must be solved in a practical manner. He saw clearly enough that the establishment of his government, so far as its local habitation was concerned, in the Eternal City, was a necessity of the situation. He accordingly opened negotiations with the Pope, but the Holy Father would not consent under any consideration that the secular government should be planted in Rome. The solution of the problem remained to be given by the

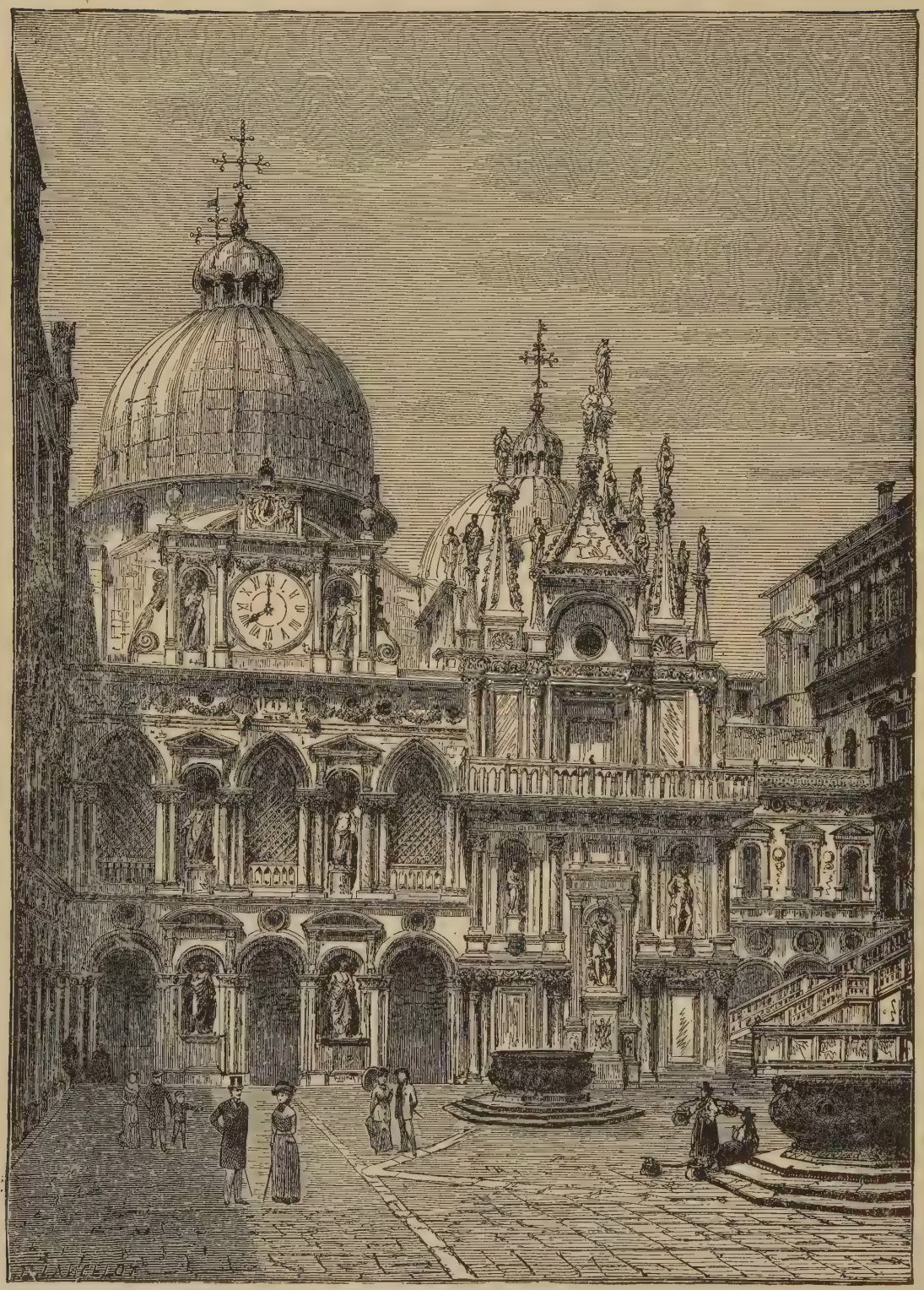
FLORENCE.

breaking of another historical crisis, involving some of the major States of Europe.

For the time had now come when the question was to be determined whether Prussia or Austria should lead in the great work of consolidating the German peoples under a common government and administration. We have already seen how the difficulty arose in Germany relative to the peninsular provinces of Schleswig and Holstein. We have remarked upon the far-reaching and energetic policy of Bismarck, by which the train was laid for an explosion, which in its results must decide whether Prussia or Austria should become the arbiter of the German nations. It is not needed, therefore, in this connection, to recite again the antecedents of the Prusso-Austrian War of 1866. Suffice it to say that the conflict, after a brief continuance of seven weeks, was brought to a conclusion on the memorable field of Sadowa. There the question was quickly solved in favor of the leadership and dominance of the Prussian Power in the affairs of Central Europe. Austria was completely beaten, and Francis Joseph was obliged, not only to renounce his claims to the Italian duchies, but also to cede the province of Venetia to the Kingdom of Italy. That which Napoleon III. had been unable or unwilling to accomplish as a thing impracticable or inexpedient, was suddenly effected by the keen sword of Hohenzollern laid across the table of diplomacy. This was the last of the Italian principalities requisite to the territorial unification of the Kingdom of Italy. On the 7th of November Victor Emanuel made a public entry into the square of St. Mark, in token of his sovereignty over that ancient metropolis

"Where Venice sate in state, throned on her hundred isles."

Meanwhile, the antecedents were slowly preparing for the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome. The retention by foreign powers of Venice and the Papal States—for the Pope was now virtually foreign to all the instincts of Italian nationality—had been ever distasteful to the Italian Radicals, who, after Villafranca, lost no opportunity to provoke such conflicts as might conduce to the desired end. From 1861 to 1866, Italy was the scene of many patriotic agitations having for their aim the conquest of Venice and the recovery of



DUCAL PALACE, VENICE.

Rome. In such agitations Garibaldi was the natural leader. In 1862 he made a second invasion of Sicily; but in this instance, though he had the assent of the Prime Minister Rattazzi, who had followed Ricasoli, successor of Cavour in office, the Prime Minister had not the assent of the Emperor Napoleon. The latter, therefore, who regarded Garibaldi's movements as a menace to the Papacy, interfered, and the Italian Government was obliged, at the dictation of France, to meet Garibaldi in battle. The General was defeated by the king's forces, was wounded, and obliged to go again into retirement at Caprera. Strangely enough, however, the attempted Garibaldian Revolution had excited the sympathy of Europe, and Napoleon III. was constrained by the prevailing diplomatical sentiment to agree, even before the day of Sadowa, to a gradual withdrawal of the French army of occupation from Rome. This agreement was made on the understanding that certain concessions should be made by the Italian Government to the Pope with respect to his rights and prerogatives, and these concessions, agreed to by Victor Emanuel and his Government, were known henceforth in the annals of Italy as the "Papal Guarantees."

We have already remarked upon the alliance which Bismarck secured with Italy before the outbreak of the war between Prussia and Austria. It was agreed that the Italian and Prussian armies should coöperate in the impending conflict. Much was expected by the Prussian Government from the coöperation of Italy; but the expectation resulted in disappointment. The army of Italy was thrown into the field, and was planted, with much spirit, beyond the Mincio. Several engagements ensued with divisions of the Austrian army, at Custozza, Monte Suello, and Lissa, in all of which the Italians, whether by land or sea, suffered defeat. The movement from this side against Austria served the purpose of a clever diversion, but otherwise was of no effect. The result was derogatory to the military reputation of Italy, and had it not been for the vehemence with which Prussia pressed her enemy on the other side, the consequences to Italy must have been disastrous in the last degree. But the battle of Königgrätz did the work for Austria, and she suddenly found herself in a condition wherein she must plead in modest, rather than dictate in haughty, terms. It thus happened that, through the complete triumph of Prussia, Italy emerged with great advantage from the war. Now it was that she gained Venetia and the so-called Quadrilateral Fortresses, upon which Austria had hitherto depended for the maintenance of her supremacy in the South. Prussia permitted her enemy to retain Istria and Dalmatia, but would concede nothing further.

In the meantime Napoleon III., in accordance with the agreement which he had made in his September Convention with Victor Emanuel, proceeded to withdraw his troops from Rome. Such was the peculiar situation of affairs in Italy that the movement was one of hazard, not only to the Papacy, but to the kingdom. The Government of Victor Emanuel had been builded by the middle and upper classes of society. By them it was supported. In it the under man in Italy had thus far had but little part or lot. The under man was a Republican, a Radical, an enemy of the Papacy. While accepting the rule of Victor Emanuel, the lower classes of society, who had been infected with the teachings of Mazzini, awaited each recurring opportunity to agitate for the complete suppression of the Papal system, and the establishment of Republicanism throughout Italy.

The withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, in 1866, appeared to the Italian Radicals to bring in the expected day of deliverance. With the outgoing of the soldiers of France from the Eternal City, there sat the Papacy, without defense. It was as if the cordon around St. Peter's had been broken down by barbarians. Garibaldi and his fellow-patriots seized the opportunity. The General publicly announced his determination to take Rome or die in the attempt. Mazzini gave his counsel to the same end. The patriots rose in obedience to the cause. Rattazzi, the Prime Minister, nodded, as Cavour had done, to the democratic leaders, as much as to say, "Do it not, but do it speedily." But the nod of Rattazzi was not the Olympian nod of Cavour. Garibaldi rushed forward to the attack, and gained a victory at Monte Rotondo. To him it made no difference that Victor Emanuel and his Government had agreed

that the Papal territories and authority should be respected. He at least had been no party to such an agreement. He at least had never recognized the so-called "Guarantees" of the Papacy. He accordingly pressed on to Mentana.

But in the meantime the king had proclaimed his intention to keep faith with the Pope, and Louis Napoleon had interfered with the demand that the Papal rights should, in accordance with the September Convention, be strictly observed. A combined force of French and Papal troops came upon Garibaldi, and he was obliged to surrender his forces. He was arrested by order of the Italian Government, and was for a few weeks confined in prison, after which he went back to his island home at Caprera. As soon as the revolt was suppressed, as soon as the French Emperor had discerned the true intent of the Italian democracy, he sent back his troops to Rome, where they remained as the protecting power of the Papacy until the final collapse, three years afterwards

ST. PETER'S, ROME

By this time a new international complication had arisen, out of which the final liberation of Italy was to spring. The jealousy of France and Prussia grew hot to the point of combustion We have seen in a preceding chapter how the storm blew up, and finally broke, from the ridiculous circumstance of the nomination by the Cortes of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern for the Spanish throne. The summer of 1870 brought the climax, and the beginning of autumn the catastrophe. The German artillery, planted on the heights around Sedan, pounded the French army into a bloody mass in the crater, and the white flag announced the end of the French Empire. By this time the French soldiers had, of necessity, been withdrawn from all foreign parts, including Italy. Napoleon was struggling no longer for victory, but for preservation, and every musket was needed in the line which he attempted to interpose between his dynasty and the advancing columns of Germany.

As soon as the capitulation of Sedan was

known in Paris, as soon as the Empire was down, as soon as Empress Eugénie and her son had taken flight across the water, Jules Favre announced the termination of the September Convention, in which the late Emperor had agreed to uphold the independence of the Papal States of Italy. Notice was given to Victor Emanuel that the French Republic now conceded to him the privilege of doing as he pleased with that ancient reminiscence, the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. It was on the 21st of August, 1870, that the last of the French soldiers withdrew from Italy. Twelve days afterwards came the great collapse of the French Empire. The army of Italy was immediately thrown forward, and, on the 20th of September of this eventful year, entered and took possession of Rome. The Italian Parliament immediately passed an act defining the future status of the Pope. He was to continue to hold the scepter of Catholic Christendom, as his predecessors had done before him. He was to retain the Vatican Palace, with its dependent suburbs known as the "Leonine City," the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore and Castel Gandolfo, on the Alban Hill. A munificent endowment was voted to the Pope by the State, and, for the rest, the supreme Pontiff was left in peace.

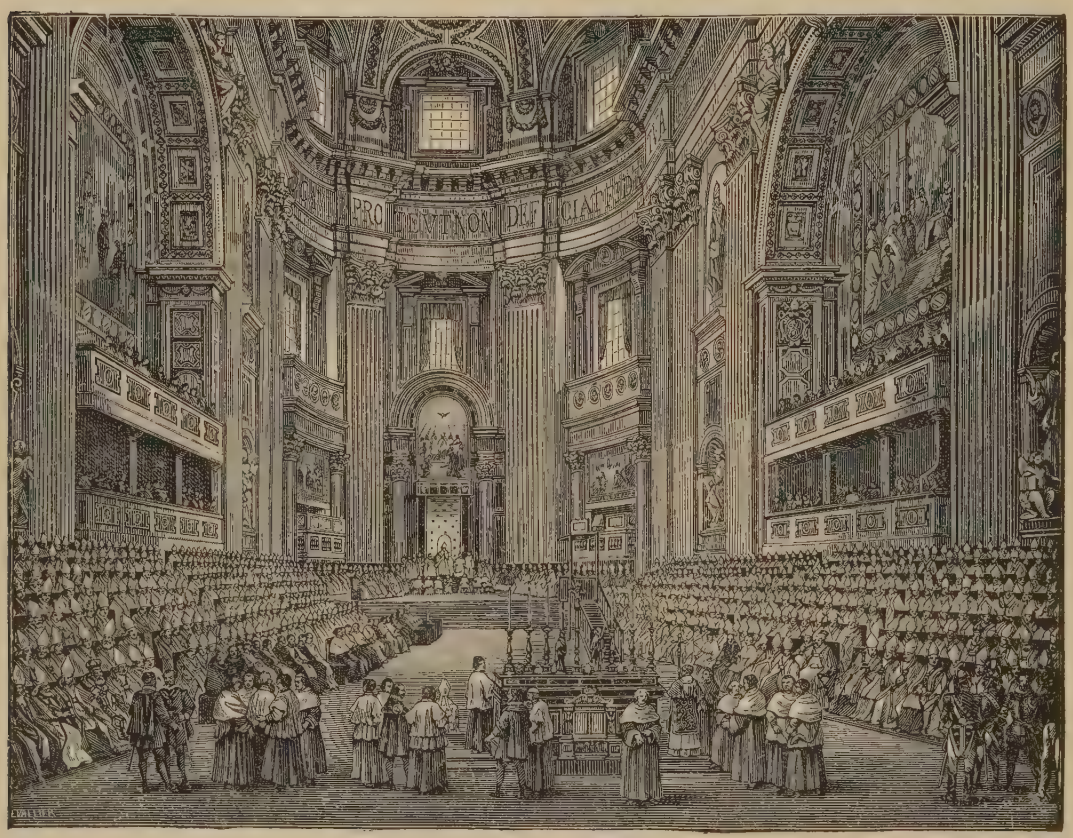
In December of 1870 the Italian Parliament declared Rome to be henceforth the capital of the Kingdom of Italy. The body was still sitting at Florence, where, in the following May, the new bill was passed definitive of the situation of the Church under the altered economy, and of the place which the Pope should hold. On the 2d of July in this year, Victor Emanuel, as King of Italy, entered the Eternal City, and took up his residence at the Quirinal. The vision of the patriots seemed at last to be realized in the territorial, political, and civil unity of Italy. As for religious unity, that, indeed, still seemed a great way off.

For, to Pope Pius IX., the occupation of Rome by the king came in the nature of both an insult and a mockery. Nothing could surpass the indignation with which the Pontiff viewed the vast and triumphant movements of secular society, whereby himself had been displaced from that temporal dominion which had been so long enjoyed by the successors of the Fisherman. In the preceding year, Pius had summoned the Bishops of the Catholic world to convene in Rome in an Ecumenical Council. The meeting was one of the most celebrated in the history of the Church. The sittings continued from December of 1869 to July of 1870. The great question which the Cardinals had been called together to consider was the Infallibility of the Pope. It was a question concerning which there had been a vast deal of discussion in the Church of Rome, and a vast deal of misunderstanding in the Protestant world. The Church had long claimed infallibility. On that subject there had been little disagreement. The real issue was as to the *body* or *person* in which or in whom the infallibility was lodged. Some had said that the general Church was the infallible body; others, that it was the Council; others, that it was the Pope, as the head of the Church, who possessed the attribute of infallibility. Still others held the position that the attribute belonged to the Pope *and* the Council. Beside these major views, many subdivided opinions were entertained by clericals great and small, in ancient and middle and modern times.

On the whole, the recent tendency of doctrine was favorable to the infallibility of the Pope himself, as the great head of Christendom. At the time of the meeting of the Council of 1870 the question had resolved itself into this form: Is the Holy Father, or is he not, without error when speaking for the great body of which he is the authorized head? A decision was readily secured in the affirmative, and it was formally declared as the decision of the Church that the Pope when, on a subject of faith or morals, he issues a decree as the highest organ of Christendom, is infallible. Scarcely, however, had the decision been rendered and the great convention adjourned when the Italian army, sweeping through the gates of Rome, revealed the fact that the decrees of Ecclesiastical Councils are no longer the governing force in history.

It must needs be that, beginning his reign as he did, Victor Emanuel and his Government must suffer great financial embarrassments. Several years before the occupation of Rome it had been found necessary for the king, as his contribution to the treasury, to

yield up a large part of his revenues. It was also decreed that a considerable portion of the Church lands in Italy should be sold, and, for the purchase of these, French capitalists made an advance of over eighty millions of dollars. By such means the national credit was restored and upheld. But the very measures which the Government thus adopted, so liberal, progressive, and energetic, were additional sources of complaint and animadversion on the part of the Papacy. It is doubtful whether any



ECUMENICAL COUNCIL.

greater animosity has been felt, at least in modern times, by one dignitary towards another than that which was cherished and proclaimed from time to time by the Pope against Victor Emanuel. The latter was denounced by his Holiness as the "Subalpine Usurper," who, by violence and crime, had despoiled the patrimony of St. Peter, and brought the Church to open shame.

At the very beginning of Victor Emanuel's reign in Rome an event occurred of a character wholly different from those which have

so long occupied our attention. On the 26th of December, 1870, the Mont Cenis tunnel was completed. The means of ready access by railway communication was thus afforded between Italy and the great countries beyond the Alps. It was, indeed, an achievement of which the genius of man in our generation may well be proud. Notwithstanding his feebleness as a mere animal force, his intellectual greatness had at length prevailed in boring through the mountain-wall and carrying, by means of the spacious aperture, his highway of travel and commerce between the land of the Cæsars and the land of the Bonapartes. The Italians were not slow to recognize the great advantage of the new channel of communication between themselves and the countries of the North. In September of 1871 the opening of the Mont Cenis tunnel was duly celebrated at Turin. Two months afterwards, when the first National Parliament was opened at Rome, the king, in his address, referred to the great achievement of the age,

and announced that another tunnel, by way of Mont St. Gothard, would be at once undertaken, under the patronage of the Government.

We here enter upon the reign of Victor Emanuel as first King of United Italy, and of the events belonging to this period. The institution of the new order was accepted by the Italians as auspicious. To this view of the situation, however, the Pope and his associated party were exceptional. The years 1871–72 witnessed a political tranquillity in Italy, the like of which had not been known for a century. The latter year, however, was noted for two physical disturbances well calculated to produce distress. On the 24th of April a fearful eruption of Vesuvius occurred, lasting for many days, and causing immense destruction of life and property in the district round about. In the autumn of the same year the valley of the Po was visited by a flood, by which eighty thousand people were reduced to want. For the rest, there was industrial prosperity and great content among the Italian people.

It could but be expected that an organization having the antecedents of the Roman Church, and placed in such a position as that in which she now found herself, would make unwearied efforts to recover her losses and regain her footing among the Powers of the earth. No sooner was the Government of United Italy definitively established in Rome, than the agents and adherents of the Mother Church put forth their hands in the Italian Parliament, hoping to recover their privileges and prerogatives. In May of 1872 an attempt was made to carry a bill granting certain important privileges to the heads of the old religious corporations in Rome. The proposition was to the Liberals like the explosion of a bomb, and they rallied all their forces for the defeat of the project. Believing that the Jesuits were at the bottom of the movement, they carried their hostility to the Catholic party still further by a measure for the expulsion of the Society from the Roman College, and from certain other establishments held and controlled by the Jesuits in Rome. It was discovered by the Papal party, greatly to their anger and hurt, that the assumptions of the Church in the affairs of the Government would henceforth be resented and resisted to the last.

With the political liberation of Italy came also the freedom of the Italian mind. On every hand were seen the evidences of a new intellectual activity worthy of the age and country. The industrial enterprises and artisanship of all kinds were promoted as they had not been for ages. The thought of men went free on its mission, and a new era was opened

VICTOR EMANUEL.

for those philosophical, literary, and scientific pursuits in which the genius of mankind finds its chief delight. It was noted as one of the incidents of the day, most cheering to the lovers of freedom throughout the world, that in the autumn of 1872, on the very day of the passage of the decree against the Jesuits, the first Scientific Congress ever held in Rome met in the capitol. The body was pervaded with the enthusiasm of the age from its humblest member to Count Mamiani, who presided over the deliberations.

While these enlightened proceedings were

giving to present and after times the unmistakable evidence of the salutary character of the revolution through which Italy had recently passed, Pope Pius IX. set himself with firmness and persistency against the whole movement of the age. On the occupation of Rome by Victor Emanuel, and the institution therein of the Government of United Italy, the Pope at once retired to the Vatican and declared himself a *prisoner*. This was the attitude in which he chose to put himself henceforth before the nations. The assurances of the king, of the Italian Government, and of the people, that the Pope was free to exercise all his apostolic functions, to reign as the head of the Church in every spiritual relation, to go forth at his will, and to act in all particulars with the full liberty of any other potentate in Christendom, was denounced as sheer hypocrisy by Pius, who persisted in reiterating that he was a prisoner, held down by violence, hampered by the criminal ambitions of a usurper who was the enemy of human society and the assassin of the Church. The Papacy, so far as its living representative was concerned, thus drew up its garments, sat down in seclusion, moped in an imaginary imprisonment, and awaited an impossible deliverance from a thralldom which did not exist.

EXPULSION OF JESUITS FROM THEIR COLLEGE IN ROME.

Meanwhile, the government of Victor Emanuel followed its legitimate course; and Italy, under the auspices of a liberal monarchy, emerged suddenly and gloriously from her mediæval degradation. Foreign nations responded with alacrity and cheerfulness to the changed order of things. The House of Savoy was recognized as the equal of the other Dynasties of Europe. With the year 1874 came the twenty-fifth anniversary of the king's reign, and the event was celebrated with great *éclat* and solemnity. Meanwhile, the children of Victor Emanuel were sought in marriage, especially by the royal families at the head of the Latin States. The second daughter, Pia, was wedded to the King of Portugal; and the second son, Amadeus, was, in December of 1870, elected King of Spain. The reign was peaceful to the end, which came with the death of the king, after a brief fever, on the 9th of

January, 1878. Victor Emanuel died without reconciliation to the Pope—a thing, indeed, impossible under the historical conditions of his age and country. He came to his end as he had lived, a true representative of Italian nationality. It could hardly be said that he represented the Italian people, but rather those upper and middle classes of Italians whose political principles and aspirations all radiated from monarchy as the first and essential institution of society. From a moral and domestic point of view, the life and character of the late king left much to be desired; but his earnestness of purpose, his sincere devotion to the cause of Italy, the robustness and vigor of his political and governmental virtues, have justly given him a high place among the sovereigns of the present age, and have ratified the title conferred on him by his admirers of Liberator of Italy.

Pius IX. lived long enough to see his enemy borne to the grave. The aged Pope remained unmolested in the Vatican. It can not be denied that his venerable appearance, his dignity of demeanor, and his persistency in hoping and, perhaps, believing that he or his successor would be restored to temporal power, evoked, to a certain extent, the respect of mankind for his person and office. On the 3d of June, 1877, the veteran Pontiff, who had "surpassed the years of Peter," celebrated the jubilee anniversary of his consecration as Archbishop of Spoleto. He had reached the thirty-first year of his pontificate, and, by his personal virtue, no less than his great abilities, had gained a tremendous influence over all Catholic Christendom. He outlived Victor Emanuel by a single month, dying on the 8th of February, 1878. He went down to the tomb without the slightest reconciliation to the new order of things in Italy and the world, declaring to the last that he was a prisoner in the Vatican.

Soon after his death, the College of Cardinals was convened at Rome, and the Papal crown was conferred on Cardinal Pecci, who took the Chair of St. Peter, with the title of Leo XIII. Thus, in the same year, did Italy as a kingdom, and the Romish Church as a religious institution, receive each a new sovereign, the first by the will and choice of the National Parliament, and the other by election at the hands of the Cardinals of Christendom. As to the new Pope, he adopted the theories and principles of his predecessor. He owed his elevation to the Papacy to the influence and votes of the Ultramontane party.

PIUS IX.

which had now become the governing power in the whole Catholic world. The new Pontiff was inducted into a relation which had been prepared for him through ages of historical antecedence, out of which he could not have lifted himself into another sphere if he had so desired. His reign, therefore, was virtually a continuance of the reign of Pius IX.—the prolongation of a policy which, during its continuance, has made it impossible for the Church of Rome to harmonize with the existing civilization of mankind.

CHAPTER CXLVII.—HUMBERT I.

THE new King of Italy followed the precedents of his father's reign. Humbert I., eldest son of Victor Emanuel, was at once proclaimed as sovereign of Italy. The Italian Chambers convened on the 16th of January, 1878, and three days afterwards King Humbert, in the Parliament House, took the oath of fidelity to the Constitution. He then delivered his address to the Senators and Deputies assembled, speaking in feeling terms of the death of his father, and declaring his purpose, under the Constitution, to lead on the Kingdom of Italy to its high destiny. "We are not," said the young king, "new to the difficulties of public life. These last thirty years of our national history are summed up in alternate trials of undeserved misfortune and of well-prepared successes. This is the thought which encourages me in taking up the duties imposed upon me. Italy, which well knew how to understand Victor Emanuel, proves to me to-day what my great father never ceased to tell me—that the religious observance of free institutions is the best safeguard against all dangers. This is the faith of my house; this will be my strength; and the Parliament, faithful to the national will, will aid me in the first steps of my reign with that loyalty of intent which the glorious king, whose memory all men celebrate, knew how to inspire, even amid the earnest emulation of parties and in the inevitable conflict of circumstances."

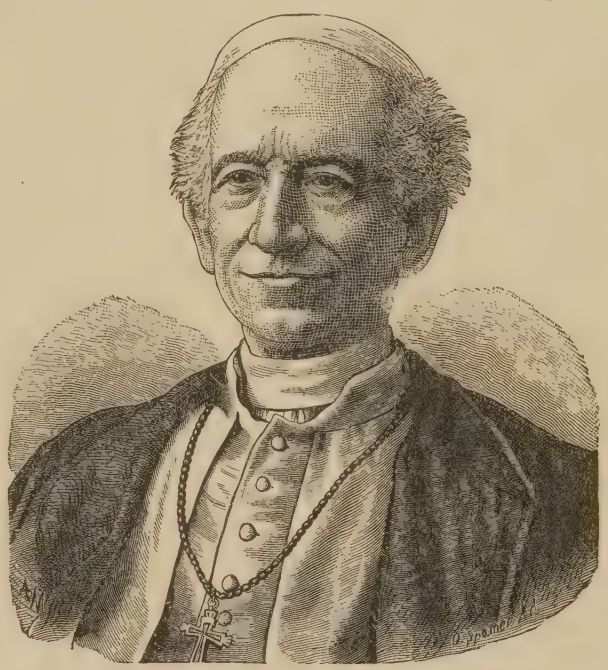
The king further spoke of the international relations sustained by Italy, and referred, at the close of his address, to the death of "the late lamented and venerated Pope," and to the election of his successor, declaring that the College of Cardinals had, in that matter, proceeded freely, according to their own laws, and "without disturbance to the tranquillity of men's minds." Such declarations, however, were mere gall to the Pope and his adherents, to whom the fictitious imprisonment was a thing too precious to be denied.

In the first year of Humbert's reign, Italy was much disturbed by social agitations in divers places. When the Italian Chambers assembled, in November of 1878, the project of putting down the Socialists by law was seriously debated. The immediate occasion of the obtrusion of the question was an attempt to assassinate the king. On the 17th of November, when Humbert was entering Naples, a cook named Giovanni Passanante made an attack upon him with a flag-staff, armed with a spear. The king was wounded, and Signor Carioli, one of his attendants, had a severe struggle with the assassin before the latter was beaten down. The trade associations, the so-called Barsanti clubs, and other Socialistic bodies, generally affiliating with the International Society, were charged with inciting violence against the king and the Government. It was found in the course of the debates, in which the Ministry advocated the closing and suppression of the Democratic clubs and societies, that the Italian Liberals, while they did not sympathize with the violence done to the king, were little disposed to adopt the severe measures proposed by the Government. The result was that the party in power was defeated on a vote of confidence, which failed by a large majority. The result was the resignation of the Cabinet and the formation of a new Ministry, under the leadership of Signor Depretis.

At this epoch in the recent history of Italy a fact came out strongly analogous to the corresponding circumstance in the political, and especially the Parliamentary, history of Germany and France. This was the division of parties into small sections, called "groups," to the extent of preventing the supremacy of any. Instead of two dominant political parties, such as we see constantly operating by their representatives in the British House of Commons or the Congress of the United States, the Italians, as well as the Germans and French, have broken up into divisions and subdivisions to the extent of greatly impeding the regular management of affairs by a dominant governmental party. The Italian Chambers at this time contained about a half dozen minor parties, and neither the Left nor the Right, that is, neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives, could command a working majority without invoking the aid of some of the smaller factions.

Such a method was, of course, precarious and uncertain. In many instances the Parliamentary proceedings degenerated into a mere factional fight. In April of 1880 the Ministry dissolved the Chambers, and, as the phrase of our times goes, "went to the country" in the hope of gaining a decisive majority at a new election. But the Italians had not yet reached that stage in the political evolution at which government by party becomes a part of the fixed Constitution of the country. The May elections resulted in the choice of a new Chamber, presenting virtually the same phenomena as before. The Ministerial party secured the election of a hundred and fifty-six members, against a hundred and eighty members of all shades of opposition. The Government continued to be vexed by that weakness of party discipline which allowed the Senators and Deputies to form small groups on the lines of their own preference, without fear of ostracism by the larger party to which they nominally belonged. It was found, however, that, on the whole, the Ministry representing the Left could count with tolerable certainty on a majority of about thirty. But the preponderance was unsteady, and before the end of the session the Ministry were beaten on an important division. By this time the Italian Radicals, still represented by Garibaldi, had fallen into chronic discontent with the House of Savoy and its methods, and it was easily perceived that only an opportunity was awaited for a general movement towards an Italian Democracy.

Not only did the Radical party revive under the Administration of Humbert, but the Clericals also. The latter had been forbidden by Pius IX. from any and all participation in the elections lest such a course might seem to recognize the validity of the present political order in Italy. From the time of the establishment of the Government in Rome down to the year 1880 the Clerical party was restrained from all political action by the authority of the Papacy. But Leo XIII. came at length to view the question in another light, and the decree of the late Pope relative to participating in political affairs was revoked. The result was that the Clericals came out in full force in the municipal election at Rome, and succeeded in securing a triumph for their party. The success of the experiment was so decided that the Pope determined to pursue the same policy throughout Italy, thus throwing as large a representation as possible



LEO XIII.

into the Italian Chambers. It was an incident of the election just referred to that Garibaldi was decisively defeated as one of the candidates in Rome.

It was in this year that the Pope issued, through Cardinal Nina, his appeal to the Catholics of Christendom for such pecuniary aid as should enable him to carry out the policy of the Papacy on a liberal basis. The scheme contemplated the substitution of a voluntary system in place of the revenues which His Holiness had hitherto derived from his secular government in the States of the Church. He represented to the Catholic world that the Cardinals resident in Rome were poorly supported; that the Papal nuncios at the Courts of Europe were maintained either by his own sacrifices or else in a style incommensurate with the dignity of the Church; that the Bishops of Italy had in many cases lost their revenues; that the employés of the old Pontifical Government had been thrown from office without the means of support. Besides all this, the Roman churches—that is, the edifices—were falling into decay for the want of repairs, and the Clerical schools of Rome, which His Holiness had planted to undo the pernicious work begun by the schools of "the unbelievers and the heterodox," were suffering for the means requisite to sustain them.

Later in the year the Holy Father again promulgated his views, dwelling in particular on the hardships of his imprisonment. The case was now made out that he certainly was "imprisoned," for the reason that he was not independent. He was not independent, for the reason that the six hundred ancient functionaries of the temporal power, which his predecessors had enjoyed until the year 1870, were going about the streets without either office or support. His, therefore, was a merely spectral government—an illusion and form of things rather than a substance. He also called attention of the world to the growth of heresy and to the impunity accorded to the heretics, complaining bitterly that even in the establishment of the Clerical schools he had been obliged, like a private person, to proceed in accordance with the common law. In conclusion, the Pope declared in the very manner and tone which his predecessors had assumed in the ancient days of terror, that he would never acquiesce in the present condition of things in Italy, and would never cease to call for the restitution of all the rights and prerogatives of which, by fraud and deceit, the Apostolic See had been deprived.

In the following year he renewed the plaint. The method had now supervened of encouragement to the Papacy by pilgrimages of the faithful to the Eternal City. In October of 1881 a great body of Italian pilgrims paid respects to the Pope, on which occasion he enlarged, in his usual way, on the cruelty and crime of his captivity. He declared that the alternative was before him of perpetual imprisonment or exile. He went so far as to assert that he was no longer secure from outrages and indignities in his own palace. The pilgrims were deeply affected by the appeal of the Pope; but on their going forth into the streets they were pelted by the rabblement with missiles and epithets, and cries of "Down with the Vatican!" The impression prevailed for a season that the Supreme Pontiff actually contemplated an escape from the alleged hardships of his situation into some foreign part, where he might freely reconstitute at least the semblance of that politico-ecclesiastical system which had been destroyed.

An incident of the close of the year 1881 serves well to illustrate the course which Italian society was now taking. The circumstance in question was the trial of Signor Mario and his assistant, editors of a Federalist newspaper, called *Lega della Democrazia*. The journal in question was sufficiently Radical. The editor carried a free lance. At length he published an article in which he referred to the possible return of the Conservative party to power as a thing equivalent to placing a "box of dynamite under the royal throne." It was evident to all the world—except the public censor Lavini—that the language in question was figurative, as though one in America should say that a certain act of the opposing party would throw dynamite under the White House. But to Lavini the expression of Mario seemed literal—a threat to explode the throne of Italy with a bomb! The editor was accordingly arrested, and a great trial ensued, in the course of which many editorials, most pungent and satirical, of which the public had never before heard, were read to the court and jury. Never

was a newspaper better advertised than was *Lega della Democrazia* to the twenty-seven millions of the Italian people. One article, devoted to the Pope and the Papacy, was entitled "Mr. Pecci!" Others were equally flagrant in their violation of things sacred and things political, and it was for this reason, rather than for any force of law, that Mario was at length found guilty. But the penalty was insignificant, and the general effect of the trial was to encourage rather than impede the freedom of the press.

It was at the time which we are now considering that the agitation culminated relative to the extension of the suffrage in Italy. Hitherto the privilege of voting had been limited to the few. The Government was virtually an aristocracy. We have already remarked that the unification of Italy under the kingdom was effected by the upper and middle classes of society. The Chambers were constituted by a system of suffrage anything else than popular. Out of the twenty-seven millions or more of people but little more than half a million were electors, voters; and of these hardly a half exercised the privilege granted by the Constitution and the law. Even among the few, numbering about two hundred and fifty thousand, who did the actual voting for all Italy, there was so great apathy that it was difficult to secure a respectable vote even at a general election. It was not, indeed, that the Italians had no interest in politics; for we have seen how great had been their zeal in almost every important crisis. The real reason lay deeply imbedded in a despair of accomplishing anything, which was almost universally felt by the people. They had sought for reform, and had found it not. They had striven with all their might for the benefits which come of emancipation and good government, but no such benefits had appeared. Many witty and satirical sayings gained currency as to the abuses and disappointments incident to the current governmental system. The electors were wont to ask, "Why should we vote for this man or for that? The king remains the same; the laws, the same; and the taxes go on increasing." The Venetians had a ballad, which they were wont to sing to this effect:

THE BRIDGE OF SANT' ANGELO, ROME.

"Under the *Republic* we dined and supped;
Under *Austria* we dined only;
Now that *Italy* reigns we fast forever!"

Looking at the relation of the working-classes to their political condition, present and

past, it might well be said of them, as was said by one of the reviewers, that they "fared better when they were worse off."

It was natural, under such circumstances, that the theory and project of universal suffrage should be proposed as the remedy for the existing evils with which political society was tormented. In the summer of 1881 the agitation reached a climax, by the passage of a new law for universal suffrage. It was enacted that all male citizens, above twenty-one years of age, who could sign their own names, should be entitled to registry and to the right to vote. The requisition extended no further than the execution of an autograph by the elector. The measure was radical in the extreme. The number of voters was suddenly expanded from half a million to over three millions. Nor can it be denied that, in a country long used to aristocratic forms, long accustomed to the ways of kingcraft and priestcraft, the experiment of universal suffrage was hazardous in the last degree—all the more so, for the reason that the Pope had now discovered, through this avenue, what he conceived to be the possible restoration of his power. For would not the faithful throughout Italy, at the command of His Holiness, vote henceforth as directed from the Vatican?

The year 1882 was noted for another step in the stately progress by which secular government was extended and confirmed in Rome. This was the decision of the question, whether or not the Vatican and the suburbs thereof should, in cases of controversy, be subject to the usual legal processes and judicial decisions of the kingdom. Should or should not the jurisdiction of the secular courts extend within the sacred precincts? and must or must not the Pope, and the somewhat spectral figures of his Government, yield obedience to the common law of the realm? It happened, in 1882, that the Pope's major-domo, acting for His Holiness, had employed an architect for some service about the Vatican palace. When the duty was performed the architect was refused his pay, and he thereupon brought suit and obtained a judgment for his claim. But the Pope instituted a court of his own, to determine cases in which the rights of the members of his household were involved. It was a virtual attempt to reïnstitute just such tribunals as had been used in the Papal Government when Pius IX. was still sovereign of the States of the Church. Of course the Pope's court could but reverse the judgment of the secular tribunal; but the architect appealed his cause to the High Court, and the judgment of the court below was fully confirmed. The decision was regarded by the Pope and the Clericals as a great outrage done to the sacred authority which the Pontiffs had so long exercised. The principal effect of the proceedings, however, was to intensify the repugnance which the Liberal party of Italy already felt to the whole Papal system and its assumptions of power.

The various revolutions and wars through which Italy had passed from the beginning of the ascendency of the House of Savoy to the complete establishment of the Kingdom of United Italy had necessarily entailed upon the Government vast expenditures and an immense national debt. We have already remarked upon the financial embarrassments to which Italy was more than once subjected during the seventh and eighth decades. After the Government was once firmly seated in Rome, and a settled state of affairs had supervened promising regularity of administration and perpetuity of the existing order, the finances of the country rapidly improved. The treasury was on the whole well administered, and the national debt was controlled in such a manner as greatly to improve the credit of the Government. The financial phenomena of the kingdom were very similar to the corresponding facts in the United States from 1870 to 1880. The preceding exigencies had made it necessary for the Italian treasury to suspend specie payments, but the time had now come when the same might be safely resumed. The 12th of April, 1883, was fixed as the date of resumption, and the Finance Ministers, through a considerable period, made preparations for the event. Gold coin to the extent of over eighty-three millions of dollars, beside a large amount of silver, was accumulated in the treasury. The national credit rose rapidly to par. During the last month before resumption the premium on gold was no more than one-half of one per cent. By the date fixed for the paying out of coin on national obligations, all anxiety as to the

result of the experiment had, as in the case of the similar event in the United States, passed away, and the resumption of specie payments was accomplished without a jar.

During the summer and autumn of 1883 a feeling of extreme unfriendliness was engendered between France and Italy. The trouble in question was partly social and partly political in its origin. Italy, as we have seen, had been drawn into an alliance with Prussia, and had secured thereby the greatest territorial and civil advantages. Venetia had been recovered, and Austria thrust back to the Istrian and Dalmatian border by the Prussian sword and diplomacy. It thus happened that, in spite of his ethnic and dynastic affiliation with the Latin States, Victor Emanuel, and after him King Humbert, had been drawn over by many ties to the German Empire. This fact was exceedingly disagreeable to the French, who could but regard the German sympathies of Italy as misplaced, being against the law of both race and history.

In the summer of 1883 the Island of Ischia was rocked to its very foundations by one of the severest earthquakes of modern times. Great was the destruction of life and property. It was estimated that more than four thousand people actually perished by the catastrophe, and many additional thousands were rendered homeless and destitute. The disaster was so great as to call for the aid of the Government, and an appeal was made to the benevolence and generosity of foreign nations.

On the occasion of a public fête, Emperor William, of Germany, contributed fifty thousand marks to a fund which had been started by the Crown Prince and Crown Princess for the aid of the Ischia sufferers. In recognition of this gift, the King of Italy at once transmitted, through the Italian embassy, his thanks, and those of his country, for the magnificent gift of Germany. In the meantime, large public collections had also been taken in France, and forwarded to Italy. But the French were exceedingly jealous of the work done by the German royal family, and in order to break the effect and to injure the Italian Government in the estimation of the world, Henri Rochefort, editor of *L'Intransigeant*, made a publication in which he charged that the funds contributed by the French for the relief of the survivors of the Ischia earthquake had been appropriated by King Humbert, and that the latter, at the very time when he and his people were thus aided by voluntary and *involuntary* contributions, was urging on the Emperor of Germany to destroy the French Republic. For a season there was a very hot feeling between the two countries. An Italian officer challenged Rochefort to fight a duel, but the latter declined. A committee of the survivors of the earthquake hereupon resolved, in consideration of the insults which had been done to Italy by the French, not to accept any further charitable gifts from abroad.

The time had now come to estimate the advantages of the law extending the right of suffrage. The election of 1883 furnished the opportunity of determining whether or not the electors of Italy would avail themselves of the opportunity to vote. The event was unsatisfactory. While the list of suffrages was considerably extended, it was found that the great mass of the lately enfranchised voters had not felt the stimulus of citizenship, and remained indifferent to the exercise of the right of franchise. It was seen that the political education of the Italian people could not be given or received in a day. Time and circumstance and discipline and varied experiences were requisite to a full apprehension of their rights and duties by the new classes of citizens. It was reckoned an ill augury that the very principle for which the Italian Liberals and Democrats had so much contended seemed barren of fruit, and that the great republican fact of universal suffrage had not been realized by those for whose advantage it had been provided.

One of the most striking peculiarities of the civilization of modern times is the marvelous improvement in the means of transit. Whether by land or by sea, the methods of travel and commerce have been so much amended as to make a new epoch in the physical condition of mankind. Nearly all the improvement in this respect lies within the limits of the present century. The difference between the methods of antiquity and the methods of modern times was little noticeable until after the Age of Revolution with which the eighteenth century was concluded. Then

it was that Invention put forth his hand, and the earth was soon marked with the double band of iron, and erelong with the slender wire stretching alongside from city to city, from State to State, and presently from continent to continent.

The ability of society to mass her forces suddenly and with great momentum at any given point was so greatly increased as to change all the conditions of peace and war. But the question still remained for decision as to how these augmented means of intercourse should be produced; how they should be operated; how they should be controlled. Soon after the middle of the century the issue was already on whether railroads and the correlated apparatus of travel and commerce should be a part of the administrative formulæ of the several governments, or whether such properties of civilization should be and remain in the hands of private persons and of corporations. Under the various evolutions of physical progress the question has been decided differently in different countries. In England, the railroads and telegraphs have been remanded to private and corporate ownership and management, with governmental *control.* While the British Government has not participated in the work of constructing railroads; while, as a rule, not even subsidies have been granted to corporations engaged in that work, the general authority of society over the corporations has been retained in principle and in practice. In France much the same methods have prevailed. In the United States private and corporate ownership and management have been reinforced with private and corporate control. The Government, as such, has, until recent years, exercised but little authority over the railroads. Some of the States have enacted laws of considerable stringency, under which railroad management has been administered; but, as a rule, the corporations have swung freely in the field of their own operation and interest.

From the time, however, when governmental aid was voted to the Union Pacific Railway, the interest and right of the public in its civil capacity over the railroads and similar corporations has been more considerably asserted. The recent passage of the so-called Interstate Commerce Bill has been the longest single stride thus far taken in the United States in the direction of control by the Government. In Germany the Government both owns and controls the railways. The paternal system is here carried out to its fullest extent. In Italy, after the introduction of railways, the German principle was adopted, but not in full. After the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy, the railway development was rapid and extensive. The subject of the management, the ownership, the control of the various lines and of the system as a whole, frequently obtruded itself into the Italian Chambers, and the sentiment in favor of the American, or at least the English system, made headway against the prevalent method. As early as 1878 an investigation was begun which extended through three successive Ministries. The whole problem of railroad ownership and control was discussed, and strong opposition sprang up to the continuance of the State management. The policy of absorption by the State of all the railways was antagonized by many Italian statesmen who urged the superiority of private management and operation.

In 1884 a bill was adopted by the Chambers in accordance with the growing convictions of the country. The new measure was after the English model. The State management and operation of the railways was abandoned, but not the State control. It was provided that henceforth the railroad administration of Italy should be in the hands of private corporations, with the reserved rights of the State to control in case of abuse. It was further enacted that the old charges for transportation should not be increased, but that they might in certain cases be reduced. The act, as a whole, was another evidence of the readiness of the Italian Government to deal in a rational manner with the practical questions which arise in society, and to give such answer thereto as experience and right reason may have suggested.

In a former chapter mention was made of the threatening movement of Asiatic cholera to the Western countries, in the year 1884. Italy, from her position in the Mediterranean, was most of all exposed to the dangers of the malady. Her sea-ports, midway between the Orient and the Occident, seemed to invite the

planting and germination of the plague. The scourge actually made its appearance in several such places, particularly in Naples. The summer of 1884 witnessed in that city a dreadful visitation. By the middle of September the situation had become alarming. Nearly a thousand new cases of the disease appeared in a single day, and the virulence of the malady was so great that much more than a third of all the sufferers died. The condition of the city was such as to invite the ravages of the pestilence. The ancient society of Naples, long under the influence of the Church of Rome, had sunk into a condition of degradation and poverty most favorable to the ravages of an epidemic. While the greater part of Europe gave itself zealously to the work of staying the progress of the disease by means of scientific agencies, while city after city was renovated, disinfected, and prepared with rational courage for the onset of the enemy, Naples, under the dominion of the ancient superstitions, followed precisely the course most favorable to the increase of the horror. Religious processions were organized and sent into the streets under the advice of the ecclesiastics, who thought thereby to impede the march of cholera! Offerings were heaped at the shrines of the saints with the same benevolent purpose. Meanwhile, sanitary precautions and scientific remedies were rather avoided than encouraged by the ignorance of those whose influence was dominant over the minds of the people.

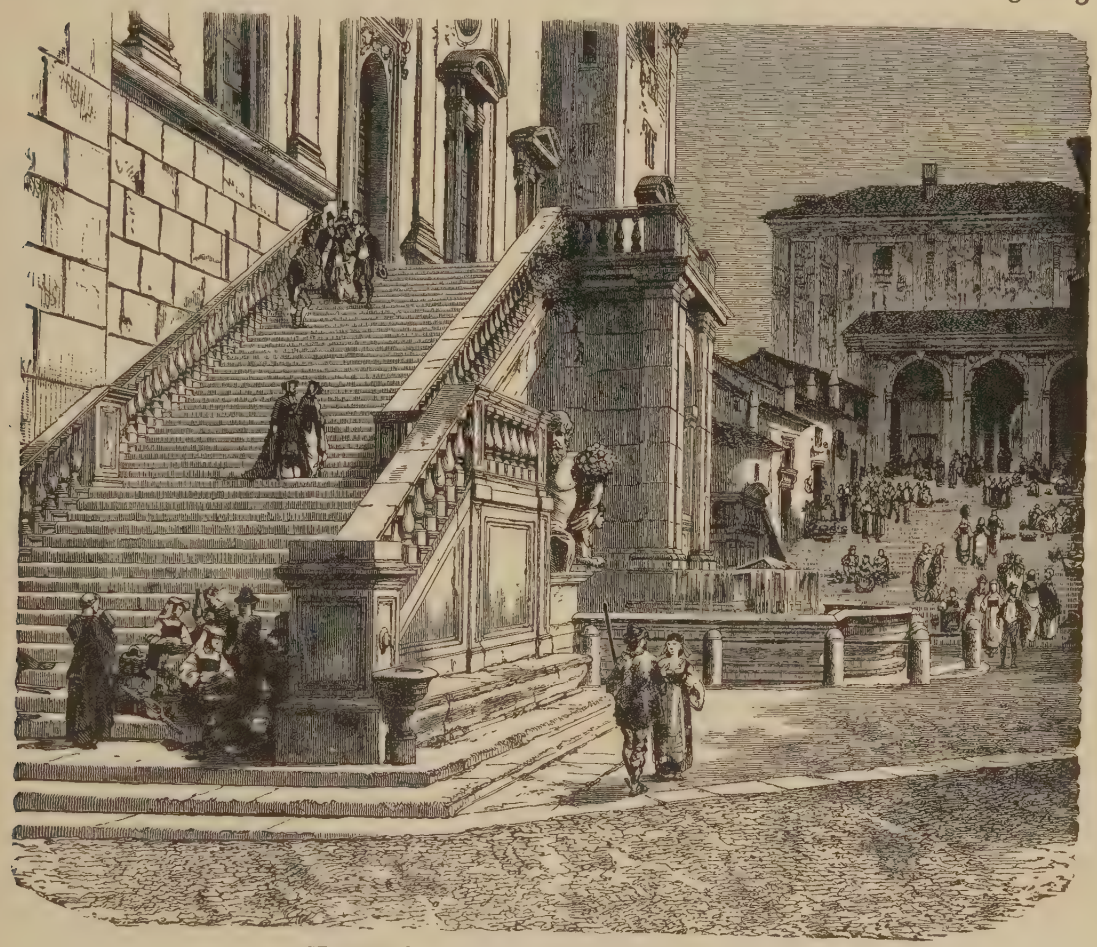
In the midst of the distress of the Neapolitans, the Government came to the rescue, and King Humbert went to the city in person, declaring his purpose to remain until the plague was abated. The conduct of the sovereign was of a kind to elicit the just praises, not only of his own people, but of all the world. It was seen that the latest representative of the House of Savoy had a manly courage greater than the merely physical daring of the battle-field, and that his sympathies were drawn forth by the sufferings of his countrymen. Nor could the attention of mankind fail to be turned to the fact that while Humbert, son of the "Subalpine Usurper," thus freely exposed himself in the streets of plague-stricken Naples, His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII., remained in the sacred seclusion and safety of the Vatican Palace, muttering over his imaginary captivity, while his children in the city by the sea were dying of cholera at the rate of three hundred a day. The contrast between secular magnanimity and pontifical cowardice was as great as that between the pretense and the practice of virtue.

The following year may be given as the date of the changed and changing policy on the part of the Papacy. The fictitious imprisonment of the Pope could hardly continue forever. For fifteen years Pius IX. and his successor had claimed to be in a captivity which could be discovered by no other than themselves. The so-called Ultramontane policy had been followed to the extent of alienating from the Papal establishment nearly every Government in Europe. Leo XIII. had only recently told the Italian pilgrims of the hardships of his situation, and had intimated the alternative of the recovery of his temporal dominion or else of exile into some foreign part. The Papal organs had at times been busy with the alleged project of the Pope to go abroad. At one time the question of his coming to the United States, to plant a new Papacy in a new world, was agitated. But such discussions had never any real foundation in the purpose of the Holy Father. He and his adherents knew too well that Rome is Rome, and that to transfer the central seat of the Mother Church from the banks of the Tiber to some foreign shore was a thing visionary and impossible.

We have not hitherto remarked that the ample provision made for the expenses and revenues of the Pope by the Italian Government were declined by His Holiness, who, in order to make up for the losses which he had sustained by the Revolution, resorted to the ancient expedient of Peter's Pence. The faithful throughout Christendom were exhorted to send voluntary contributions to the depleted treasury of the Apostolic See, and for several years the revenues thus derived were ample for all reasonable expenditures. But at length the volume of Peter's Pence was diminished. Good Catholics in many lands grew tired of giving, and the treasury sank low. Perhaps, moreover, there was something in the character and experience of Leo which favored a change of policy. He had been, in his early life, a

(688) A STREET IN NAPLES.

man of affairs. His home had been in Belgium. He had seen more of the world, and knew more of the tendencies and dispositions of the various governments of Christendom, than did his predecessor. All these influences combined to turn the Papacy from its Ultramontane attitude into a conciliatory bearing towards the world. Now it was that Leo began to soften his language towards the States and peoples of modern Europe. True,



STAIRWAY OF THE SENATORIAL PALACE, ROME.

he was bound by consistency to conciliate least of all the Italian Government, at the hands of which he and his predecessor had suffered so many hardships, real or imaginary. From this time forth, down to our own day, the Papal bearing towards mankind has been much modified and softened, to the extent, at times, of producing a hope that the Church of Rome may at length fall into greater accord with the institutions and spirit of the age.

Meanwhile, the Government of Italy continued for practical purposes in the hands of the Depretis Ministry. As to the new electoral system, neither the hopes of its friends nor the fears of its enemies had been justified by the event. The vast mass of citizens who had been enfranchised by the recent electoral law were Catholics, and the head of the Church, after coquetting for a season with popular suffrage as a means of regaining power in the Italian Chambers, had returned to the policy of abstention, from which circumstance the list of voters had not been so greatly increased as was expected on the passage of the law. The election of 1886 followed a dissolution of Parliament more than a year before the expiration of its term. We have already seen how difficult it had been thus far for a Ministry of any complexion to gain an actual majority in the Chambers. The time

had now come, however, when such a result was to be reached. The election brought a decisive victory to the Depretis Cabinet. In all the more important parts of Italy, such as Piedmont, Venetia, Liguria, Romagna, the Marches, Tuscany, Umbria, and Latium, the party of the Ministry was victorious by large majorities. The Radicals and Socialists made some gains in the South, and were successful in Lombardy; but the general result was so highly favorable to the Ministry as to enable that body to enter the new Chambers with a clear party majority, such as would be expected in the British Parliament or the American Congress.

The year 1887 was rendered memorable in Italian history by the occurrence of another earthquake more extensive and almost equally destructive of life and property with the Ischia cataclysm of 1883. On the morning of February 23d a severe shock came on, lasting for about fifteen seconds, moving from west to east, and jarring all the shores of Southern Europe. Italy was the center of the agitation. The principal disturbance was on the coast, extending from Nice to Genoa. In these parts two or three small towns were totally wrecked, and others severely shaken. The Riviera was at this season of the year crowded with tourists from foreign lands and distinguished visitors from various parts of Italy. In Nice the carnival ball had just been concluded, and the streets at the time were thronged with persons in the gay costumes of the occasion. It was estimated that in the Italian provinces fully a thousand persons lost their lives. The confusion and terror were for a while extreme, and the help of society was invoked on behalf of the sufferers. The King of Italy was again found at the fore in the work of giving aid to the distressed people of the coast. The French Government also sent a large sum to assist the needy in supplying present wants and reëstablishing their homes.

More than once in the preceding pages we have had occasion to speak of the governmental bonds which were established in the eighth and ninth decades between Italy and Germany. After the heat and passion of the Prusso-Austrian War of 1866, Bismarck presently adopted the policy of conciliating Austria, and of making her cheerful with the second or third rank into which he had thrust her. This policy was at length successful. By the time of the outbreak of the war between Germany and France, the House of Hapsburg had become friendly to the Hohenzollern *régime* to the extent of wishing victory to the German arms. We have already seen how the Prince Chancellor of the Empire also succeeded in drawing into an alliance the new King of Italy, who, in the friendly talk of the arangement was designated as *Der dritte im Bunde*—the third of the coälition.

The Bund thus established became exceedingly influential in the affairs of Central Europe. Early in the year 1887 secret negotiations were conducted by Prince Bismarck with the other two members of the alliance, and it came to be understood in Europe that the bonds between the parties were tightened into a positive agreement that for three years the parties to the triple alliance would give each other mutual aid in maintaining the peace of the Central European States. The objects in the minds of the allies were France and Russia, and a general tendency of the secret treaty of 1887 was to throw the two Powers last named into more intimate relations and sympathies than had been known between them since the days of the Holy Alliance.

At the beginning of 1888 the Catholic world found considerable interest in celebrating the jubilee anniversary of the Pope's consecration as Delegate of Benevento. It had been vaguely expected by the outside world that the event might be made the occasion of friendly overtures between the Quirinal and the Vatican, and that a reconciliation of the Pope and the king was among the possibilities of the day. So far as Humbert was concerned, he appears to have been willing to do something conducive of peace. The Court accordingly observed the jubilee, and the king sent some elegant and costly presents to Leo. But the latter declined to accept the offering, and the presents were returned in a rather discourteous manner

The event may have had some importance in bringing the nations to understand the irreconcilable dispute between the spiritual and the secular powers in Italy. The Papacy had, indeed, come into a position from which it was

impossible to recede. Time was—and that recently—when the Pope had had full temporal authority in the States of the Church. Over his territories he reigned as any other monarch. He was sovereign, equal and independent. The Italian revolution had ended this condition, and had remanded the Pope to the exercise of spiritual dominion only. It would have been much easier for Pius IX. to yield outright in the day of his downfall than it was for himself or his successor to yield at any future date. The claim of temporal authority, having once been reässerted, must continue to be made from year to year and possibly from age to age. For how could the Papacy, under the dogma of Infallibity, recede from a position so palpably, openly, and earnestly taken as was that of the Pope for the restoration of his territory and secular authority? Leo must needs feel that to yield the ground thus taken by his predecessor, would be to scandalize himself and his Administration with all posterity.

The position of the Pontiff was really not so novel as it might appear. History abounds in instances of the retention by a sovereign, or no sovereign at all, of claims to dominion which the logic of events has long since disallowed and brushed into oblivion. For centuries together the English monarchs continued to call themselves kings of France. For what particular sovereign of England would wish to yield a jot or tittle of the pretensions which former members of the Dynasty had held? The present century has seen dethroned kings and princes, not a few, wandering in divers places, and pretending to titles which, had they been granted, would have drawn ancient and historic crowns upon the heads of the pretenders. In such a category the Pope of Rome in our day has found himself. The occasional outgivings of a purpose on the part of Leo to reconcile the Church with the House of Savoy and the new kingdom of Italy, of a wish on his side to be at one with the existing order of civilization, and to make common cause with the great agencies of progress and enlightenment in the world, are either fallacious hints or historical absurdities. The Pope must remain a prisoner, and continue to vex the air with vain repetitions of a claim which history can no more allow than she could permit the revival of the Vehmgericht or the reestablishment of the Inquisition.

For these reasons we must continue to regard the formation of the Kingdom of Italy as a blessing—first to the people of Italy, and afterwards to the people of all civilized nations. It is the peculiarity of our age that men present themselves in the best aspects of their activity and enterprise in the form and garb of great organic societies. The present century holds to the broken-up, monarchical isolation of the several preceding ages much the same relation which the latter half of the fifteenth century held to the Feudal powers which had preceded it. That, as well as the present, was an age in which consolidation gave an increase of power. Germany flowed together under Maximilian; France, under Louis XI.; Spain, under Ferdinand and Isabella; and England under the House of Tudor.

So, in our own times, we have great centralizations either in process or in fulfillment. Such movements are not without their disadvantages and hurts to the human race. It is in the nature of centralization to disparage democracy. The ancient individual liberties of men are curtailed, and their place taken by vast forms of administrative regularity. It can not be admitted that organization has in the abstract the virtues and splendors of the individual life of man. From a civil and political point of view the centralizing tendency brings us to a grander exercise of national life. The Government of the United States since the Civil War has taken on many of the aspects of that kind of monarchical *régime* which exists for itself. Though the old Democratic and Republican jargon of a government of the people, for the people, and by them, is still repeated with vehemence and the heat of feeling, it may well be doubted whether the Government itself in either of its three great departments feels, or desires to feel, the meaning and force of such popular aphorisms. In Europe we have seen the great consolidation effected under the auspices of the House of Hohenzollern in Germany. We have seen Victoria made Empress of India. We have seen Victor Emanuel wearing a secular crown in the city of the Cæsars. All of these movements, considered with respect to the present social and political conditions of mankind,

may be regarded as salutary in a high degree; but the danger lurking at the bottom—the danger that the individual life and aspiration of man may be ground and crushed under the weight of gigantic organisms which he seems to have constructed out of all proportion to the actual needs of his public and private life—can not be concealed, at least from the gaze and regret of the historian and the philanthropist.

WINGED LION OF ST. MARK.

30
20
10
0
10
60
50
40
30
ARCTIC
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BRITISH ISLES
ICELAND
Reykjavik
Mt. Hecla
Faroe Is.
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
C. Wrath
Hebrides
Rockal
St. Kilda
Pentland Firth
Moray Firth
Aberdeen
Dundee
EDINBURGH
Glasgow
Belfast
DUBLIN
Galway
R. Shannon
C. Clear
Cork
Liverpool
Manchester
Newcastle
York
Hull
R. Humber
Irish Sea
St. Georges Channel
Bristol Chan.
Bristol
Birmingham
LONDON
Lands End
Scilly Is.
Lizard Pt.
Plymouth
English Channel
Ushant I.
Quimper
Brest
Rennes
Nantes
Versailles
PARIS
Orleans
Loire
Tours
Troyes
Dijon
Strasbourg
Rhine
Cologne
Frankfort
Hanover
Bremen
Hamburg
Amsterdam
THE HAGUE
NETHERLANDS
Heligoland (Br.)
Weser R.
Elbe R.
Kiel
Holstein
Rugen
Stettin
BERLIN
Dresden
Prague
BOHEMIA
Munich
BAVARIA
Nuremburg
Leipzig
Wittenberg
Frankfort
Gotha
SAXONY
Danube R.
Salzburg
Linz
VIENNA
Brucx
Gratz
Laybach
Trieste
Fiume
Venice
Verona
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Parma
Modena
Florence
Leghorn
Tuscany
Ancona
Loretto
ROME
Civita Vecchia
Naples
Ischia
Salerno
Foggia
Vesuvius
Tiber R.
Sardinia
Cagliari
Oristano
Bastia
Corsica
Ajaccio
Elba
Gulf of Genoa
Gulf of Lyons
Marseilles
Nice
Toulon
Avignon
Montpellier
Nismes
Toulouse
Rhone R.
Garonne R.
Agen
Auvillar
Limoges
Clermont
Lyons
Grenoble
Switzerland
Geneva
Lucerne
Zurich
Constance
Basle
Dijon
Poitiers
Rochefort
La Rochelle
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Biarritz
Pau
Pyrenees
Mt. Muladetta
Andorre
Barcelona
Tarragona
Saragossa
Ebro R.
Valencia
Balearic Islands
Minorca
Majorca
Ivica
Formentera
Alicant
Carthagena
Almeria
C. de Gata
Gibraltar (British)
Ceuta
Tetuan
Tangier
Tarifa
Strait of Gibraltar
C. Trafalgar
Cadiz
Seville
Granada
Sa. Nevada
Malaga
Murcia
Ciudad Real
Badajos
Cordova
Guadalquiver R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalaxara
Madrid
Segovia
Salamanca
Valladolid
Burgos
Leon
Oporto
Braganza
Coimbra
Torres Vedras
Lisbon
Tagus R.
C. Roca
Setubal
C. St. Vincent
C. Maria
Elvas
Talavera
Toledo
Sierra Morena
Sierra Guadarrama
Sierra Nevada
Sierra Penibetica
Sierra Alcaraz
Sierra Cazorla
Sierra Morena
Sierra Toledo
Sierra Guadalupe
Sierra Estrella
Sierra Monchique
Sierra Arrabida
Sierra Caldeirao
Sierra Marvao
Sierra Gata
Sierra Estrella
Sierra Guadarrama

MAP XXVII.
EUROPE
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
Sea of Azov
Sea of Marmora
Mediterranean Sea
Levant
ASIA MINOR
ASIA
ARMENIA
PERSIA
TURKEY IN ASIA
SYRIA
EGYPT
BARCA
SWEDEN
NORWAY
FINLAND
RUSSIA
POLAND
PRUSSIA
GERMANY
HUNGARY
ROUMANIA
SERVIA
BULGARIA
TURKEY
GREECE
Gulf of Bothnia
Gulf of Finland
Gulf of Riga
Gulf of Venice
Archipelago
Caspian Sea
Sea of Aral
Ural Mountains
Caucasus Mts.
Valdai Hills
Dovre Fjeld
Hanger Hd.
Dame Ness
Nova Zembla
North Cape
Lofoden Is.
Cape Canin
Kara Str.
Vaigatz I.
Vaigatz Str.
Kolguev I.
C. Ruskol
Tobolskaya Gulf
Samoieden
Obdorsk
R. Obi
Berezov
Konyakavski
Khatchkahar
Tobolsk
R. Irtish
Ekaterinburg
Tchusovaya R.
Perm
Kama R.
Ufa R.
Ural R.
Sarapul
Viatka
Okansk
Slobodsk
Kotelnich
Soligalitch
Tcherdyn
Solikamsk
Lima R.
Pechora R.
Usa R.
Unega R.
Mezene
Mezene R.
Archangel
Pinega R.
N. Dvina R.
Onega
Onega R.
Vytchegda R.
Yarensk
Ustiug
Suchona R.
Nikolsk
Vologda
R. Sukhona
R. Yatiga
R. Volga
Kostroma
Yaroslav
Nijni Novgorod
R. Oka
Kazan
Kama R.
Simbirsk
Saratov
Samara
Stavropol
Orenburg
Ural R.
Uralsk
Bakaseva
Emba R.
Gurlev
Dead G.
Astrakhan
R. Volga
R. Don
Tzaritzin
Tchirskaya
Sarepta
Kamishin
Pavlovsk
Voronej
Kozlov
Tambov
Tula
Moscow
R. Oka
Moskva
Riazan
Borodino
Mologa
Tver
R. Volga
Vladimir
Dniepr R.
Smolensk
Kaluga
Vitebsk
Dunaburg
Mitau
Riga
Libau
Memel
Royno
Vilna
Minsk
Mogilev
Grodno
Bialystock
Bobruisk
Pripet R.
Pinsk
Tchernigov
Kourisk
Orel
Jesna R.
Kharkov
Belgorod
Kiev
Mirgorod
Poltava
R. Donetz
Tchirskaya
R. Don
Taganrog
Rostov
N. Tcherkesk
Manitch R.
Azov
Marioupol
Kuma R.
Stavropol
Georgievsk
Mozdok
Kizlar
R. Terek
Tarki
Derbend
Karabughaz G.
C. Apsheron
Tcheleken I.
Mt. Elburz
Mt. Kazbek
Tiflis
Alexandropol
R. Kur
Batoum
Kars
Erivan
Mt. Ararat
R. Aras
Trebizond
Erzeroum
Bajazid
Kara Hissar
Sinope
Kizil Irmak
Chain of Constantinople or Bosphorus
Scutari
Constantinople
Brussa
Gallipoli
Sea of Marmora
Dardanelles
Thaso
Lemnos
Adrianople
Eastern Roumelia
Balkan Mts.
Widin
Rustchuk
Shumla
Varna
Burgas
C. Emineh
Silistria
Kalafat
Bucharest
Wallachia
Rimnik
Belgrade
Servia
Danube
Pesth
Debreczin
Klausenburg
Kronstadt
Hermanstadt
Temeswar
Szegedin
Peterwardein
Galatz
Ibrail
Jassy
Bogdad
Odessa
C. Tarkhan
Serpents I.
Simferopol
Kaffa
Sebastopol
Balaklava
Perekop
Nicolaiev
Kherson
Ekaterinoslav
Bug R.
Dniester R.
Kamenetz
Berditchev
Zhitomir
Brody
Lemberg
Tarnopol
Vistula
Cracow
Sandomir
Lublin
Warsaw
Praga
Kalisz
Vienna
Bromberg
Elbing
Tilsit
Memel
Libau
Mitau
Dunaburg
Riga
Pernau
Baltic Port
Reval
Narva
Oesel
Gotland
Stockholm
Hango Hd.
Aland Is.
Abo
Bjorneborg
Gefle
Hernosand
Christinestadt
Vasa
Kuopio
Jacobstadt
Uleaborg
Kemi
Tornea
Pitea
Lulea
Umea
Kajana
L. Vigo
L. Pielis
L. Saima
Petrozavodsk
Olonetz
Vitegra
Onega
L. Onega
L. Bielozersk
L. Bielo
Viborg
Kymmene R.
Wyborg
Helsingfors
Nystad
Tornea R.
Muonio R.
Kola
L. Enara
Tromsoe
Hammerfest
Sosoe
Tana Fd.
Varanger Fd.
Tana R.
Kundalaska
L. Imandra
L. Kovdo
Mezene
Mezene R.
Archangel
Onega
N. Dvina R.
Yarensk
Vytchegda R.
Tcherdyn
Solikamsk
Kama R.
Perm
Slobodsk
Kotelnich
Soligalitch
Viatka
Okansk
Sarapul
Ufa R.
Kazan
Nikolsk
Ustiug
Suchona R.
Vologda
R. Yatiga
Kostroma
R. Volga
Yaroslav
Nijni Novgorod
R. Oka
Mologa
L. Ilmen
L. Peipus
Pskov
Novgorod
Narva
Revel
Baltic Port
Pernau
Oesel
Gotland
Dame Ness
Gulf of Riga
Riga
Mitau
Dunaburg
Libau
Memel
Royno
Vilna
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Kaluga
Tula
Moscow
R. Oka
Moskva
Riazan
Borodino
Tver
R. Volga
Vladimir
Valdai Hills
Dniepr R.
Minsk
Mogilev
Grodno
Bialystock
Bobruisk
Pripet R.
Pinsk
Tchernigov
Kourisk
Orel
Jesna R.
Kharkov
Belgorod
Kiev
Mirgorod
Poltava
R. Donetz
Tchirskaya
R. Don
Tzaritzin
Pavlovsk
Kamishin
Voronej
Kozlov
Tambov
Saratov
R. Volga
Uralsk
Ural R.
Bakaseva
Salt Swamp
Gurlev
Dead G.
Astrakhan
Manitch R.
Taganrog
Rostov
N. Tcherkesk

Book Twenty-Sixth.

EASTERN EUROPE.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.—ALEXANDER I. AND NICHOLAS.

MORE than ever before was the prowess of Eastern Europe made manifest in the later years of the Napoleonic Wars. Nor was it merely a barbaric force which the nations lying beyond the Pruth and the Vistula revealed to the more cultivated peoples of the West. It was clearly perceived that the planting made by the Czar Peter had come at length to fruitage, and that the European scheme of the future must be widened to make room for the Cossack.

Let us pass, then, from the Western and Central States of the Continent, the annals of which have so long occupied our attention, and take our stand on the Eastern confines of Europe, and note the progress of events in that far region from the Treaty of Vienna to the present day. The selection of such a point of view will draw our attention chiefly to the history of Russia, whose career within the present century can hardly fail to incite a deep and lasting interest.

ALEXANDER I. had the high satisfaction of witnessing the humiliation of that great adversary who had recently invaded his dominions. Along with the other sovereigns who had contributed to the overthrow of Napoleon, the Czar entered Paris on the 11th of July, 1815. He contributed much by his influence—perhaps more than any of his fellow-sovereigns—to the settlement which was agreed upon over the ruins of France. His religious ardor was greatly increased by the condition of affairs which supervened after the Congress of Vienna. We have already seen how the philanthropic and superstitious disposition of the Czar was fanned into a flame of enthusiasm by the celebrated Madame Krüdener, who thus became the dominant force in determining his conduct. *Dux fœmina facti!* She was, in reality, the inspiring cause of that supreme mockery called the Holy Alliance, which was presently formed by Alexander, Francis II. of Austria, and Frederick William III. of Prussia.

On the 26th of September, 1815, the famous compact was concluded, and was submitted to the other Powers of Europe for their approval. Most of the States—all, indeed, except Rome, England, and France—acceded to the league, and became parties to the new system by which the Powers of Christendom were to be

thereafter governed. The leading principle of the Alliance was that thenceforth the political order of the world should be directed by the doctrines and practices of Christianity; and these doctrines and practices were, of course, to be determined by the creeds and methods of the parties to the compact. This meant that practically the world was to be subjected to an approved orthodox despotism. The real aim of the Alliance was to confirm and perpetuate the existing dynasties of Europe; to set up a vast paternalism as the

ALEXANDER I.

modus operandi of government; and in order to accomplish this result an appeal was made to religion—the last appeal of tyranny.

Alexander is said to have drawn with his own hands the agreement which his fellow-monarchs signed, and which was published to the world in the following February. One article of the compact was to the effect that no member of the family of Bonaparte should ever occupy a European throne. Another clause bound the parties to maintain and defend the various dynastic Houses and to combine for the suppression of rebellions and revolutions. The significance of the whole scheme was that political liberty, which had received so tremendous an impetus in America and France, should be crushed out, and the good old fatherly plan of mediæval government be reïnstated in all the kingdoms of the earth.

Of the events that followed the formation of the Holy Alliance—of the practical workings of the new system in the affairs of Europe—a narrative has already been given in former chapters. We have seen how, in 1821, revolutions broke out in Naples and Piedmont, and how the allied sovereigns proceeded in those States to restore the style of government which they had agreed to foster. No interference of Bonaparte in the affairs of neighboring kingdoms had been half so flagrant as that of the holy monarchs who, in the name of Christianity, had taken upon themselves the government of the world. Two years afterward, France herself, acting under dictation of the Alliance, suppressed the insurrection and restored absolutism in Spain.

In the meantime, namely, in 1818, a second Congress of the Powers was held at Aix-la-Chapelle. Alexander virtually presided over the deliberations. The assembly might be properly defined as a great conspiracy against the liberties of mankind. The reäction had now fully set in. The measures debated were nearly all directed to the suppression of the Liberal movement in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Germany. In 1820 another convention was held at Troppau; another at Laybach in the following year; and still another at Verona, in 1822. In all of these conferences the influence of the Czar was predominant. It was one of the surprising aspects of human affairs that Great Britain, whose Iron Duke and invincible squares had destroyed Imperial France at Waterloo, and thus made it possible for the Continental sovereigns to frame the Holy Alliance, now held aloof, and would have no part or lot in their proceedings. This circumstance tended materially to the decline of the league—a fact already very apparent

COLUMN OF ALEXANDER I.

before the Czar's death, in 1825. The compact, however, continued in nominal existence until 1830, when the French Revolution of that year put an end to the most pernicious agreement of modern times.

During the reign of Alexander, the internal condition of Russia was greatly improved. The Imperial territories had been enlarged by the addition of Finland, Poland, Bessarabia, and a part of the Caucasus. To the late Czar must be ascribed the credit of having at least attempted the emancipation of the Russian serfs. Many other internal reforms were attempted, but the principles of the Government made such measures impossible in practice. Alexander was perhaps one of the most self-deceived monarchs who ever held a scepter. In his latter years he came to realize how great were the illusions which he had cherished. In his character were many elements of weakness. Napoleon believed him to be treacherous, and gave utterance to the oft-repeated assertion that Alexander was "as false as a Byzantine Greek." The Czar was certainly overreached and used by men of greater genius than himself. In the last years of his reign the Russian Government was greatly influenced, if not positively directed, by Prince Metternich of Austria, who, by playing upon the Czar's hopes and fears, gained a complete ascendency in the internal administration of the Empire.

NICHOLAS I.

It was another surprising circumstance of these times that though in the earlier years of his reign the Czar entertained liberal principles, admired France, sought the friendship of Napoleon, and was driven against his will into war with that great ruler, the case was now completely reversed. Alexander had become a despot, and the people struggled for emancipation. Already, before the Czar's death, there were mutterings of an outbreak against his Government. The expiration of the reign and the peculiar circumstance of the lateral transmission of the crown gave opportunity for insurrection to lift its head, and a great commotion ensued in many parts of the Empire.

On the death of the Czar—he dying without children—the crown, according to the established principles of succession, should have gone to Constantine, second son of Paul I. Constantine, however, had secretly renounced his claims to the succession three years before the late Emperor's death. The Heir Apparent had taken in marriage the Princess Julia Grudzinska, of Poland, a Roman Catholic by religious profession. The prince had preferred his wife to the Imperial diadem, and had renounced the latter in order to obtain the former. For this reason the crown was transferred to NICHOLAS, brother of the late Czar. His political principles were known to be strongly reäctionary, while those of Constantine were of a liberal tendency. The result was that the popular party in Russia, having for its leaders some of the ablest men in the Empire, made an insurrection, with a view to preventing the accession of Nicholas and of securing that of Constantine. It was believed

by the *Dekabrists*,[1] which was the name taken by the revolutionary party, that under Constantine a new constitution[2] could be gained, with a large measure of reform. The rebellion, however, ended most disastrously, and the leaders were either executed or sent into Siberia. The incipient revolution was utterly extinguished. It was perceived that Nicholas was fully equal to such occasions. With greater force of character than his predecessor he proceeded to establish his authority, and to buttress the throne which he was destined to occupy for thirty years.

At the very beginning of the new reign the Czar became engaged in a war with Persia. It was the beginning of the Russian aggressive march in the direction of India. We have seen, in the history of Great Britain, how important in an international sense was the subordination of Persia to the Russian Empire. From the first the armies of the Czar were completely victorious. The Persians were defeated, first at Elizabetpol, and afterwards by Marshal Paskevitch in the battle of 'Javan Bulak. The war extended from 1826 to February of 1828, when the conflict was ended by the Treaty of Turkmantchai. The Czar was enabled by his successes to wrench from Persia her two provinces of Erivan and Nakhitchevan, and to exact an indemnity of eighty millions of rubles, together with the exclusive control of the Caspian Sea. It was this circumstance which tended more than any other to draw the attention of the Russians to the warmer waters of the South, and to emphasize the prodigious mistake which Peter the Great had made in fixing his capital on the frozen Gulf of Finland.

In the same year with the conclusion of the peace with Persia, the Czar began a war with the Turks. The Ottoman Power had already entered upon that astonishing decline which constitutes one of the most striking phenomena in the history of modern times. It was clear, from the first impact of the Russian forces, that the Sultan would not be able to make a successful resistance. After a war of only a year's duration, the Porte was glad to purchase peace by ceding to the Czar several fortresses on the frontier and along the mouth of the Danube, and by the payment of a large indemnity.

The years 1830–31 bring again into prominent notice the affairs of unfortunate Poland. It will be remembered how that kingdom, from the middle of the eighteenth century, had been the object of a sort of triple conspiracy on the part of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, each willing, nay anxious, to obtain by means ranging from questionable to perfidious, a share of the Polish territory. True, a mere shadow of Polish independence had been preserved by the Congress of Vienna. The little Republic of Cracow was permitted to survive as a memento of the past. But the lion's share of Poland was given to Alexander. A so-called Kingdom of Poland, formed out of the countries extending from the Niemen and Bug to the Prosna, was created by the Czar, to which he gave a constitution and over which he maintained his authority by an army of fifty thousand men. General Zajonczek was appointed Viceroy. But the actual administration was intrusted to the Czar's brother, the Grand Duke Constantine. Such were the exactions of the latter and the severity of his rule, that the Poles became insubordinate, and, by the time of the accession of Nicholas, were ready for any event.

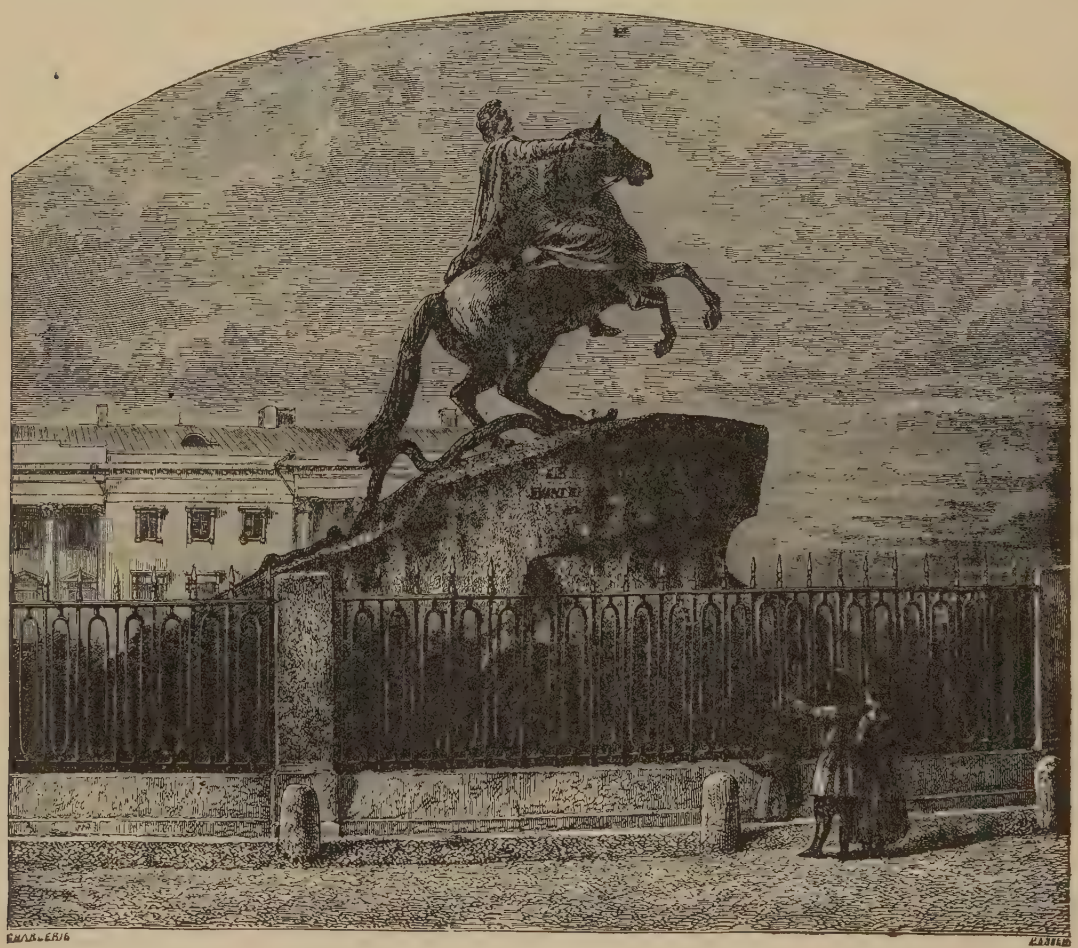
The conspiracy, however, did not break into open violence until November of 1830. At that time a band of youthful democratic insurgents, under the lead of Peter Wysocki, rose suddenly in Warsaw, took possession of the city, and organized a revolution. Almost the whole Polish people threw themselves at once into the movement. Even the aristocrats, who had been supposed to be entirely devoted to the Russian cause, joined with their countrymen in the uprising for independence. A declaration was made that the House of

[1] The name *Dekabrists* meant literally the Decembrists, Decemberers, or Men of December, that month being the time of the death of Alexander and the outbreak of the insurrection.

[2] An incident of the times may serve to illustrate the profound political ignorance of the Russian people. The Dekabrists had adopted as their political motto and watch-cry, "Constantine and the Constitution." The word for the latter in Russian is *constitutzia*. When the Revolutionists tempted the army with the prospect of benefits, and gave out to the soldiers the watch-cry of "Constantine and the Constitution," the men innocently inquired if Constitutzia *was the wife of Constantine!*

Romanoff was no longer entitled to the throne of Poland.

A national army was sent into the field, and the forces of the Czar crossed the Bug for the suppression of the rebellion. In February and March of 1831 several bloody battles were fought in the neighborhood of Warsaw. The Poles upheld their cause with much valor and enthusiasm; but the general-



EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF PETER THE GREAT.

ship of their leaders was not equal to the emergencies. Their armies were driven back from the frontiers whither they had been sent to revolutionize the provinces. The main body of the patriots remained inactive around Warsaw until the Russians, under Paskevitch crossed the Vistula, and marched against the capital. With the approach of the catastrophe, the people became suspicious, and all prospects of success were destroyed by the spirit of faction. On the night of the 15th of August a terrible massacre occurred, in which those who were thought to be lukewarm or treacherous to the Polish cause, were murdered without mercy by the revolutionists. On the 8th of September, the capital was taken by the Russians. The other Polish cities soon succumbed, and the war was at an end.

The ills which Poland suffered in this strug-gle were indescribable. Whole districts were well-nigh depopulated. The bleeding country lay once more at the feet of a Power which knew neither pity nor remorse. The patriot leaders were seized, and either executed or banished into the snows of Siberia. The estates of those who had participated in the rebellion were confiscated. The common soldiers were transferred to the Russian army. The Polish Constitution and statutes were abro-

gated. The university at Warsaw, and the other principal seats of learning, were abolished, and a censorship established over the press and the speech of the people. To all this was added a cruel system of police, and the fixing of Russian garrisons in Warsaw and the other principal towns of the country.

The late trouble of Emperor Nicholas with the Sultan had ended with the peace of Adrianople. By this agreement, the frontiers of Russia on the eastern shores of the Black Sea were considerably improved. The pressure, henceforth, of the great Empire of the North on the Ottoman dominions became constant, resulting, after twenty years, in a war which drew into its vortex the great Powers of Western Europe. In the meantime, international changes were taking place, by which the general relations of the European governments were extensively modified. During the reign of Louis XVIII. in France, strong ties had existed between him and the Czar. We have seen at many places in the preceding narrative how, at intervals, this overspanning relation of Russia and France had been established. The intimacy between the two Powers continued to the French Revolution of 1830, when the elder Bourbons were expelled from France, and the Citizen King brought in as a compromise between the past and the future. The event was very displeasing to the Czar, who, while he recognized the validity of the change, would never go further towards affiliation with the new French dynasty. He refused to give to the Citizen King the title of *My Brother*, with which the sovereigns of Europe have been wont to address each other.

The result of this palpable break of the Franco-Russian arch was to bring the Czar and his Government into close union with the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia. It was a renewal of the identical relationship which had been established in 1814, and the effect of the same was soon seen in the interference of the Czar with the affairs of Turkey in Egypt. The story of the rise of Mehemet Ali, vassal of the Sultan and Pasha of Egypt, and of the progress of his arms in Syria, need not be here repeated. We have already seen the results of that contest, and how the whole tendency of the struggle of Mehemet and Ibrahim was to bring again into the foreground that ever-recurring Eastern Question, the shadow of which, to the present day, rests in varying degrees of density on half the landscape of Europe.

It has been a feature in the policy of the Russian Czars to cultivate personal relationships with the Houses of the West. This has been effected by visits, compliments, and many intermarriages. It will be remembered that Czar Peter, in the days of his earthly pilgrimage, sallied forth on precisely such a mission as that to which we here refer. It was not only as a ship carpenter, a tradesman, an adventurer, but as a barbaric diplomatist, that he went abroad. Alexander I. had on more than one occasion pressing business in the West as far as Paris—a place with which he was greatly delighted. In 1844, Nicholas made a tour of the Continent, going first on a visit to Queen Victoria, afterwards on a like call with the Emperor of Austria, and two years later with Pope Gregory XVI.

In 1846 there was a second attempt at insurrection among the Poles; but the movement was easily suppressed. Czar Nicholas had little idea of politics or political excitements. It is evident that he was unable to understand or appreciate the agitations with which the larger part of Europe was shaken in the stormy days of 1848. In a general way he perceived that his own place was with the enemies of the Revolution. For a while, however, he stood aloof. The heavy and half-barbaric populations of his own dominions were little disturbed by the insurrection of the West, and the Czar found no opportunity of interference until he was invited by the Emperor of Austria to assist him in putting down the Hungarian Rebellion. Nicholas at once responded, and it was by means of a Russian army, rather than other forces, that the Magyars were defeated and the insurrection of 1849 finally crushed.

In the proper place in the history of England we have recited the story of the Czar's open and indiscreet purposes relative to Turkey. In that connection his overtures to England concerning the best disposition of the estates, political and personal, of his friend, the "Sick Man," were fully set forth. When his proposals were met, first with diplomatical silence, then with evasion, and finally with

downright antagonism, the Czar was greatly mortified; but his project of appropriating the Sick Man's goods was not abated. One aggression followed another, until the attention of the Western Powers was necessarily drawn to the Russian programme on the Black Sea—until the complication thickened and war ensued.

In the meantime, while Russia was putting forth her hand towards the Black Sea ports and the Mediterranean, she also extended her power as rapidly as possible in the direction

SHAMYL.

of the Caucasus. The tribes of the Daghestan were in union, under their celebrated leader Shamyl, in a religious war against the Northern Powers. The government which the chieftain established was a theocracy. Hostilities with the Russians began as early as 1837, when General Ivelitch was defeated by Shamyl in battle. Two years afterwards, when Akulgo was stormed by the Russians under General Grabbe, Shamyl was supposed to be among the killed; but his death was a fiction, which was soon dispelled by his reäppearance. War was renewed in 1844, and Shamyl, at the head of a large army, withstood for a while the forces of the Czar. For several years he kept the field, and was engaged in the prosecution of his own cause at the outbreak of the great war between Russia and the Western Powers. He held out bravely until after the Treaty of Paris, and was finally taken prisoner, in September of 1859, several years after the death of the Czar. Alexander II., who had now acceded to the throne, treated the captive chieftain with consideration, fixing his residence at Kaluga, and allowing him a pension of ten thousand rubles.

We have seen in a former chapter how, in the year 1853, the Russian Government demanded of the Ottoman Porte certain guarantees of the rights of the Greek Christians of Turkey in Europe. The interference was of a sort to arouse all the fears and suspicions of the Sultan, and to excite the hostility of those European Powers with which the preservation of the autonomy and independence of Turkey had become a cardinal political principle. The Sultan could but regard the demand of the Czar as virtually requiring him to abdicate his sovereignty, and he therefore refused to make the guarantees. In this action he was upheld by England, France, and Sardinia, who were thus thrown into an alliance with the Ottoman Power in the conflict now imminent.

The Crimean War broke out on the Danube in 1853, but the scene of the struggle was destined to be quickly transferred from Europe to Asia. It appears that at the very beginning of hostilities the Czar became convinced of the inexpediency of a European invasion. He accordingly reversed his movements, and while attempting to hold the slight gains made on the Danubian frontier, directed the military energies of the Empire to the small peninsula on the northern shore of the Black Sea, from which the war has taken its historical name. The latter region became thenceforth the principal theater of the action.

CHAPTER CXLIX.—CRIMEAN WAR.

IT is not needed that we should here repeat, other than by the briefest summary, the outline of that great Eastern Question, out of which the Crimean war arose. Suffice it to say that the whole issue, narrowed down to a point, was whether Russia might now move southward, gain control of the Black Sea, overawe the Porte, force her way through the Sea of Marmora into the Archipelago, and thus rectify, once for all, the mistake of Peter the Great; or whether she should be held back from her manifest destiny and compelled to limit her commerce to the frozen gulfs of the Eastern Baltic. Such, in a word, was—and is—the substance of the tremendous controversy.

The desultory conflict along the Danube continued until the autumn of 1853. Thus far there had been some possibility of an adjustment; but an event now occurred which made it necessary, from an international point of view, to refer the question to battle and the sword. At the time of which we speak, the sea-port town of Sinope, on the southern shore of the Black Sea, was held by the Turks.

SEBASTOPOL.

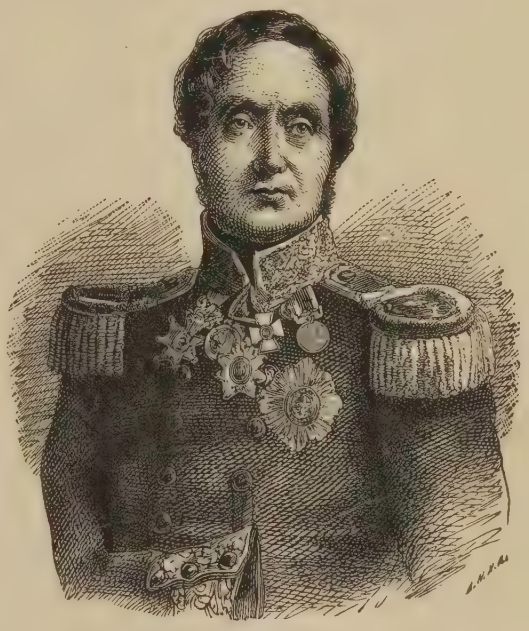
DESTRUCTION OF TURKISH FLEET AT SINOPE.

The place was fortified, and a Turkish squadron lay in the bay. All of a sudden, on the 30th of November, a Russian fleet, coming across from Sebastopol, swooped down on the Turks, and the latter, seeing the conflict inevitable, sailed out to battle. The result was the utter destruction of the Turkish squadron. The estimate placed the loss of the Turks at more than four thousand, while scarcely as many hundred were saved alive. Thus, by an overt act, of so doubtful a character as to be called by the opprobrious name of the "massacre of Sinope," did Russia precipitate the conflict.

The wager was at once accepted. The allied Powers quickly sent into the Black Sea an army of sixty-five thousand men, with five thousand horse and eighty pieces of artillery. The expedition landed in the Bay of Eupatoria on the 14th of September, 1854. A period of nine and a half months had thus elapsed from the destruction of Sinope to the planting of a foreign army in the face of the Russian Power. The allies concentrated their forces at Varna, on the coast of the Black Sea, from which place the plan of the campaign contemplated a descent on the Russians, strongly posted in the Crimea. In the interval which had now elapsed the Turkish cause had been somewhat revived by a series of slight successes against their enemy. Omar Pasha had appeared at the head of the Turkish forces, and had shown such energy and ability as to call forth the applause, not only of his countrymen, but of all Europe. Nevertheless, the war remained to be fought out on a larger scale and with a stronger hand than the Ottoman Empire was of itself able to furnish.

The Russian army was commanded by Prince Menshikoff, who took up his position and awaited the invaders on the southern bank of the River Alma. It was along this line that the first serious struggle of the war ensued. Here, on the 20th of September, a bloody battle was fought, in which the Russians were defeated, and compelled to fall back in the direction of their strong fortress of Sebastopol, situated at the south-west extremity of the peninsula. To the defense of this stronghold all the energies of the Russians were now directed, and to its capture the allies devoted themselves with vigorous activity. Meanwhile, the Russian Government sent forward to the rescue additional forces, which reached the Crimea about the middle of September, and with these Menshikoff succeeded, on the 24th of the month, in uniting his army at Bakhtchiserai. Soon afterwards he retired within the fortifications of Sebastopol, where he prepared to defend himself to the last.

On the 25th of September the heights of Balaklava, lying south of the fortress, were seized by the British division of the allied army, under command of Lord Raglan, and the siege began, which was to continue from the 9th of October, for nearly eleven months. Several days were occupied by the allies with the introductory work of gaining favorable



LORD RAGLAN.

positions around Sebastopol, and on the 17th of October the allied batteries were opened on the town. The Russians had, in the meantime, blocked up the entrance to the harbor on the west with sunken vessels and other obstructions, by which the city had been rendered unassailable to the allied fleet.

The siege of Sebastopol proved to be one of the most memorable in modern times. On two occasions the Russians sallied forth and gave battle. The first conflict of this kind occurred on the night of the 25th of October, at Balaklava, which was now held and defended by a combined force of Turks and English. At first the Russian attack was suc-

BATTLE OF THE ALMA.

BATTLE OF BALAKLAVA.

cessful, and four redoubts held by the Turkish troops were captured in the assault. At the crisis of the battle, however, the British Highlanders came into action, and the Russians were repulsed. The latter did not attempt to renew the attack, but confined themselves to the defense of their batteries against the counter charge of the allies.

It was at this juncture that the famous incident occurred of the charge of the Light Brigade. In the trenches of Balaklava was a body of light horse, numbering six hundred and seven men, under command of the Earl of Cardigan. It happened that this officer had drew their sabers. It has been said by a military critic that it was the charge of a brigade "against the Russian army in position." It was so understood at the moment. "Boys, here goes the last of the Cardigans," said the Earl, as, with compressed lips and bloodless face, he rode along the line and took his place at the head. Then they drew down their caprims, and charged. They went to their death like heroes. At every flash of the Russian guns men and horses flew into the air like chaff, but the rest rode on, and rode over the Russian batteries before they turned. One hundred and ninety-eight of the men survived

INKERMAN.

become an object of jealousy to Lord Lucan, who commanded the division. While certain Russian batteries on the heights at a distance were pounding away at the English position, an order, borne by Captain Nolan, came to Cardigan *to charge the Russian guns!* The order bore the signature of Lord Lucan, but this was afterwards declared to be a forgery. It was like ordering out a regiment of boys to carry Gibraltar. But obedience was obedience, and the order with the commander's signature might not be questioned.

So the brave young fellows of the Light Brigade tightened their girths, mounted, and the charge, and even so few would hardly have come forth from the valley of death alive, had not the Russians been struck with magnanimity at the spectacle, and ceased firing. Strangely enough, the Earl of Cardigan was not killed or injured.[1] Captain Nolan fell at

[1] Some years ago the Author had the good fortune to hear from an eye-witness an account of the famous charge, which has furnished Tennyson with the theme of his great war lyric:

"When can their glory fade?
O, the wild charge they made!
All the world wondered.
Honor the charge they made!
Honor the Light Brigade!
Noble six hundred."

the beginning of the charge, and so the authenticity of Lord Lucan's order could never be ascertained. It can not be doubted, however, that the purpose was simply to destroy Cardigan, by the method which has been the resort of military commanders devoid of morality, since the days of David and Uriah.

A few days after the battle of Balaklava occurred another hard conflict at the village of Inkerman, at the head of the harbor of Sebastopol. On the 5th of November, 1854, a strong force of Russians descended from the heights, and were met by the allies on the slope opposite the ruins of an ancient town, which occupied the site in the times of Strabo. A severe battle ensued, in which the English and French were victorious. Many other sorties were made from the fortress, but were designed rather to delay the siege than with any serious hope of breaking the investment. Sometimes the conflicts, though desultory, were severe, taking the proportions of regular battles. But nothing decisive was effected, until winter closed on the scene, and brought upon both the besiegers and the besieged the greatest hardships. The sufferings of the allies, so far away from the source of supplies, were at times beyond description. It is doubtful whether any other siege of modern times has entailed such cruel privations upon a civilized soldiery. At times the combined havoc of hunger, disease, and cold was seen in its worst work in the allied camps. The genius of Elizabeth Butler has seized upon the morning "Roll Call," in the Crimean snows of 1855, to depict the excess of human suffering and devotion—the acme of English heroism in a foreign land.

BATTLE OF INKERMAN.

Meanwhile, the allied lines around Sebastopol were considerably contracted, and several serious assaults were made on the Russian works. On the 23d of February the French in front of the bastion, called the Malakhoff, assaulted that stronghold with great valor, but were unsuccessful. On the 18th of the following June an attempt was made to carry the Redan, a strong redoubt at the other extreme of the Russian defenses, but the assail-

ants were again repulsed. Then, on the 16th of August, followed the bloody battle of Tchernaya, in which the Russians made a final effort to raise the siege. With a force of fifty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry they threw themselves on the allied position, but were beaten back with great slaughter.

In the meantime, the trenches of the allies had been drawn so near the Russian works that there was a fair prospect of carrying the bastions by another assault. A terrible bombardment was begun on the 5th, and continued to the 8th of September, when both the Redan and the Malakhoff were taken by storm. But the struggle was desperate, and the losses on both sides immense. The Russians blew up their fortifications on the south side of the harbor, and retreated across the bay. Nor did they afterwards make any serious attempt to regain the stronghold which the allies had wrested from them. The victors for their part proceeded to destroy the docks, arsenals, and ship-yards of Sebastopol, and, as far as possible, to prevent the future occupancy of the place by the Russians as a seat of commerce and war.

A serious check was thus given by the allied Powers to the ambitious projects which had been entertained by Czar Nicholas and his predecessors relative to the extension of Russian power on the south and south-west. The results of the war seemed to have been reached by the capture of Sebastopol. The Russians were fairly brought to bay. The death of Czar Nicholas, on the 2d of March, 1855, tended to encourage the movement for peace. After the capture and sack of Kertch, at the entrance to the Sea of Azov, on the 25th of May, active hostilities ceased, and negotiations were opened for a general settlement. Commissioners met at Paris, and, on the 30th of March, 1856, a treaty was concluded, to which Russia was obliged to give a reluctant consent.

STORMING OF THE REDAN.

The event was notable in the diplomatical history of modern times. The terms agreed upon in the Treaty of Paris became a sort of

STORMING OF THE MALAKHOFF, SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1855.
Drawn by Richard Knoetel.

landmark in all subsequent diplomacy relative to the affairs of Eastern Europe. It was stipulated in the first place that the Black Sea should be and remain neutral; that it should be open to the commerce of all nations, but interdicted to ships of war, except that a certain force might be maintained for revenue purposes by Turkey and Russia. Neither Power might henceforth build any arsenal or fortress on the shores of the disputed water. No war-ships should be admitted into the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus; but certain vessels might be stationed at the mouths of the Danube. That river—last of the great streams of Europe—was opened to all friendly commerce. The limits of Bessarabia were changed, with a view to depriving Russia of the control of the mouths of the Danube. All the places taken from the Czar by war were restored without indemnity. Moldavia and Wallachia were placed under the general suzerainty of Turkey, but were given their independent rights as principalities. The Sultan was invited to participate in the advantages of the public laws and international system of Europe. As for the rest, the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed by Great Britain, France, and Austria.

The commissioners next proceeded to the consideration of general questions, and adopted several principles of great advantage in the future intercourse of nations. Among these, the most salutary was the abolition of privateering; and though this clause has not yet become a part of the law of nations, it has nevertheless done much to put under the ban of international displeasure the nefarious business of private warfare on the sea. The Treaty of 1856 further provided that in times of war the flag of a neutral nation should protect the goods even of an enemy on the high sea, unless those goods should have direct respect to the purposes of war. It was still further stipulated that the goods of a neutral State, except contraband of war, should not be liable to capture, even under the flag of a belligerent Power; and that blockade, in order to be binding, must be actually enforced with

CONGRESS OF PARIS, 1856.

such a fleet as would make access to the coast of an enemy either impossible or extremely dangerous.

It is needless to remark upon the salutary character of the principles thus announced. For generations the nations of Christendom had struggled hard to reach enlightened rules of intercourse in war and peace. To the more civilized code now adopted the other great States of Europe and America were invited to accede, and many did so. But, for reasons peculiar to themselves, the United States and Spain refused their assent to the compact—the former State because the treaty did not go far enough in the acknowledgment of neutral rights, and the latter because the new rules were too liberal to accord with their relentless Bourbonism.

It thus happened that for directly opposite and irreconcilable reasons, the most progressive Power of the New World and the most reactionary kingdom of Europe were placed in a common attitude on the great question of belligerent rights at sea. As for the United States and her decision that privateering should not, for the present, be banned by International Law, her action in the premises soon cost her dearly. Within six years, in the heat and fury of the Civil War, she was made to feel with terrible keenness the sharp sword which she had prepared for herself. The half-piratical craft, sent abroad under the authority of the Confederate States, or no authority at all, but still bearing the character of privateers, swept the commerce of our country from the seas, and terrorized the whole Atlantic with their captures and burnings.

CHAPTER CL.—LAST TWO ALEXANDERS.

RUSSIA emerged from the Crimean War with little credit or honor. ALEXANDER II. came to the throne about a year before the conclusion of the conflict. On the 7th of September, 1856, he was crowned with great pomp at Moscow, the ancient capital. From the first, it was clear that he was destined to be the most liberal Czar who had ever occupied the Russian throne. Scarcely had the echo of the war died away when the lines of despotism, so tightly drawn by Nicholas, were allowed to relax. Alexander undertook the work of emancipating the Russians from the terrible system of military discipline to which they had been subjected since the days of Peter the Great. A true civil administration was introduced throughout the Empire. The military colonies were dissolved, and a system of public instruction instituted under Imperial patronage. Especial pains were taken by the Czar to secure proper officers and professors for the new seats of learning. The censorship of the press was, in part, removed, and a spirit of toleration exhibited which had hitherto been unknown in Russia. The miserable system of espionage which had formerly prevailed was forbidden, and vigorous measures instituted to exterminate official corruption from the government. Talented young men of actual merit and real virtue were sought out and preferred for office. The internal industries of the Empire received a new impulse under the fostering care of Alexander, and foreign commerce was greatly quickened by the salutary regulations and liberal conduct of the Government toward the merchant marine. Better still was the general amnesty which was issued for political offenses. The exiles and fugitives, both Poles and Russians, were allowed to return from Siberia, and those who had been expatriated were permitted to resume their former rights without prejudice to themselves or family.

But the most conspicuous of all the humane works of Alexander II. was the emancipation of the Russian serfs. From his youth the Czar had cherished a sentiment of hostility to the institution of serfdom. On coming to the throne he was encouraged in his wish and purpose by Nicholas Milutin and General Bostoftzoff, two of his principal advisers. At the first

the proposed measure was violently antagonized by the serf-owners, who spared no effort to thwart the plans of the Czar. But the latter summoned the leaders of the aristocracy, who were chiefly interested in the preservation of serfdom, and quietly told them that their prejudices and supposed interests must yield; that if Russian society must suffer an upheaval, the revolution would better begin at the top than at the bottom; and that serfdom must be abolished.

Accordingly, on the 3d of March, 1861, he issued his famous decree of emancipation; and during the following two years the edict was successfully executed. Before the work was accomplished, however, namely, in Januuary of 1863, a Polish insurrection broke out, which, for the time, required all the energies of the government in its suppression. For about a year the insurgents remained in arms, but were finally put down and punished with the severity peculiar to the Russian administration.

It was the misfortune of Czar Alexander to reign in an age when the intellect of Russia was passing through the rapid stages of development. His many liberal concessions were met by the people less in a spirit of gratitude than with a sentiment of having recovered that of which they had long been robbed by the Imperial Government. As fast as new rights were granted, new demands were made; insomuch, that when the Czar would fain put a stop to the movement which he himself had begun, he found himself unable to do so. In the midst of what was really a beneficent administration he became an object of distrust and aversion. As early as April of 1866 an attempt was made upon his life by a certain Dimitri Karakozoff, whose purpose was frustrated by the heroism of a loyal peasant. At the Paris Exposition of 1867 a second unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Czar was made by the Pole, Berezowski.

In 1870 the Emperor resumed the work of reform. The hereditary priesthood was abolished. The military methods of the Germans, now victorious in their great war with France, were introduced into the Russian army; and a series of liberal measures were adopted for the promotion of public education throughout the Empire. In 1871–72 the Czar's second son, the Grand Duke Alexis, made a tour of the United States, and was everywhere received with marks of consideration and respect. The people of our country, though they had no sympathy with Imperial institutions, could not well forget that in the recent fiery furnace of the great Civil War, Alexander II. was the only European sovereign whose moral influence and support were unequivocally given to the Union cause.

We have now arrived at one of the most interesting paragraphs in the history of modern times. The brief story here presented of the reign of Alexander II., during the fifteen years after his accession, must have shown the reader the essential Liberalism of his principles, and convinced the most skeptical of his sincere purpose to reform the Russian Empire. Why, then, should there have come to pass, in the minds of the Russians themselves, a reaction against Alexander; a distrust first, and antagonism afterwards, with respect to all his purposes and policy? The answer, however, is not far to seek. It was the essential vice of a personal government. It was that fact or principle which makes it impossible, in modern times, for a personal autocracy to be established, or at least maintained, over mankind, except by despotic and arbitrary methods.

ALEXANDER II.

The throne of every autocrat in any part of the world must be upheld by an army, and be buttressed with batteries. So long as the autocrat will keep his place, he must be a despot. For him to be good is to be weak; and to be weak is to be miserable.

It thus happens that when nature and civilization combine to place at the head of some personal despotism a great and liberal-minded man, he really has before him a single alternative: He must avoid reform, and choke his own aspirations and those of his people with a common strangulation, or else he must loose the rein and allow a half-emancipated barbarism to dash away with his chariot and himself over the precipice of revolution into chaos. Such an alternative was, from the first day, before Alexander II. He desired reform, and so did his people. He hoped to effect it by means of the existing machinery of the autocracy; and the sequel was, as we shall see, his own destruction and the revocation of the ancient forms of despotism.

For no sooner was Liberalism announced than the under man in Russia arose and began to lay about him. The decade from 1870 to 1880 was marked in the history of the Empire for the growth and spread of that peculiar and dangerous social phenomenon called Nihilism. A great politico-social organization, known as the Nihilists, not dissimilar in its doctrines and methods to the International Society of Western Europe, but more pronounced in its radicalism, became prevalent in all the centers of Russian civilization. The political principles of the body were—and are—not dissimilar to those of our forefathers in the times of our Revolution, or to those of the French Democracy of 1789; but the *methods* of the Nihilists, one of whose principles appears to be to adopt assassination as a means of political reform, are unworthy to be classed with those adopted by our Revolutionists and by the Democrats of France.

As the organization became more powerful, it grew more bold. As early as April of 1879, General Gurko, commandant of St. Petersburg, was constrained to issue an order that every householder in the city should keep a watchman at his door, day and night, to prevent the posting of seditious placards and the circulation of revolutionary pamphlets. In the following winter an attempt was made to destroy the Czar by blowing up a railway train, and a little later it was ascertained that the Winter Palace had been undermined. Threats of assassination were heard on every hand, and at last the Nihilistic conspirators were successful. On the 13th of March, 1881, as the Czar, returning from a military review, was driving along the Ilkaterinoviski Canal, an Orsini bomb, thrown by an invisible hand, exploded under his carriage, tearing away the after part of the vehicle. Two marines and the Emperor, who alighted unhurt, approached the assassin, and were about to seize him when a second bomb, thrown by an accomplice, exploded close by the Czar's side, and blew both of his legs into a mass of mangled flesh and bone. "Help me!" cried the dying Alexander, as he sank into the dust, from which he was lifted only to expire in the middle of the afternoon. The terrible dynamite had done its work. A veritable reign of terror supervened. For a few days it was doubtful whether the Government could survive; but the police authorities of the Empire proved strong enough to uphold the authority of the reigning House, and ALEXANDER III. was crowned as his father's successor.

The assassins of the late Czar, five in number, were soon discovered, tried, condemned and executed. One of them was a woman of rank, named Sophia Perovska, daughter of the Minister of Domains, and granddaughter of a Minister of the Interior under Nicholas I. She it was who had given the signal for the exploding of the mine under the railway train in November of 1880. She it was who waved her handkerchief to Ruisakoff, who threw the bomb under the Emperor's carriage. She it was who, on being tried, asked the Court to condemn her to the same punishment with the others. It thus happened that the reign of Alexander III. began with the first public execution of a woman which had taken place in Russia for half a century.

We may well pause to ask whether these terrible proceedings had any effect on the course of events. Were the Nihilists enabled by such means to awe the Government into the liberation of the people from autocratic rule? For a while terror was the order of the day. The new Emperor was in daily peril

of his life. It is not impossible that the killing of the Czar compelled Alexander III. to consider the expediency of reformatory measures; but it must also be admitted that the assassination gave the occasion and the excuse for additional severity towards malcontents of every order. Trials, condemnations, executions, were for a season the constant evidence of the almost necessary vindictiveness of the Empire towards its enemies. As for the Nihilists, they believed that they had accomplished at least a part of their purpose. In the spring of 1881 they issued almost openly to the Czar a manifesto, telling him plainly that all attempts to put them down by force would prove futile. They described the growth of the Nihilist movement, and the success of the policy of violence which they had deliberately adopted. They charged the Czar with being at the head of a despotism, which was really no government at all, but only a "usurping gang" of flatterers and minions. They declared the condition of the mass of the Russian people to be that of mere beggary and ruin. They openly reminded the Czar that regicide had now become popular in his Empire. Finally they made an open proposition to the Emperor for an accommodation between himself and his people. They proposed a scheme which was to embrace as its leading features a complete amnesty for all past offenses, an election of a popular legislative assembly by universal suffrage, freedom of speech, and freedom of public meetings and discussions. Under such conditions the Nihilists promised on their part to conform thereafter unconditionally to the decisions of the National Assembly to be constituted as above, and to refrain from all future violence against the Government. The proclamation was sufficiently significant of the temper and purposes of the Revolutionary party after they had succeeded in destroying the Czar.

Out of the necessities of the situation it was impossible for the Emperor to enter into concessive negotiations with the Nihilist party. Each must necessarily pursue its own course to its own destiny. The Czar doubtless hoped that a better day would come, that the loyalty of his subjects would return, that himself and his Government might at length be safe from persecution and destruction. After his coronation, after the Nihilists' manifesto, Alexander

ALEXANDER III.

sought to awaken the affections and sympathy of the country by making a tour to Moscow. There, at the ancient seat of the Romanoffs, while he did his devotions at sacred shrines hallowed by the worship of his fathers, the fires of Imperialism might be kindled again.

But the journey of the Czar was anything else than a triumphal procession. On the contrary, the royal party was obliged to take every precaution for its own safety. The Czar ventured only in a few instances to be seen

by his subjects, and even in Moscow, the native place of Russian royalty, the Emperor dared only to speak a few brief words, saying: "Moscow has always given an example to the whole of Russia; I hope it will ever continue to do so." Such was the coldness of the populace that the Czar left the ancient capital suddenly and without announcement. It was evident to all the world that the Autocrat of the Russias, however excellent in himself, however well disposed towards his people, was brought so low as to be a petitioner for security and a little rest in his own Imperial dominions.

In the course of the two following years the Government of Russia was enabled to regain, to a certain extent, the ground which it had lost. The Nihilists were sternly repressed, and the whole Imperial machinery was set into systematic operation for their total extinction. The event showed that the climax of the anti-Imperial movement had been reached in 1881. Meanwhile the attention of the people was as much as possible directed to other questions, as if to divert them from their hopes of political emancipation. Nothing could be more instructive to the student of history than to witness the devices used to distract the Russian peasants from their dream of liberty. The common people turned in this direction and in that, showing in all their activities the restlessness and anger of people who have been thwarted in their wishes and aims. In 1882 a persecution of the Jews broke out in Odessa and at some other places in the Empire. The ferocity with which the Israelites were persecuted and destroyed showed conclusively the madness of half-barbarism turned against some other than its legitimate object. The Russian Government itself held to these persecutions, which seemed to furnish a sort of vent for the unappeased longing of the peasantry, an ambiguous attitude, pretending to prevent the atrocities to which at heart it was comparatively indifferent.

The question of amnesty constantly recurred to the Russian Government. Should or should there not be an act of oblivion made with the political and other offenders who had been sent, with or without a trial, to prison or into banishment? At length, in the beginning of 1883, the expected Act was brought forth by the Imperial Government, and the character of the decree was such as to furnish abundant food for reflection. The measure was denominated an "Act of Grace." It was thus issued as if it were born of a pure generosity and tenderness of the Czar for those who had offended against the Government of his predecessor and himself. It were hard to say whether surprise or indignation rather should be the prevailing mood of one who views the Act under consideration from the rational basis of civil and political freedom. The Imperial decree provided that applications for the pardon of political offenders might thereafter be made to the Minister of the Interior on behalf of those who had suffered condemnation for crimes. It should henceforth be possible for political criminals to receive from the Minister a pardon, under which they might return to their homes, provided that their homes *were not in large cities.* The next clause was the most astonishing of all. It ran to the effect that political offenders who had been in banishment for fifteen years might, in case the inquiry into their alleged offenses had in the meantime shown the charges to be groundless, be pardoned—which was equivalent to saying that they who had suffered for fifteen years amid the snows of Siberia might come forth and be restored to their homes, provided that they had *never been guilty of any offense at all!*

As for the rest, the severity of the decree ceased with the limit of merely political crimes. Those who had suffered for other offenses fared less hardly under the "Act of Grace." They who had embezzled public moneys, or committed frauds, or indulged in the trifle of thieving and robbery of individuals or society, might, under the decree, receive an immediate and unconditional pardon. Murderers and highwaymen might go free without even being called to restitution; but they who had clamored for the election of a National Assembly, or dared to say that men were not free in the Russian Empire, might hardly escape, even under the mockery of a general amnesty.

A single feature from the public policy of the Empire in the year 1884 may serve to show the persistency of the old theory of government and the absolutism of the system. We have already pointed out the fact that at this time the Czar and the Emperor William

ST. PETERSBURG.—NEVSKI PROSPECT.

of Prussia came into friendly relations. The amity between the Courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin gave opportunity for the former to prosecute the Imperial plans with respect to Poland. We have seen how the nationality of that unfortunate State was destroyed in 1831–32. But the spirit of the people refused to accept the fact as final, and the administration of the Czar was henceforth directed to the

GENERAL GURKO.

further denationalization of what had been the Polish Kingdom.

Space forbids an account of all the means employed to reach the desired result. The name of Poland ceased to be used by the Russian authorities, who designated the region once occupied by the kingdom as the "Vistula Country." Under the government of General Gurko, the policy of extinguishing the old national spirit of the Poles was carried to extremes. The Russian language was introduced into the schools and public offices, to the exclusion of the native tongue. Companies of Russian actors were imported for the express purpose of occupying the Polish theaters, and of preventing therein those references to the patriotic history of the people so dangerous to the existing order. The press was, in like manner, subordinated and corrupted, while the governmental surveillance, enforced by police and spies, prevented the discussion of all interdicted subjects by the people.

It is difficult for the more advanced peoples of the West, experienced as they are in the legitimate uses of political institutions and in the exercise of political rights, to apprehend the abuses and tyranny to which the Russians have been subjected under the rule of the Czars. The whole of the ninth decade was a constant illustration of the arbitrary, and one might say the cruel, character of the Imperial administration. The Russian Government regards all agitators of political reforms as revolutionists, against whom the whole enginery of the State must be directed with relentless severity. No age or sex or condition has been spared in the ever-recurring persecutions for political crime. And by political crime the reader must understand the simple entertainment of sentiments, the expression of opinions, and the doing of acts which, in a country acquainted with the simplest conditions of civil liberty, are meritorious rather than criminal.

In a former chapter reference has been made to the meeting of the three Emperors of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in the autumn of 1884. The cordiality of that conference was made into a sort of license by Alexander III. for an increase of vindictiveness towards the Revolutionary party. Soon after the meeting of the rulers a military tribunal was

formed at Odessa, which sat with closed doors, and condemned all disturbers with a recklessness which might well remind one of the odious Star Chamber of the Tudors and Stuarts. Among the rest the woman, Marya Kalyushnaya, was sentenced to twenty years hard labor *in a fortress*. About this time a riot of students broke out at Kiev, which was put down by the military, after which several hundred of the rioters were seized and condemned to imprisonment or transportation to Siberia. An agitator named Minyakoff was soon afterwards arrested, condemned, and put to death at St. Petersburg. A second military Court was organized at Schlüsselburg, in the fortress there, before which six army officers and two ladies were condemned to death and sent out to execution. Six others were sentenced to exile in Siberia. One of the ladies, named Von Wölkenstein, was of noble birth, and the other was the daughter of a priest. In all this work the Government was as careful as possible to keep the people from the knowledge and spectacle of what was done. The executions, contrary to the general usage, were private, being witnessed only by a few officers of the Government.

The Imperial system has been as costly as it has been oppressive. Indeed, all despotisms are expensive in the last degree. It might be difficult to cite from the history of modern times a single example of an economical tyranny, with the exception of that of Frederick the Great. In the years which we are now considering, the Russian Government was constantly falling into debt. Notwithstanding the enormous revenues, the Administration was unable to show a balance-sheet in its own favor. In 1885 the budget revealed a large excess of expenditures over receipts. It was deemed necessary by the Ministry to provide for the deficit by an income tax on the profits of business, and by an increase of customs duties. These measures were devised without respect to the war with Afghanistan, which was then deemed imminent. The discouragement of a people under such conditions must needs be very great. What with the constant increase of taxation, the failure of the wheat-crops, and the denial of civil rights, the Russians might well regard themselves as the most disfavored people of the civilized world.

It was in 1885 that the difficulty, at times so threatening, between Russia and England, relative to Afghanistan, was brought to at least a temporary settlement, by the diplomacy of Lord Randolph Churchill. The point in dispute was the holding or the surrender by Russia of a mountain-gap called the Zulfikar Pass, which was regarded as the gateway into Herat, and therefore as the natural route of the Russians into Afghanistan and finally into India. The negotiations ended by an agreement on the part of the Czar to renounce his claim on the Pass, permitting the Afghans to hold the disputed passage under a guarantee of future non-interference. The sequel showed, however, that Russia was wiser than her adversaries. She had discovered that the Zulfikar Pass was not in reality the key to India. In the meantime, she had projected, and at length brought to completion, a Trans-Caspian Railway, by which it was made possible to throw armies and resources against what is known as Afghan Turkestan, thus threatening the border in another direction, more dangerous to Afghanistan as an intermediate and to India as a final objective than had been the gateway of Herat.

During the years 1886–87 but few events occurred in Russia which may be regarded as important to the course of general history. It can not be doubted that the Government continued to triumph over the Revolutionary party, and to reëstablish itself on the basis which it had occupied before the reforms of Alexander II. Of a certainty, history can not be reversed. Serfdom in the Russian Empire can not be restored, nor is it possible to reinstitute the grosser practices and the methods of despotism such as it was in the times of Paul and Nicholas. But that the revolutionary and reformatory processes which for a while ran at full tide have been checked, turned into by-channels, and wasted in unprofitable endeavor, can not be doubted; and though History is little given to prophecy and glittering predictions, it can as little be doubted that the Russian people will at length reform, either by free-will or force, the gigantic absolutism under which they are still groaning.

We have reserved from the present narrative to a subsequent page the story of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. The same may be

said of the account of the difficulties of Russia with the Western Powers relative to Bulgaria and Roumania. Indeed, the narrative at this point has become so much foreshortened as to give no further perspective to the events under consideration.

Undoubtedly the Russian Empire and the vast and varied peoples and nationalities under its dominion present one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the problems with which recent history has to deal. So far as force is concerned, there is undoubtedly within the Russian dominion a vaster aggregate than in any other single country now occupied by mankind. The Russians are at present in the emergent state. Everything is inchoate. It is the beginning of a mighty future. The nations not only of Eastern, but of Central and Western, Europe may well look with dread in the direction of that tremendous shadow which lies banked against all the sky from Daghestan to Bessarabia, and from Bessarabia to the Gulf of Bothnia. The future holds the secret and the revelation.

CHAPTER CLI.—SICK MAN OF THE EAST.

WE may now revert with propriety to the course of events in Eastern Europe, as considered from the horizon of Turkey. We shall here resume the narrative, with an outline of Turkish history from the downfall of Napoleon to the present day. It should be remembered that Sultan Selim, the friend of Bonaparte, was deposed in 1807, and was succeeded by Mustapha IV., whose strength was derived from the Janizaries. His reign continued but a single year, when he was put to death by his brother, Mahmoud II., who began his reign with an attempt to overthrow the Janizaries and destroy their influence. In this work he was at last successful, and that celebrated

CONSTANTINOPLE.

body of soldiers, who had long been to Constantinople what the Prætorian Guard was to Rome, was dispersed and broken. The final disruption of the organization was effected in 1826, when the Janizaries were massacred by thousands.

Before this time, namely, in 1822, a great insurrection, headed by Ali Pasha, of Janina, had broken out in Albania; but the revolt was put down by the Sultan with a strong hand. Attempts were also made in Candia and the Island of Scio to throw off the Turkish yoke. But in both places the rebellions were extinguished in the blood of the participants. In 1821 a still more formidable uprising took place in Peloponnesus—a movement which was the beginning of the independence of modern Greece. The insurrection spread from city to city. Athens awoke from her slumber of centuries; the sons of the modern Greeks looked once more to the Acropolis for inspiration, and ships of war were manned in the Piræus.

ALI PASHA, OF JANINA.

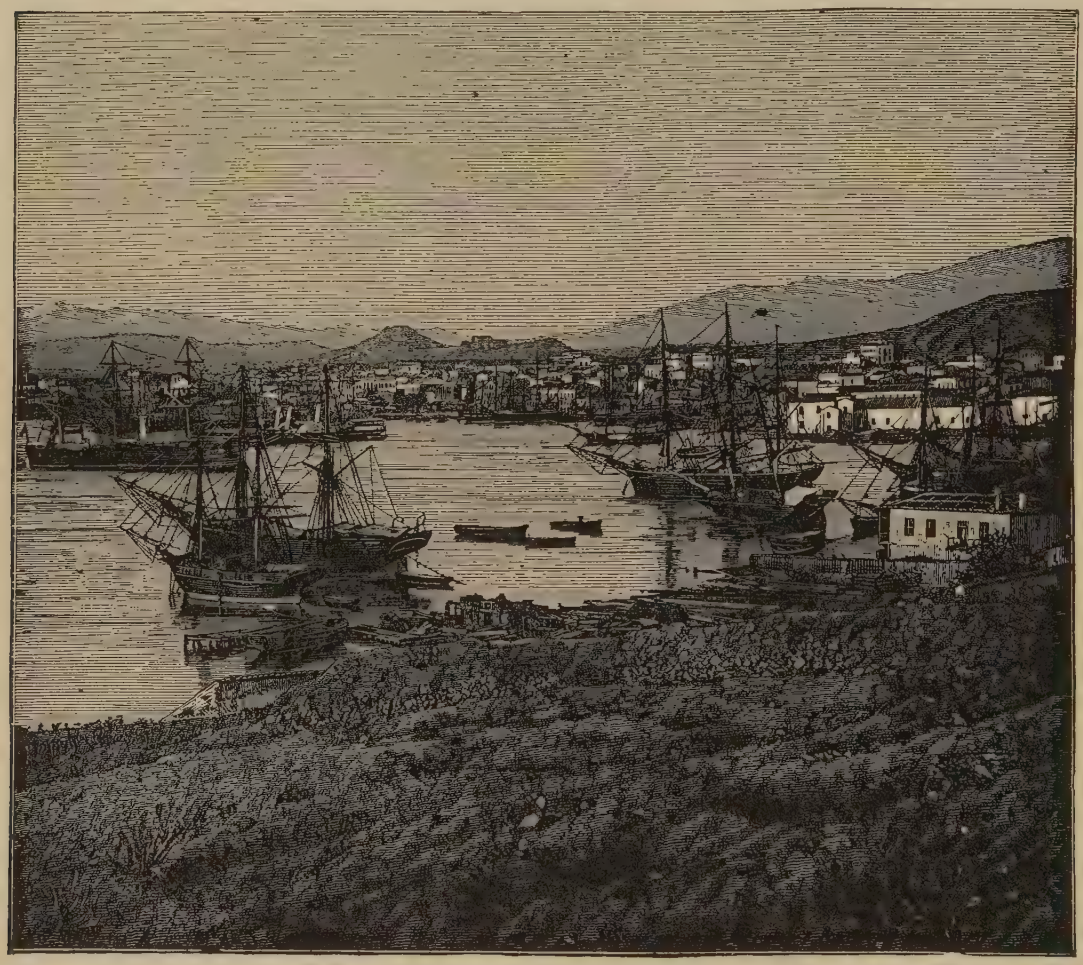
THE ACROPOLIS—ARCH OF HADRIAN IN THE FOREGROUND. (Modern View.)

The islanders of the Archipelago soon joined their fortunes with those of their fellow-Greeks on the continent. Popular leaders appeared, whose fiery valor aroused the native tribes to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Chief of these were Marco Bozzaris and Alexander Mavrocordatos, the latter of whom presently became President of the Hellenic Confederation. In 1822 a provincial government was established by a National Assembly at Epidaurus. A proclamation of independence was issued, and armies of allied Greeks rushed to the field to win their freedom by the sword.

The measures adopted by the Turks for

the suppression of the rebellion were the most bloody and cruel of modern times. Cold-blooded massacres were perpetrated at various places, that in the Island of Scio being of unparalleled atrocity. Such were the heroism of the Greeks and the cruelty of the Turks that the sympathies of all Christendom were aroused for the former, and the aversion of mankind excited against the latter. Societies came to the rescue, and their combined fleets in the great battle of NAVARINO, fought on the 20th of October, 1827, annihilated the Turco-Egyptian squadron, and virtually put an end to the war.

In the beginning of 1828 the Greek statesman, Count Capo d'Istria, became president of the Confederation, and in the following year hostilities ceased. The powers of Western



THE PIRÆUS. (Modern View.)

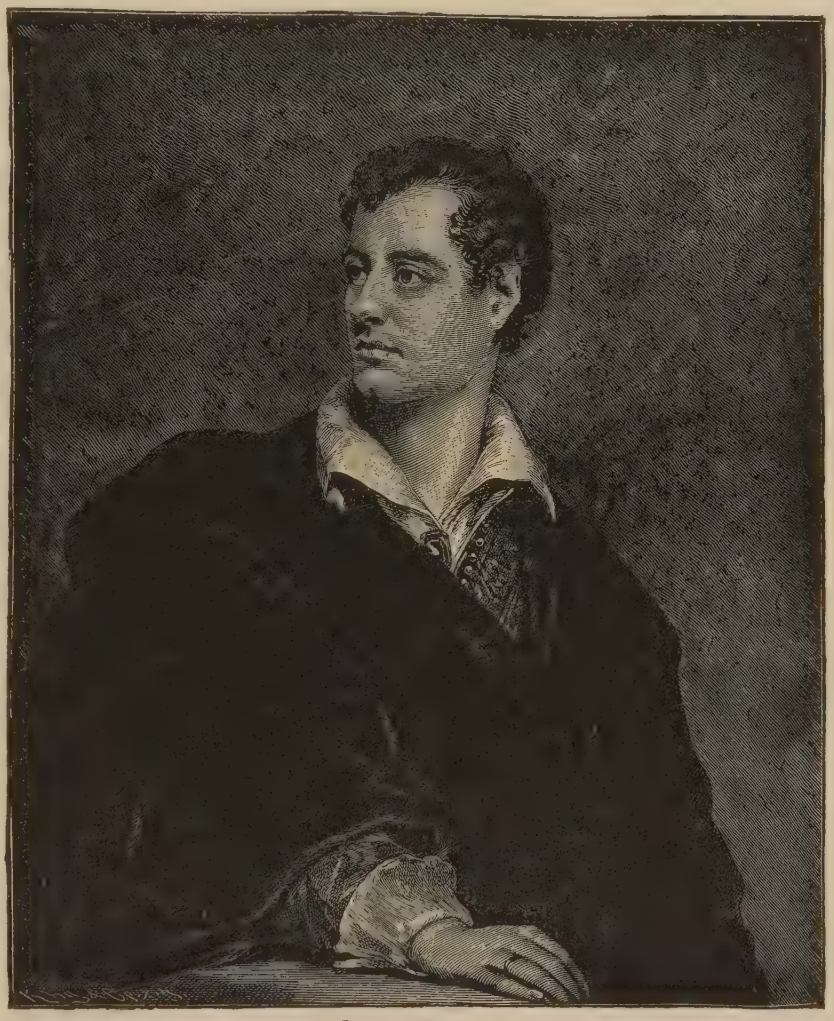
known as the *Philhellenes* were organized in many parts of Europe and America. Lord Byron left Italy, where he had resided several years, to devote his fortune and life to the cause of the Greeks. In the United States, Henry Clay and other patriots sought by their eloquence to enlist the friends of freedom against the perfidious Turk. For five years the Greeks continued the struggle. At length, Great Britain, France, and Russia

Europe then devoted themselves to the work of settling the conditions of peace. Prince Leopold, afterwards king of Belgium, was elected sovereign of emancipated Greece. But when a difficulty arose respecting boundaries he declined the crown. In 1831, Capo d'Istria was assassinated at Nauplia, and an epoch of anarchy followed, which was terminated by the choice of Otho of Bavaria as king of Greece. In 1835 this prince took in

marriage the Princess Amalia of the House of Oldenburg, and established his court at Athens. For a period of ten years Greece was governed in a mild sort of way by Otho, who though bound by no constitution was sincerely anxious to govern well. The want of a constitutional form, however, was keenly felt by the Greeks, and in 1843 the people rose, surrounded the palace, and enforced their will by a peaceable revolution of the government. A constitution was adopted and accepted by the king on the 16th of March, 1844—an act which became the foundation of the limited monarchy of Modern Greece.

The year 1832 was marked by the beginning of a contest between the Sublime Porte and Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt. Of this, much has been said in a former chapter. War broke out, and the Turks were repeatedly defeated. The contest continued until 1839, when Mahmoud II. died, and was succeeded by his son, Abdul-Medjid. It was at this time that, on the petition of Great Britain, Turkey was admitted into the States-system of Europe. Henceforth it became a cardinal principle with the Western Powers to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. It was this maxim of European politics which led to the Crimean War of 1854–56, the story of which has already been narrated.

In 1860 the Turkish Government was again rent with a conflict, which broke out between the Druses and Maronites, the two religio-political parties of Syria. Several frightful massacres were perpetrated, and a combined squadron of French and English was sent to the East in order to put an end to the conflict. In the following year Abdul-Medjid died, and was succeeded by his brother, Abdul-Aziz. In the following December the Danubian principalities were united under the name of Roumania, and Charles I., a prince of the House of Hohenzollern, was assigned to the government of the new province. The same year witnessed a great insurrection in Crete—an event which led to another war between the Turks and the Greeks. In 1869 a conference of the Western Powers was held at Paris, and the difficulties in the eastern Mediterranean were again adjusted by a treaty.



LORD BYRON.

By this time Turkey had indeed become the "Sick Man of the East." The protectorate which had been established over the Ottoman Empire had tended to weaken rather than confirm the grip of the opium-smoking Turk on Europe. A tendency was manifested in all of the Turkish provinces to renounce the authority of the Porte and gain their independence. So was it in the Servian insurrection in 1867. So was it with Egypt, which power, after assisting the Turks to put down

QUEEN AMALIA.

the Cretan rebellion, sought to throw off the Ottoman rule. A war between Turkey and Egypt was prevented only by the interference of the foreign Powers. With the coming of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–71, the influence of France as one of the protecting States of Turkey was so greatly weakened that Russia, no longer kept in check, was enabled to renew her policy of aggression, and to enforce her will by demanding and obtaining a modification of the Treaty of Paris of 1856. A conference was held in London in January of 1871, and Great Britain consented that the provisions of that treaty relative to the neutralization of the Black Sea should be abrogated.

Two years afterwards the Sultan found himself so weakened that he was constrained to concede such prerogatives to Ismail Pasha, Khedive of Egypt, as to make him virtually an independent ruler. From this time forth a certain indifference supervened in Western Europe relative to the fate of the Ottoman Power. Whether the "Sick Man" should live or die ceased for a season to be a matter of great concern. Many modifications were thrust by the logic of events into the balance-of-power system by which the equipoise of Europe was supposedly maintained. Such was the contempt of Turkey that the Egyptian Khedive, without asking the consent of the Porte, proceeded to sell to England all his shares in the Suez Canal, by which transaction the influence of Great Britain was still further strengthened in the East.

During the decade from 1870 to 1880, the fact became more and more apparent that the Sublime Porte either could not or would not protect the Christians of the Turkish provinces against the bloodthirstiness and oppressions of the Moslems. Outrages and massacres became the order of the day. Now in Bosnia, now in Bulgaria, now in Montenegro, and now in Herzegovina, these scenes of violence and butchery were witnessed, until the sentiment of Christendom was shocked with the repetition. This condition of affairs furnished to Russia her long-coveted excuse for the further prosecution of her designs against Turkey. The Czar finally made a demand of the six Powers, which were still pledged to uphold the Ottoman Empire, that the outrages done by the Turks should cease

forever, and that the Porte should give a solemn guarantee that they should be no more repeated.

A crisis came on in the latter part of 1876, and early in the following year a conference was held in London relative to the threatening condition of affairs in the East. A protocol was issued on the last day of March, 1877, in which a formal demand was made by the protecting States that the rights of the Christians in the Turkish provinces should be respected, and that certain general reforms should be introduced in the manner, methods, and spirit of the Turkish Government. This action was resented by the Porte, and on the 10th of April a circular was issued from Constantinople declaring the London Protocol to be destitute of all equity and of all obligatory character.

This action was precisely such as Russia had anticipated and desired. The Russian army was at once put upon a war footing, and on the 20th of April, Prince Gortchakoff sent a circular to the Western Powers announcing the purpose of the Czar to "fulfill the duty imposed upon him by the interests of Russia, whose peaceable development was impeded by the constant troubles in the East." The Porte replied by a counter manifesto charging that the Christian population of Herzegovina, Bosnia, Servia, and Montenegro had been incited to insurrection by the Russians, and appealing to the Powers to uphold the treaty of 1856. The appeal, however, was in vain. And so began the TURCO-RUSSIAN WAR of 1877.

FOUNTAIN OF THE SERAGLIO.

The plans of the Czar in entering upon this contest were to cross the Danube, traverse the Balkans, beat the Turks in battle, and perhaps capture Constantinople. For this purpose a

large Russian army was collected in the South. A month was occupied in crossing Roumania, and then a wooden pontoon was built over the Danube. The crossing of the Lower River was accomplished on the 22d of June; but the passage of the Middle Danube was not effected until the beginning of July. The Czar transferred his head-quarters to the southern bank of the river, and issued a proclamation to the Bulgarians, reännouncing his purpose to vindicate the rights of the persecuted Christians in the Turkish provinces.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF.

Fighting now began between the invaders and the forces of the Sultan. The outposts of the latter were driven in, and the Russians gained possession of the two roads leading to the Balkans. The head-quarters of the Grand Duke Nicholas were moved forward to Tirnova. The object of General Gurko was to press on to the mountains and gain possession of the celebrated Shipka Pass, which was held by the Turks. The advance towards the mountains was resisted by the Moslems, and several engagements occurred, in which the Russians were generally victorious. On the 16th of July a battle was fought at Tundja Brook, which, as usual, went against the Turks. Gradually all the Turkish forces fell back and concentrated at Shipka Pass.

Meanwhile the division of the Russian army under the Grand Duke Nicholas pressed forward to the city of Nikopolis, which was held by a garrison of twelve thousand Turks. On the 15th and 16th of July this important place was captured by the Russians, who now directed their march to the town of Plevna, about thirty miles distant from Nikopolis. Before this place a Russian force arrived on the 19th of July, and an assault was ordered on the following morning. The event showed that the Turks had been strongly reïnforced by Osman Pasha, greatest of the Ottoman generals of the age. After the Russians had gained possession of a part of the fortifications and town, they were assailed with a murderous fire from hundreds of windows and balconies, and were driven back with great slaughter to the trenches. It was soon ascertained that Osman Pasha had gathered an army of fifty thousand men for the defense of Plevna. In the meantime, Suleiman Pasha, with a force of forty thousand, had checked the progress of General Gurko; and Mehemet Ali, to whom the chief command of the Ottomans was now given, collected a third army numbering sixty-five thousand, at Rasgrad. It became necessary for the Czar to suspend the forward movement in order to mobilize the Russian militia, and bring reïnforcements to the front. The invasion was thus checked, and the month of August was spent in inaction.

The Turks were greatly elated at having brought the enemy to a dead pause. It was resolved to take advantage of the lull to make an attack in force upon Shipka Pass, which had in the meantime fallen into possession of the Russians. Accordingly, on the 19th of August, Suleiman Pasha advanced against the Gap, which was defended by an inferior force under General Darozhinski. The latter, with a force of less than eight thousand Russians

and Bulgarians, defended the Pass for five days against Suleiman, who, with an army of twenty-five thousand Turks, made one murderous assault after another upon the position held by his foe. But he could not succeed in dislodging Darozhinski from the Pass.

Soon after these severe battles at Shipka, Osman Pasha, with fifty-six thousand men, was for the third time assailed by the Russians at Plevna. On the 6th of September, and for three days following, the two hundred and fifty guns of the Russian batteries poured a tremendous fire upon the redoubts commanding the town. Then followed an assault, which proved to be one of the most bloody struggles of the century. Of the sixty thousand Russians who charged the redoubts, eighteen thousand were either killed or wounded. Nor did the Turks forbear to sally forth, mangle and mutilate both the dying and the dead. Another check was thus given to the Russian invasion. At Plevna a regular siege of five months' duration was substituted for the more expensive plan of storming an impregnable position. The work of investment was intrusted to General Todleben, who for this duty was summoned from St. Petersburg. By the beginning of December, Plevna was shut in by the Russian lines. Soon afterwards Osman Pasha attempted to cut his way through the investing lines, but was driven back into the town. In the course of the autumn Suleiman Pasha made another effort to dislodge the Russians from Shipka Pass. By degrees Osman Pasha and his fine army in Plevna were reduced rather by starvation than by force, and were obliged to capitulate. The country was thus cleared between the Danube and the Balkans for the distance of about two hundred

CONSTANTINOPLE FROM SCUTARI.

SULEIMAN PASHA.

and fifty miles, and there was no longer any real obstacle in the way of a Russian advance on Constantinople.

While these movements were taking place in Europe, a great Asiatic campaign had been conducted in the country of the Caucasus by the Emperor's eldest brother, the Grand Duke Michael. The two objects of the expedition were to gain control of the coast of the Black Sea and to capture the Fortress of Batoum. The opposing army of Turks, about fifty thousand strong, was under command of Mukhtar Pasha, and was distributed at Batoum, Ardahan, Kars, and Erzeroum. In the latter part of April the Russian advance against Batoum was begun. The first division, however, was met by the Turks under Dervish Pasha, and was driven back across the border. The other three columns of Russians poured into Armenia, and concentrated against the strong fortress of Kars. After a good deal of desultory fighting during the summer, the Grand Duke Michael, with sixty-three thousand men, reached the objective point of the campaign, and on the 2d of October, the Turkish left at Kars was turned by an assault. But the success of the Russians was so slight as to be little better than a failure.

A few days after the first battle, Mukhtar Pasha contracted his lines, and the heights were occupied by the Russians. On the 15th of October the latter attacked the Turks in full force at Aladja-Dagh, carried the position, which was defended by Omar Pasha, captured one half of his army and destroyed the other half. The Russian victory was so decisive that Mukhtar, giving up all except the Fortress of Kars, retired with eighteen thousand men to Erzeroum, and there intrenched himself and awaited reïnforcements. The Russians at once began a siege of Kars. The in-

DEFENSE OF SHIPKA PASS.

vestment continued until the night of the 17th of November, when a terrible assault resulted in the capture of the fortress. So bravely did the Turks defend their position that, when the place was carried, only three hundred of them were left alive. Next followed the siege of Erzeroum, which continued during the winter, and was concluded by an armistice on the 31st of January. The Turkish garrison was permitted to march out of the fortress and embark for Constantinople. Such was the victorious conclusion of the Russian campaign in Armenia.

Meanwhile, in European Turkey, the Grand Duke Nicholas, acting against the advice of his generals, had continued active hostilities during the winter. Great were the hardships endured by the Russian soldiers in forcing their way over the mountains. Thousands were frozen and starved in the sleet and snow. On the first day of the new year the Turkish position at Araba-Konak was taken, and two days afterwards the well-provisioned town of Sofia fell into the hands of the Russians.

REPULSE OF THE GRAND ASSAULT AT PLEVNA.

From this point General Gurko advanced to Philippopolis, attacking and destroying the army of Suleiman Pasha. General Kartsof's division poured over the Balkans by way of the Trojan Pass; and General Radetski, with his army of fifty-six thousand, succeeded in issuing from Shipka Pass into the valley. On the 9th of January General Skobelef, who had

GENERAL TODLEBEN.

been obliged to abandon most of his artillery in the mountains, fell with great audacity on the Turkish army at SHENOVO, carried the place by storm, captured one division of twelve thousand, and compelled another of twice that number to capitulate. It was the most brilliant exploit of the war.

The military power of the Turks now rapidly melted away. The Russian march was at once directed against Adrianople. The defenders of that city blew up the powder magazines and fled. On the 20th of January the Russians entered, and nine days afterwards the last shot of the war was fired at Tehorlu. The conflict had resulted in the complete prostration of the Turkish power. On the 31st of January the commissioners of the Sultan signed an armistice preliminary to peace.

The conditions of the settlement were briefly these: That Bulgaria should be erected into an independent principality; that Montenegro, Roumania, and Servia should become independent; that the Turkish Government in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be reformed; that Viddin, Rustchuk, and Silistria should be surrendered; that many Turkish fortresses should be evacuated, and that a war indemnity should be paid to Russia. In February the Turkish and Russian ambassadors assembled at San Stefano; and there, on the 3d of March, a treaty was signed on the basis outlined above. It appeared for the time that the Ottoman Power was about to be crushed.

At this juncture, however, the Great Powers of Europe suddenly appeared on the scene. England took the lead in declaring that the treaty of San Stefano touched upon questions which were not only Turco-Russian but European in their nature. It was determined that the settlement imposed by the Czar on the Sultan should be reviewed by a Congress of the Powers, to be held in the city of Berlin, on the 13th of July, 1878. This assembly proved to be one of the most conspicuous of modern times. England was represented by the Earl of Beaconsfield; Austria, by Count Andrassy; the German Empire, by Prince Bismarck; Russia, by Gortchakoff and Shuvalof. Twenty sessions of the Congress were held, and the

OMAR PASHA.

provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano were thoroughly reviewed. Many amendments were adopted, some substracting from and others adding to the terms of the recent settlement. The results of the conference were of a sort to give a temporary, if not a permanent, check to the aggressive policy of Russia, and to stay up for another brief period the falling fortunes and ebbing vitality of the Sick Man of the East.

Though Russia was thus again foiled, her backset was received, not at the hands of the Turks, but at those of the allied Powers of Europe. It was again demonstrated that the Western States, particularly England, considered themselves bound to the policy of preserving the autonomy and independence of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. Noting with particularity the changes, territorial and civil, which were effected by the war, by the Treaty of San Stefano, and the Congress of Berlin, we find the principal to have been the reduction of the territories of Bulgaria and a division of that State into two parts. There was thus constituted a Bulgaria north of the Balkan Mountains, being a principality with an autonomous government. But that part of the country lying south of the Balkans was erected into a province, under the title of Eastern Roumelia, and subject to the Turkish Sultan. It was provided, however, that the Governor of Eastern Roumelia should be a Christian, either Roman or Greek, not a Mohammedan, and that the administration should be conducted as that of an independent principality.

ADRIANOPLE.

As for the rest, Austria was augmented by the addition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. By the settlement of San Stefano the boundaries of Servia and Montenegro had been considerably enlarged, as well as the boundary of Russia in Asia. But these concessions were either wholly disallowed or greatly modified by the Congress. That body indulged in the usual inexpensive advice to the Sultan with respect to his principles and methods of gov-

ernment. The Porte was directed to cede Thessaly to the Kingdom of Greece, and to institute reforms in the civil administration—to which the Porte agreed, with the usual mental reservations. England herself was enlarged by the addition of the Island of Cyprus, in return for which she pledged herself to defend Asiatic Turkey from further aggression.

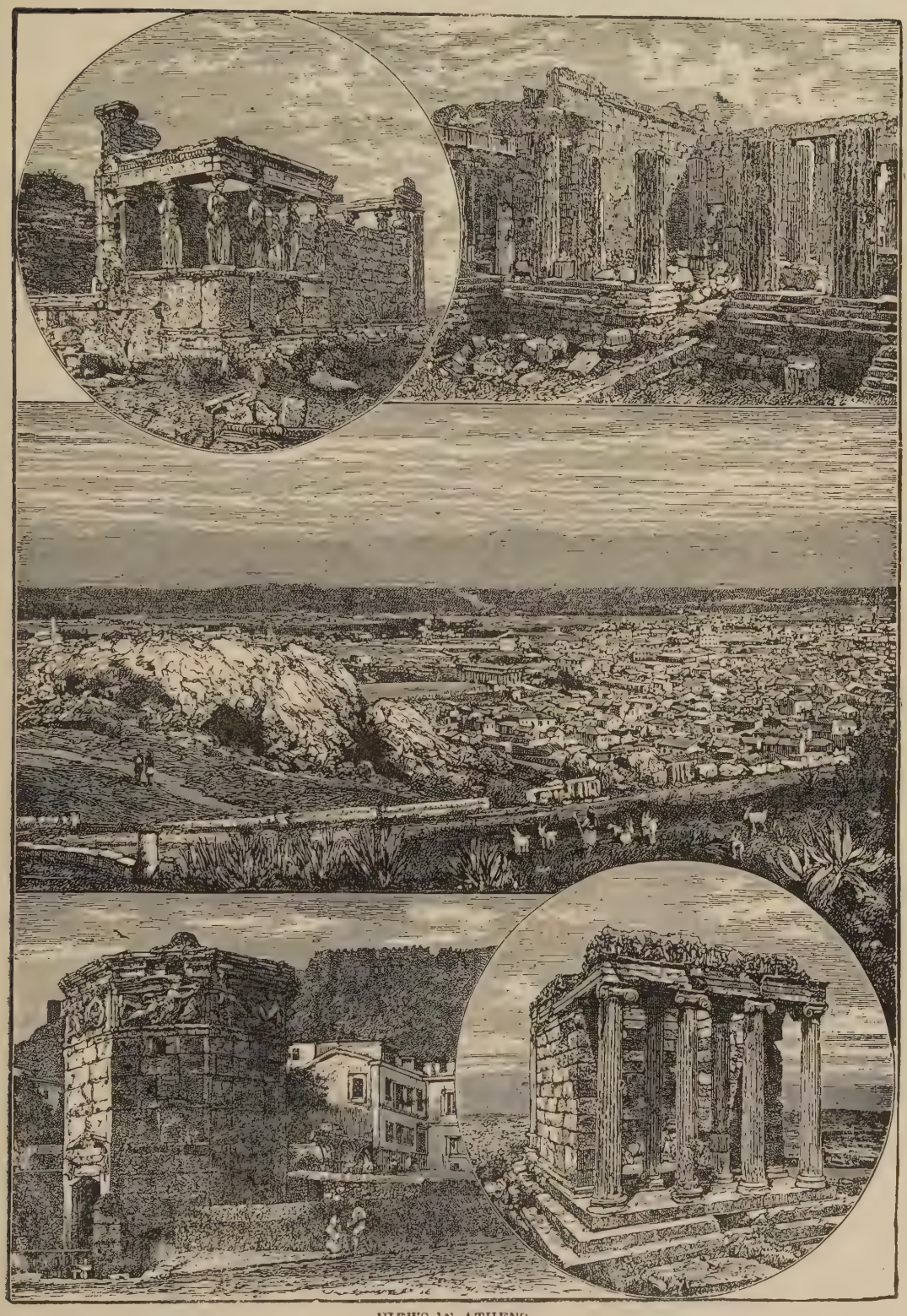
The organization of Eastern Roumelia into a separate principality was attended with difficulty. A European Commission was appointed to undertake the work, and a Constitution and administration were at length prepared.

CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878.

This part of the policy had been the favorite scheme of Great Britain, but was resisted by Turkey, and at least not favored by Austria. It was necessary that an English fleet should be sent to the East by way of a demonstration before the final cessions and concessions were made by the States immediately concerned.

With the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish war—with the settlement of the issues growing out of that conflict by the treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin—it was hoped and believed that Turkey and the Turks would emerge from their half-Oriental condition and become partners in the affairs of Europe. The English Conservative party held such hopes and beliefs, and the opinion reached as far as America. Such, however, was the condition of the Ottoman Administration as in a great measure to disappoint the cheerful expectations which were entertained of the Porte and the people of Turkey. As early as 1880 it was observed that the Sultan was bearing himself in the old fashion, even with respect to those questions which had been passed upon so recently at Berlin. When it came to the cession to Greece of Janina and Metsovo, the Porte first hesitated, and then became recusant. The cession would not be made, but instead thereof some other enlargements of Greek territory would be granted. The Greek Government at Athens, feeling assured of the backing of Great Britain and Austria, did not hesitate to threaten war in case of a refusal on the part of the Porte to follow the directions of the Congress, and thus the old difficulty was, in at least one of its features, revived.

Such complications were almost impossible of solution. True, the Western Powers might, if they chose, make war on Turkey, and thus



VIEWS IN ATHENS.

compel their dependent to fulfill her pledges and agreements. But such action would require concurrence among all the States concerned. Such was the political condition of Western Europe—such the ever-recurring jealousy of the Powers, the one of the other—that it was rarely practicable to secure the coöperation of all in so serious a matter as war. Thus Turkey went unwhipt, resuming as she would her old rôle in the affairs of the East.

We may here properly note the changes which had recently taken place in the succession. Abdul-Aziz, who had acceded to the throne in 1861, held on by a precarious tenure until 1876. During the whole of his reign, matters had gone from bad to worse. National bankruptcy had ensued. General Ignatieff, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, had worked his way into the heart of the Government, and had gained such an ascendency in the palace that he was able virtually to direct the course of events. He kept his master, the Czar, thoroughly informed of the Sick Man's condition; and the Majesty of all the Russias was left to prepare his plans at his leisure.

ABDUL-AZIZ.

In his latter years, Abdul-Aziz appears to have lost a moiety of the small wit with which nature had supplied him. Whether or not he became partly insane under the conditions which surrounded him, it is difficult to tell. Certain it is that there was a conspiracy among the Pashas which aimed as high as the Sultan's deposition, and perhaps his life. Such was the state of affairs when, on the 30th of May, 1876, Abdul-Aziz either committed suicide or was assassinated in his own apartments. The inquest conducted by the Court physicians seemed to establish the suicide, but subsequent events pointed in the direction of murder. In 1881, five years having elapsed, the question of the manner of the Sultan's death was revived, and a judicial inquiry—or at least a process called "judicial"—was instituted to determine in what manner Abdul-Aziz had been dispatched. The proceedings brought out the fact that the Pashas about the Court were jealous of each other even to death; and history is more than half disposed to record that the revival of the question of the suicide of the late Sultan was for the purpose of destroying those who might be accused of having contrived an assassination. Two subordinates, one of them a wrestler, were induced *by torture* to confess that they were the killers of Abdul-Aziz; and five others, including Midhat Pasha, Nuri Pasha, and Mahmud Pasha, were found guilty as accessories before the fact. The judgment of the world, however, was not changed by the verdict of such a Court, and the theory of suicide continued to be accepted.

No sooner was Abdul-Aziz dead than the throne was give to the imbecile Murad V., son of Abdul-Medjid and nephew of Abdul-

Aziz. The Government fell into the hands of those who had contrived the deposition of the late Sultan, but it was found impossible to carry on an administration under such auspices. After three months of an alleged reign, Murad V. gave place to his brother Abdul-Hamid II.; and it was during his ascendency that the Russo-Turkish War was fought to its disastrous conclusion.

The year 1881 furnished another example of the impotence of human contrivance as a directive force in history. The Congress of Berlin had imagined itself able to direct the course of events, including the regeneration of Turkey and her admission as an equal at the Council Board of the Western nations. We have already seen how the Turk, unable to pay and unwilling to cede, sought to wriggle out of the conditions agreed upon by the Congress. Among the stipulations of the treaty was the payment of a war indemnity of a hundred and fifty millions of dollars to Russia. But how could the bankrupt pay? The Czar, however, was so unreasonable as to insist on payment! In his distress the Sultan proposed to cede to Russia a portion of Armenia as the discharge of his obligation, and this Russia was willing to accept. But Armenia was a part of those "Asiatic dominions of Turkey" which Great Britain had agreed to defend. As the price of such agreement on her part she had received from the Sultan the Isle of Cyprus. If, therefore, she should consent that Turkey might discharge her war-debt by ceding a portion of Armenia, it would imply the re-surrender by her of Cyprus to the Porte. On the other hand, should she not consent, Russia would insist on the payment of the indemnity, which Turkey could by no means make. Thus it was that Great Britain found herself, after all her pride of accomplishment at Berlin, suddenly pressed between the mountain and the deep sea. Unfortunately, moreover, the tide was rising! For the Liberal party came into power, and the so-called Jingoes, who had believed in the regeneration of Turkey by the Congress of Berlin, sat mourning their losses.

An incident of Turkish history belonging to 1882 may serve to show the hopeless condition of the Ottoman Power in Europe. We have already seen with what vehemence Arabi Pasha supported the cause of Egypt—of native Egypt—at this epoch. We have seen him in successful rebellion against the Khedive. At length it became the question with the Turkish Government how to deal with the great rebel of the Egyptians. From the Sultan's point of view, Arabi must appear as the most loyal rebel and the most disloyal patriot ever known. Now that he was down, what must be done with him? The Sultan instituted a court to try the cause. The law of Turkey, if law it may be called, is wholly deduced from the Koran. By that Book of the Prophet all judicial and juridical principles are tried and determined. Another peculiarity is the fact that such a thing as precedent—so potent an element in all legal proceedings among the Western peoples—is unknown in the Turkish Court. Every cause is tried as though it were the first issue which has arisen since the days of the Prophet.

It was under such conditions that the court was constituted for the trial of Arabi; and these are the questions which the Sultan submitted to the tribunal:

1. O jurists, is Arabi Pasha, in so far as he has disobeyed the Caliph, a rebel, and may he be unceremoniously treated as such?

2. But in so far as Arabi has been a defender of a Mohammedan country against the aggressive designs of Christians, has he merely fulfilled the duties of a good Mussulman?

3. May the Sultan punish Arabi—if some act of rebellion is proved against him—and at the same time dissociate himself from those who wish to crush Arabi Pasha as the defender of Islam?

As a matter of course, the court so constituted could but answer in accordance with the Sultan's wishes; namely, that Arabi might be punished somewhat as a rebel, but as a defender of the faith not at all. The difficulty of dividing Arabi into two persons, one of whom might be castigated for rebellion, while the other went unwhipt for patriotism, seems not to have occurred to either the Sultan or his court!

It was at the time which we are here considering, particularly in the years 1882–83, that a peculiar sentiment was created between Turkey and the United States. On the accession of Garfield to the Presidency, in 1881, he appointed, as Minister to Turkey, General

Lew Wallace, who went to the duties of his office at Constantinople with the unusual understanding that his trust was of some significance and importance to the Government which had sent him forth as its representative. He accordingly applied himself assiduously to the questions arising out of the situation. He informed himself relatively to the condition of affairs in Turkey and the possibility of establishing valuable connections between that country and his own. It was not long until he succeeded in gaining a footing with the Sultan which no other ambassador, not even Lord Dufferin, had obtained. General Wallace secured the confidence of the Porte, was taken into the counsels of the Government, was sought in many important instances as an adviser, and was not far from reaching such an ascendency in the country to which he was accredited as Anson Burlingame had already attained, fifteen years previously, with Prince Kung at the court of China. Though he was thus enabled to bring about the highest amity between Turkey and the United States, and to introduce some salutary reforms, particularly in the matter of education, it could but be that much of his own purpose was delayed or wholly disappointed. The conditions present in the Ottoman Government made it impracticable to do more than to secure as high a state of good feeling and mutual interest as might be reached between a Mohammedan and a Christian country.

It was in April of 1883 that the consent of the Sublime Porte was finally obtained for the building, under the auspices of Austria, of certain railways reaching into Servia. The question was whether the city of Vranya, at the southern extremity of Servia, might be made the point of junction for the Servian railway and the branch line extending from Salonica on the Ægean. The Servian line reached from Belgrade to Vranya. In establishing the connection growing out of this enterprise, strong objections were urged by Turkey against the project of Austria-Hungary. It was believed by the Turkish Government that the railway lines in contemplation would tend greatly to weaken her in a strategic sense on the side of Servia, and it was only after much negotiation and urging that the Porte at length accepted the inevitable and agreed to the construction of the proposed railways. By means of these, large districts of country within the Danube, not hitherto penetrated, were opened to the world.

During the years 1884–85 it was manifest that Turkey was lapsing gradually into that state of un-European conduct and general imbecility, out of which so many and so strenuous efforts to raise her had been made. The disposition was everywhere apparent among her provincial dependencies to renounce their allegiance and become independent. This was particularly true of the western parts of Turkey in Europe. We have seen how the principality of Eastern Roumelia was constituted. In the meantime, Bulgaria had become virtually independent. As early as 1859 the Bulgarians had refused to pay their dues to the Primate of Constantinople, and had expelled the Greek Bishops from the country. A party arose favorable to a religious union with Rome, but the measure came to naught. In 1872 the Roman Catholics of Bulgaria had been reduced to a handful. Ten years before this date, Prince Gortchakoff had invited the Western Powers to join Russia in a project for the liberation of the Bulgarian Christians. In 1865, although the Porte had consented to the institution of several important reforms, Bulgaria was made into a *vilayet*, or principality, and the Sultan was obliged to issue a firman, granting a separate administration and equal religious rights to the Greek Catholics.

It was not long, however, until the latter were excommunicated by the Synod of Constantinople, being thus excluded from the general fellowship of Christians, both Greek and Roman. This condition of isolation continued for nearly ten years, when Prince Alexander of Battenberg was raised to the Bulgarian throne. Hardly had this been accomplished when a popular movement occurred in favor of the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia in a single State. The revolution by which this was effected was displeasing in the highest degree to the Czar, who, finding himself unable to prevent the consolidation of the principalities, favored the defeat of the project by other means. The Sultan for his part offered no resistance to the proposed union, and things for the time took their natural course. It was not long, however, until an

extraordinary event occurred, which threatened to bring the great Powers into conflict. A conspiracy was formed, as was alleged, under the influence of Russia, by which Prince Alexander was kidnaped—forcibly abducted—and compelled to abdicate the throne. The question was, whether Russia should be thus permitted, indirectly, to undo a Government which the people of the two principalities had accepted, and to which there was no objection on the part of the other Powers, including Turkey.

The hiatus in Bulgarian affairs was soon ended by the restoration of Alexander. Russia was not willing to precipitate a general war for the sake of keeping that prince from the position to which he had been raised by the virtual accord of the two peoples. Alexander himself was not without ambition to become a king in a larger sense than might well be admitted while both Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia remained tributary to the Porte. So weak had the latter Power now become that the tribute could not be collected from Bulgaria, while that from Roumelia was irregularly gathered by the Sultan's officers in the midst of much discontent. So long, however, as even the theoretical dependence of the two States upon the Ottoman Empire was held, the Western Powers were obliged, by their agreements, to maintain the status which had existed before the Turco-Russian War.

SULTAN'S PALACE AND THE BOSPHORUS.

During the whole of 1885, and the greater part of 1886, Eastern Europe was under the threat and menace of war. The countries of that distracted region regarded Bulgaria as having enlarged herself by the addition of Eastern Roumelia. It was believed that Prince Alexander was on the high road to a kingly crown. The other States would hereupon do likewise. Each would aggrandize itself by an

addition of territory. Servia at once set up the claim that Old Servia had included a part of Bulgaria, and that the latter Power must now surrender as much as had belonged to the ancient dominion of the Servian princes. To this Bulgaria was in no mood to accede. King George, of Greece, looked to the North, and coveted Macedonia as his portion of the spoils. The armies of the different principalities were organized, and at several crises were about to be thrown upon each other in battle. It was evident to the Western Powers that the moment such a conflict should break out, Russia—seeing herself freed from the compact of Berlin by the natural disruption of that settlement—would throw herself upon Constantinople, scarcely giving the Turk time enough to get himself into Asia. It was believed, moreover, that the greater German Powers, Austria and Prussia, were half indifferent to the fate of the Turkish Empire. Nevertheless, the Powers determined to uphold for a while longer the existing order. A new conference was held on the "Balkan Question" at Constantinople, and the principles of settlement agreed to seven years previously were reäffirmed. As to the union of Bulgaria and Roumelia, it was conceded that the same should extend no further than a common executive administration under Prince Alexander. Otherwise the two States were to remain as heretofore, independent principalities.

The situation just described was, in a measure, that which has been maintained in Eastern Europe to the present day. The struggles which have taken place since the beginning of the sixth decade have resulted, in general, in the weakening and contraction of the Ottoman Power to the narrowest limit consistent with its further perpetuation in Europe. Russia, on the whole, has gained again and again, though the increments of her power have not been coëxtensive with her ambitions. The Kingdom of Greece, under Otho and George I., has become well established; but the expected revival of the Greek peoples from the lethargy of ages, and the hoped-for reässertion of their claim to a place among the most intellectual of the races have not occurred. The bonds between the Christian principalities of Turkey and herself have been gradually loosed, or so greatly attenuated that they may be henceforth disregarded in estimating the political and historical condition of the countries within the Danube. While these processes have been going on, the tendency and ambition for independence have been correspondingly intensified. The prospect would indicate at no distant day the complete disruption of the Ottoman Empire, and the institution of several petty kingdoms on its ruins, until what time the latter shall be mutually absorbed by Russia and Germany. These two great Powers are the upper and nether millstones between which the Mussulman dominion in Europe, with its various dependencies, is likely to be pressed and ground into political nonenity at no distant day.

Reference to Smaller Counties in Ontario or Upper Canada.

1 Essex
2 Bothwell
3 Lambtonx
4 Middlesex
5 Elgin
6 Norfolk
7 Oxford
8 Perth
9 Waterloo
10 Brant
11 Haldimand
12 Welland
13 Monck
14 Wentworth
15 Halton
16 Peel
17 Cardwell
18 Durham
19 Northumberl'd
20 Pr. Edward
21 Lennox
22 Frontenac
23 Grenville
24 Dundas
25 Russell
26 Stormont
27 Prescott
28 Glengary

Reference to Smaller Counties in Quebec or Lower Canada.

1 Argenteuil
2 Two Mountains
3 Terrebonne
4 L'Assomption
5 Vaudreuil
6 Soulange
7 Huntingdon
8 Beauharnois
9 Chateauguay
10 Napierville
11 La Prarie
12 Chambly
13 Verchores
14 Richelieu
15 St. Hyacinthe
16 Roueville
17 Iberville
18 St. John
19 Missisquoi
20 Brome
21 Shefford
22 Bagot
23 Drummond
24 Yamaska
25 Nicolet
26 Arthabasca
27 Wolfe
28 Richmond
29 Sherbrooke
30 Stanstead
31 Compton
32 Beauce
33 Megantic
34 Lotbiniere
35 Levi
36 Dorchester
37 Bellechasse
38 Montmagny
39 St. Maurice
40 Maskionge
41 Berthier
42 Jolliette

NEWFOUNDLAND
on a reduced Scale
English Miles
0 40 80
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
PRINCE EDWARD IS.
CAPE BRETON ISLAND
NEW BRUNSWICK
NOVA SCOTIA
MAINE
UNITED STATES
Seigniory
Mingan
West End
ANTICOSTI
Table Hd.
East Pt.
C.Gaspe
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
C.St.George
St.Georges B.
C.Ray
C.St.Lawrence
C.North
C.Canso
Sable I.
Bay of Fundy
Halifax
Yarmouth
Digby
Annapolis
Windsor
Truro
Pictou
Charlottetown
Summerside
Georgetown
Port Hood
Sydney
Louisburg
Arichat
Liverpool
Lunenburg
Shelburne
Yarmouth
Portland
Portsmouth
Bangor
Boston
C.Cod
Nantucket I.
Marthas Vineyard
C.Ann
Penobscot Bay
Grand Falls
Woodstock
Fredericton
St.John
St.Andrews
Moncton
Shediac
Chatham
Newcastle
Bathurst
Dalhousie
Campbellton
Gaspe Bay
Perce
Bonaventure I.
Carleton Pt.
Cormorant Pt.
Heath Pt.Lt.Ho.
Bradleys Sts.
Mal Bay
Miscou I.
Shippigan I.
Tignish
Cascumpec B.
Princetown
Georgetown
Souris
Three Rivers
Pictou
Antigonish
Guysborough
Tor B.
Country Hr.
Sheet Har.
Jeddore
Musquodoboit
Sherbrooke
Mahone B.
Margarets B.
Lunenburg
Port Medway
Port Mouton
Jones Har.
Shelburne Har.
Abuptic Har.
Seal I.Lt.Ho.
C.Sable
Digby Gut
Annapolis
Gaspereau
Cornwallis
Kentville
Windsor
Truro
Pictou
Wallace
Tatamagouche
Shulie
Amherst
Sackville
Dorchester
Hopewell
Albert
Chepody
Petitcodiac
Moncton
Shediac
Buctouche
Richibucto
Kouchibouguac
Miramichi R.
Nepisiguit R.
Bathurst
Caraquette
Chaleur Bay
Dalhousie
Campbellton
Restigouche R.
Metapedia R.
Matapedia L.
Cabot

Book Twenty-Seventh.

MINOR AMERICAN STATES.

CHAPTER CLII.—DOMINION OF CANADA.

RETURNING from this extended survey of the nations of Europe, we may now continue the narrative of events within our century by considering the historical development of the MINOR STATES OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA. It will be conceded that the one great Power of the New World is the United States, and that the rest are, either by recency of origin or slowness of evolution, of less importance in the view of general history than are our own country and people. Nevertheless, on both the north and the south, the processes of nationality are going on in some parts with marked activity. The DOMINION OF CANADA, stretching geographically from the Atlantic to the Pacific, bounded northward by the frozen seas, and on the south by the territorial limit of the United States, may well be the first to fix our attention and command our interest.

The name Canada, as here employed, is intended to include not only the country between the watershed west of Lake Superior and the limit of Labrador, but also the British Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland on the east; and the tremendous region of the Northwest—Manitoba, Kewatin, the Northwest Territory, British Columbia, and the whole vast region to the boundary-line of Alaska, running north and south for six hundred miles along the one hundred and forty-first meridian west from Greenwich. Such is the territorial greatness of the Canada of to-day. The country embraces a total area of about three million five hundred thousand square miles, nearly one-half of which was regained by the Government of Great Britain from the Company of Hudson Bay. Without entering again into the discussion of the physical character and resources of Canada, but assuming, rather, that such geographical knowledge is already in possession of the reader, we may properly enter at once upon the civil and political development of the great and growing people on our north.

The story of the early explorations and settlements made at the first by the French Jesuits in Canada has already been given in a former Book. The earliest type of society established beyond the St. Lawrence was modeled

after that Feudal System with which the founders were acquainted from their European antecedents. We have already seen how, in New Amsterdam, and before New Amsterdam in Virginia, attempts were made by the primitive American fathers to set up Feudalism in the New World. Signal was the failure in all those parts included within the present limits of the United States. Nor was the success of the experiment much greater in the North. Before the middle of the seventeenth century an Order of Nobility, so-called, was planted on the banks of the St. Lawrence. But the grand seigneurs who flourished in that region had nothing but their swords and unpeopled tracts of land to indicate their social elevation above the rest of mankind.

The early nobles of Canada, however, were not so absolute in their rights and prerogatives as were those of Europe. As time went by, the unsuitableness of the system to the social conditions of the New World became more and more apparent, and the Northern feudalism, like the similar absurd societies attempted in Virginia and Carolina, fell into desuetude. The shadow of the Canadian Feudal System remained until the middle of the present century when, in 1854, it was formally abolished by the Legislature. The seigneurs, however, received an equitable compensation for the alleged rights which they had inherited from their fathers.

The civil and military history of New France down to the year 1867 is contained in the annals of the two provinces of Ontario and Quebec. It will be recalled that, in 1629, these countries of the St. Lawrence, which until then had been the possessions of France, were for a brief period secured by England. The French had never regarded their colonies as of much importance, and at the time of the first English conquest it was seriously debated in the council of Louis XIII. whether Canada should be again accepted or be left as a burden in the hands of its conquerors. It was decided to retain the province, and by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1632, the country was re-ceded to France.

The next important event in the history of the country of the St. Lawrence was the great and disastrous earthquake of 1663. The shocks began on the 5th of February, in that year, and continued until the close of summer. They are represented as having been the most severe ever experienced in the New World, at least within the historic period. The whole face of the country—such is the record of tradition—was changed by the cataclysm. Mountains sank down to the plain. Rivers disappeared, and other streams were altered in appearance. The waters took new colors, and lakes were formed in various districts. Even the course of the St. Lawrence was changed by the precipitation of two mountains, near Three Rivers. Doubtless the traditional accounts of the disaster have been exaggerated; for the loss of life is represented as having been but trifling.

In the civil administration of these early days the French governors were the military commanders as well as the chief executives of the province. The division of Canada in the latter half of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century was threefold. The principal province was Quebec, having for its capital the city of the same name. The second was called Three Rivers, and the third Montreal. Each had its own provincial governor and local administration. The religion of the country was Catholic, and the Jesuits continued to exercise a dominant influence in the direction of affairs.

In the course of time Quebec gained a kind of supremacy over the other two colonies, and the French king established the Supreme Council of Quebec as a kind of court of final appeal for all the districts of Canada. By this Council all the royal edicts, ordinances, declarations, and letters patent issued by the king and the Parliament of France were registered and enforced. The Council was composed of the Governor, the Bishop of Quebec, five associate judges, and the king's attorney. Though the seat of the court was generally at Quebec, its sittings were sometimes held at Three Rivers, Montreal, and even less important towns. It was not long under this system of administration until a conflict occurred between the ecclesiastical and the secular branch of the government, and in some instances the Bishop proved to be sufficiently powerful to effect the deposition of the Governor.

The story of the Anglo-American invasion of Canada by Sir William Phipps, in 1690,

has already been given in the colonial history of New England. Suffice it to say that the expedition, which was specially directed against Quebec, ended in failure and disgrace. Massachusetts was obliged to meet the expenses of the ill-omened business by an issuance of paper scrip to be used as money.

To this epoch belongs the career of the great La Salle. How that adventurous explorer, with a few dauntless comrades, traversed the wooded and watery solitudes of the Northwest, solved the problem of the Mississippi, made vast plans for colonization, drew the attention of France to the possibility of an empire in Texas, and was killed while following out his purposes with tireless energy,—has already been told in a former Book. It was really the day of promise for the French in the New World; but the paralysis of Bourbonism was already upon the nation, and the English were left to gain an easy mastery in America.

In April of 1713, Louis XIV. agreed by the Treaty of Utrecht to relinquish to England Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia, together with any claims which the French might hold on the country of the Five Nations south of the St. Lawrence. By this compact the American possessions of France were restricted to the valleys of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi. It was the peculiarity of this settlement that the real points of danger of future conflicts between the rival nations in the New World were left unguarded. There was little or no attempt to define the respective American possessions of England and France. What was the valley of the St. Lawrence? What was the valley of the Mississippi? These were the questions which were left to be determined by the French and Indian War.

The causes and the course of that conflict and the final issue of the struggle have been fully narrated in the preceding pages. It is not needed in this connection to repeat the history of the struggle, which, from 1756 to 1763, made havoc among the outposts of civilization in America, and was only brought to a tardy conclusion by the Treaty of Paris. In accordance with this settlement, which proved the ruin of the French in America, the English gained an undisputed territorial supremacy on the Western Continent. All the French possessions in North America eastward of the Mississippi from its source to the river Iberville, and thence through Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the Gulf of Mexico, were surrendered to Great Britain. At the same time, Spain, with whom England had been at war, ceded East and West Florida to the English Crown.

From this time forth until the outbreak of the American War of Independence, Canada had a history in common with the other English Colonies in the New World. With the coming of the Revolution, however, the destiny of the country of the St. Lawrence began to diverge widely from that of the colonies lying to the south. The latter, owing to their antecedents, became more and more hostile to the assumptions of the British crown; but the former, untouched with the spirit of Puritanism, remained loyal to England. All of the seductive and patriotic appeals, made by the incipient revolutionists of rebellious Massachusetts, availed not with the people of Canada to induce them to join in the revolt against the Mother Country. Nor did the efforts of the American patriots—a stormy work in which Arnold displayed his heroism and Montgomery lost his life—avail to move the Canadians from their steady allegiance to the English crown. As a result the Thirteen Colonies became American, and Canada remained English as before.

The transfer of the Northern Provinces, in 1763, had not essentially changed the character of the population. Most of the people still were French. They spoke the French language and adhered to the Catholic religion. From these conditions it would have been anticipated that, in case of a war with England, Canada would readily join in the rebellion. But the memory of the French and Indian War, in which the American provincials had joined with Wolfe's regulars in the invasion of Canada and the capture of her capital, was still fresh in the minds of the Northerners, and they would not affiliate with the rebel patriots of 1776.

Just before the outbreak of the Revolution, namely, in 1774, the English Parliament passed an act for the better government of Canada. It was provided that the Province

of Quebec should hereafter be under the legislative direction of a royal council of not fewer than seventeen or more than twenty-three members, to be appointed by the King. At the same time it was provided that the benefits of English law more perfectly than hitherto should be extended to the Canadians.

It appears that these salutary provisions for a better government than the people had previously enjoyed added to the spirit of loyalty which they soon afterwards displayed. In the progress of the American war, Canada not only remained true to her allegiance, but furnished an excellent basis of operations for British movements against America. It was on the St. Lawrence that the formidable expedition of Burgoyne was organized, in 1777; and from that position he bore down on the patriots until he was swallowed up by their ire at Saratoga.

The constitutional provisions made by Parliament for the government of Canada continued in force for seventeen years. In 1791, however, a change of policy was adopted, and another Parliamentary Act was passed by which the so-called Province of Quebec was divided into Upper and Lower Canada. A great concession was at the same time made to free government by the formation of a popular Assembly for each of the provinces. The upper branch of the Legislature was to consist of a Council to be appointed by the crown. The Governor also received his appointment in like manner. The latter officer had the power of veto over legislative acts, or might at any rate suspend such acts until what time the pleasure of the King should be known.

With the progress of events the Church of England had gained a firmer foothold, and the new Constitution of 1791 provided that one-seventh of the public lands should be put aside for the support of the Episcopal clergy. Almost three and a half million acres were thus set apart for the endowment of the Church. But this theory of ecclesiastical support was never fully carried out. Only a small per cent of the lands were devoted to the intended purpose. A few rectories were built and parishes laid out after the manner of England; but the Church would not flourish, and in 1854 an Act was passed by the Canadian Assembly whereby all the remaining church lands were reclaimed by the Government, and devoted to secular purposes.

The growth of British North America was not equal to the progress and development of the United States. At the close of the first quarter of the present century the population of the various provinces had hardly reached the aggregate of a million. Nevertheless, these Northern countries had held steadily on their way, and the time was now approaching when they were to acquire a greater historical prominence. That part of the country called Canada had thus far been detached in its political, industrial, and commercial relations from the maritime provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The only access of the inland country to the ocean and the world beyond was by way of the St. Lawrence; and that stream for fully five months in the year was closed to commerce. It thus happened that Canada proper was isolated and to a certain extent dependent for commercial and other intercourse on the United States.

After our War of 1812 relations of amity were soon restored on the north, and many connections were formed of friendship and interest across the border. Of the serious domestic disturbances occurring in 1837, some account has already been given in the proper place in the history of our own country. We have seen how for a while a general rebellion in Canada was threatened against the British Government; how the insurgents fortified themselves on Navy Island in Niagara River, and could not for a while be dislodged by the loyalist militia. The latter succeeded, however, in obtaining possession of the *Caroline*, the supply-ship of the rebels, set the vessel on fire, and sent her aflame over Niagara Falls, a spectacle to men. The event proved that the expectancy of the insurgents to gain a powerful support from the people of the United States was fallacious, and the movement soon collapsed. But we have not in the preceding narrative considered with any degree of fullness the circumstances which led to the revolt or the real nature of the contest.

It must be understood, in the first place, that great diversity still existed as to race, institutions, and language among the peoples of the British American provinces. Lower Canada, so-called, was filled up with people of

French descent. They preserved the manners and customs of their ancestors in a remarkable degree. The shocks to which Europe had been subjected at the close of the last century had little disturbed the society of the French Canadian countries. Indeed, had the traveler as late as the middle of the present century desired to find the best existing pictures of French Society under the Ancient Régime, he must have sought the same on the banks of the Lower St. Lawrence. In Upper Canada a very different social and political condition existed. In this province the people were of English descent, and had been developed on the same general lines with those of the approximate parts of the United States. The government of the province had all the time to be conducted with respect to these diverse conditions.

NIAGARA FALLS.

Before the close of the last century, namely, in 1791, it had been found desirable to separate Upper from Lower Canada, and to give to each State a separate government. At that time it was expected that the eastern province would continue to be French, while the other was to become wholly English. When this was done, two circumstances of importance were soon developed. The first was the multiplication of ties between the people of Upper Canada and those of the United States, and the second was the political difficulties which appeared internally in the Lower Province. In that country constant quarrels occurred between that part of the Government which received its appointment from the Crown and the popular element in the Legislative Assembly. In general, the former element desired to rule with an eye single to the supposed interests of the Mother Country, while the latter party sought, after the manner of Englishmen, to promote the local interests of the province, not much caring for the sovereign rule across the sea.

Such was the origin of that revolutionary tendency which broke out, in 1837, into open rebellion. At this time the Governor of Upper Canada was Sir Francis Head, whose method of dealing with insurrection was peculiar in the last degree. Instead of calling to his assistance the regular forces under his command, he deliberately sent them to the assistance of the authorities of Lower Canada, and publicly announced to the rebels that he intended to put them down by calling out the militia. This thing he accordingly did. The rebellion was inconsiderable from every point

of view, and the Governor easily succeeded in its suppression. For a while there was jubilation among the Loyalists, both in Canada and in England, but it soon came to be seen that Sir Francis, in his Quixotical and magniloquent method of dealing with the insurrection, had run what might have been a most serious risk. If the insurgents had been backed, as they fondly hoped, by the people of the Northern United States, the Governor would undoubt-

EARL OF DURHAM.

edly have been swept off his feet by the wave, and by the time he might have recovered himself the province would have been included in the American Republic! For this reason Sir Francis Head was recalled, and Lord Durham was sent out to succeed him.

The latter took with him to his Government in America Charles Buller and Edward Gibbon Wakefield as his assistants—both men of large abilities and practical common sense. On his arrival in Quebec, in May of 1838, Lord Durham sent forth a proclamation, in which he virtually assumed the office of Dictator, but at the same time *invited the colonists to assist him in establishing a new system of government.* Such was the radical character of his proceedings that opposition, both at home and abroad, sprang full-armed from the ground. The Governor published a series of ordinances, including an amnesty for political offenses. A few, however, were excepted from clemency, and transported to the Bermudas. Others were put under penalty of death in certain contingencies of disloyalty. He went on, with a high hand and an outstretched arm. Having cleared the field of those who were politically dangerous, he proceeded, without regard to law or Constitution, to institute salutary reforms. It appeared for the nonce that Lord Durham was about to become a greater revolutionist than any personage, loyal or disloyal, hitherto known in the Canadas. The Governor's integrity could not be assailed, but his methods were so arbitrary and so profoundly disturbing to the whole existing order in British North America, that the London *Times* conferred on nim the title of "Lord High Seditioner."

The great departure from established precedents, whereof Lord Durham had been guilty, was his constant solicitation to the people of the provinces to aid him in building up a fabric of British North American nationality. While himself dictatorial and arbitrary in unmeasured measure, he sought all the while to arouse and economize the political spirit and instincts of the Canadians, and in this

work he was successful. Meanwhile, however, he was recalled. The Opposition in Parliament became so clamorous that Lord Durham was about to suffer political decapitation; but he seized the emergency by the forelock, and suddenly turned it aside by returning to England and abandoning his office.

But the sequel soon began to show in his favor. A report on the whole condition of Canadian affairs, prepared under Lord Durham's direction, by his assistants Buller and Wakefield, was given to the public, and with that report the nationality of the Canadas may be said to have begun. The people of Great Britain had thrust upon them the demonstration of their own ignorance and mistaken policies relative to the condition, prospects, and management of the North American provinces. Though Lord Durham himself went down under the political storm, and presently died in the Isle of Wight, he lived to see an Act going through Parliament for the reunion of Upper and Lower Canada on the exact basis suggested by himself. Indeed, from that time forth, namely, from the year 1840, the whole progressive development of the Canadian dominions has been on the lines indicated by the stormy and rash reformer, whom the British Government sent out for the rule of its American colonies in 1838.

While the reforms suggested by Durham began to take root in the British Government, the movement in the same direction took its own natural course in Canada. As a general fact, the administration of Great Britain had been wise enough to learn the true lesson from such disturbances as those which occurred on the Canadian border in 1837. The slow-going and conservative political intelligence of England profits much by each fierce ordeal and agitation to which it is subjected, and after each shock it arises to a clearer apprehension of the rights of man. The Canadian revolt led, in 1841, to a peaceful revolution in the local administration of the province, by which the Council, or Upper House of the Legislature, was virtually subordinated to the popular Assembly. The movement was so important as to have been with good reason likened to the English Revolution of 1688. From this time forth the Government of the Canadas became, in large measure, directly responsible to the people.

The fifth decade in Canadian history was a sort of intermediate period or middle ages, in which there were few important events. The administration of Lord Elgin, however, was noted for the successful negotiation of a treaty of reciprocity between British America and the United States. The Earl of Elgin became Governor-General of the Province in 1846, and contributed much by his abilities and experience as a statesman to the progress of Canada in her civil and political affairs. By the terms of the treaty, to which we have referred, it was agreed that the Canadians should have free competition in the American market with the products of the United States.

While the disposition was shown to punish those who had engaged in the recent insurrection, the rigors of the Administration were soon relaxed, and in 1849 an act of general amnesty was passed by the Assembly. The same year witnessed a serious riot in Montreal, which, by the Act of Union of 1840, had become the joint capital of Upper and Lower Canada. It had been proposed—indeed a measure was now pending to this effect—that the losses which certain loyal parties had suffered in the revolt of 1837–38, should be compensated out of the public treasury. Angered at this proceeding, a great mob rose in arms, and attacked and destroyed the Parliament House in Montreal. The Legislature retired from the city, and for a while the sessions of the body were held for alternate quadrenniums at Toronto and Quebec. It became a serious question what place should be chosen for the

LORD ELGIN.

permanent seat of government. Many important cities—among them Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, and Toronto—claimed the distinction. As frequently happens in such cases, it was found expedient to compromise by the choice of some other place than any of those so eagerly competitive. In 1858 the whole question was referred to the Queen, who selected Ottawa as the capital. The name of this city had, until 1854, been Bytown, a place of inconsiderable importance, but now found to be in every respect desirable for the new seat of government. The years between 1858 and 1865—at which date the first session of Parliament was opened in Ottawa—were occupied with the preparation of the new capital. Fine public buildings, equal in expensiveness and architectural taste to most of the similar structures in Europe, were there erected, and have since continued to be used as the seat of general administration, first, for the United Canadas, and afterwards for the new Confederated Dominion.

The success of the experiment of the union of Upper and Lower Canada soon suggested the larger enterprise of the confederation of all the Northern Provinces. The movement in this direction, upon an account of which we are now to enter, was a part of that general tendency peculiar to the mood of our century, which seems to require the formation of large imperial consolidated States out of the smaller independencies and local political structures of the past. We have already had occasion to comment on this tendency as illustrated among the great Powers of Europe. We have seen how the disrupted Italian principalities have become United Italy, and how the petty German States, unnamable and numberless, have, by the processes of war and revolution, been molded into the Empire. We have seen how, in our own country, the somewhat indeterminate *Staatenbund* which we inherited from our fathers has become the *Bundestaat*, or Integral Union of imperial proportions. We are now about to witness the very same transformation taking place in the British American Provinces on our northern border.

The sentiment of union was a growth. As early as 1810 a formal scheme for the consolidation of the provinces was put forward and discussed among the people of the North. Four years afterwards Chief Justice Sewell, of Quebec, became an advocate of provincial confederation, and to this end drew up and sent to the Duke of Kent, father of Victoria, an elaborate scheme of union. In 1827 the question was agitated for the first time in the Assembly of Upper Canada, at which time the project for the union, first of all of the two Canadas, and afterwards, more widely, of all the provinces, was debated with spirit. The issue reäppeared in the troublous times of the rebellion of 1837, and it is not improbable that Lord Durham found in the existence of such a sentiment, both the suggestion and the reason of his administrative policy.

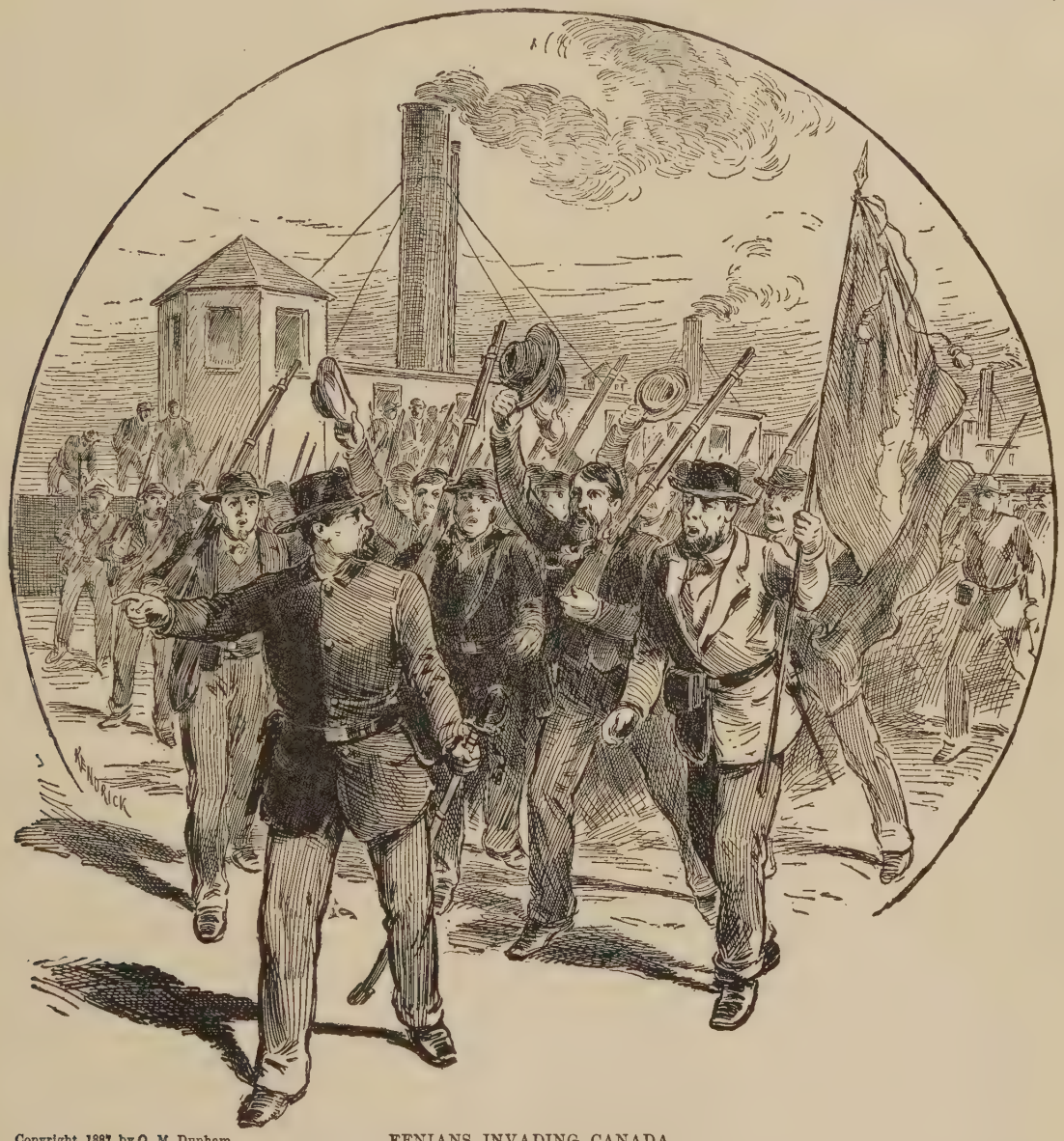
As usual in such cases, the movement for confederation proceeded slowly, cautiously, tentatively. We have already seen how, within two years after Lord Durham's withdrawal, the actual work began by the union of the two principal States under the name of the Province of Canada. Now it was that the capital was fixed at Ottawa. Upper Canada became Ontario, and Lower Canada the Province of Quebec. The success of the movement justified it, and suggested the improvement and the expansion of the system. For several years the project of a more elaborate union was in gestation. Such intervals are peculiar to the history of all the English-speaking peoples. They accomplish somewhat, and then rest for a season, as if to watch the results of the experiment, to test and verify the slight advance before moving forward to the larger enterprise.

To this period belongs the event of the Fenian invasion. Of that movement a full account has already been given in the history of Great Britain. It was in 1866 that the proposed conquest of Canada by an Irish army out of the United States reached its climax and broke at length into—smoke. It can not be doubted that the American Fenians were in great force. Their drill-halls had been established in almost every city and town of the Northern States. They had a fair supply of arms, and the animosity of the insurgents was sufficient for the undertaking. Viewed philosophically, we might say that the movement was doomed to failure by the fact that Irish zeal generally reaches the heat of fight, but not the fire of battle. The Irish, under

competent leadership, make great soldiers, but as a rule, their insurrections have about them the suggestion of clubs and pitchforks rather than swords and cannon. In the present case, the Fenian forces at last gathered on the Niagara frontier. A company of the most daring

tory as a base of operations against Canada, while the Canadians themselves rallied against the point assailed, and the invaders were scattered or taken, condemned and shot.

It remained for the year 1867 to witness the evolution into the historical foreground of



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FENIANS INVADING CANADA.

crossed the river on the night of the 31st of May, 1866. The "invasion" was fairly begun; Fort Erie was taken by the adventurers, who held their ground for a day, when they were obliged to recede. The vigorous action of the Government of the United States made it impossible for the Fenians to use our territory as a base of operations against Canada, while the Canadians themselves rallied against the point assailed, and the invaders were scattered or taken, condemned and shot.

It remained for the year 1867 to witness the evolution into the historical foreground of the Dominion of Canada, being a Confederative system of Imperial government on an enlarged scale for the whole of the British American countries. The question had in the mean time received much attention in the Parliament of Great Britain. The scheme was brought to maturity in a bill prepared by

Lord Carnarvon, Secretary for the Colonies, for the Confederation of the North American Provinces of the British Empire. The measure was the virtual embodiment of the plan proposed by Lord Durham nineteen years previously. In the interim public opinion had changed. The author and first great promoter of the work was long since dead, but the statesmen of England had come at length to occupy his ground and advocate his principles of government.

The act of 1867 provided that the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, along with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, should be united in a confederated government, under the name of the Dominion of Canada. There was to be in the new system, first of all, a Federal Parliament corresponding to the English Parliament, or, still more closely, to the American Congress. The new Canadian governing body was to consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The former body was to be composed of seventy-two members, with life-tenure of office—twenty-four members from Quebec and Ontario respectively, and twelve each from the two maritime provinces—to be nominated by the Governor-General, under the great seal of Canada. The House of Commons was, in its constitution and prerogatives and methods, to correspond almost exactly with our American House of Representatives. The members of the Canadian House—one hundred and eighty-one in number—were to be elected by the people of the respective provinces on the basis of one member for every seventeen thousand of the inhabitants. In one respect the analogy was with the British House of Commons; for the Parliamentary term was fixed at five years, being thus a compromise between the septennial term in the British Parliament and the biennial term in the American House. The executive office was vested in the Crown of Great Britain, but was to be practically represented by a Governor-General appointed by the sovereign. Though there was great profession of conforming the whole system to the Constitution of Great Britain, it could but be seen between the lines that the great Confederative Government thus established was, out of the historical and political necessities of the situation, modeled almost entirely after the American Republic. Certainly the new Government could not be called a monarchy. Certainly it was in its essence a federative system. Certainly the different provinces corresponded almost exactly with the States of the American Union. The whole administrative scheme was virtually the analogue of our Presidency and Congressional system. The rights of the provinces, their peculiar systems of legislation and jurisprudence, were respected, and the theory of the Government as a whole was to confine the work of Parliament to strictly national questions, leaving all local issues to the determination of the Provincial Legislatures as before.

The same principle followed by the American Republic of admitting new members into the Union was made organic in the Constitution of Canada. The consolidation included at first only Ontario and Quebec—the two original Canadas—with the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. But the door was thrown wide open for all the rest. In 1870 the Province of Manitoba was organized, and came in after the style with which the American people are so familiar. In the following year British Columbia and Vancouver's Island were admitted to the Confederation, and this was followed, in 1873, by the admission of Prince Edward Island. In course of time all of the British North American dependencies, with the single exception of Newfoundland, were united in the common system. The Dominion of Canada, considered as a governmental expedient, was completely successful.

We have just spoken of the admission of Manitoba into the Canadian Union. The great Province so called, lying hard against our Minnesota and Dakota on the north, was constructed out of what had been the territory of the Hudson Bay Company. The charter of this great organization dated back two hundred years, having been issued hy Charles II. The company now agreed to surrender its claim to the Dominion, and the sum of a million five hundred thousand dollars was fixed as the price of purchase. Perhaps no history, except that of the British East India Company, furnishes an example of so successful a corporation. The monopoly of Northern furs, with the sole and absolute government of the vast

regions from which the same were gathered, was held for two centuries on condition that the British King and his successors, whenever they might choose to enter the territories of the company, should receive a present of "two elks and two black beavers," and was finally resold to the Government for three hundred thousand pounds! The Briton has thrift.

We may here properly proceed to consider the political development of Canada with respect to her great territories. The work has gone forward in almost precise analogy to that with which we are familiar in the United States. While the people of the American Republic were celebrating the Centennial Anniversary of their Independence, the Canadian Parliament was beginning its great work of political organization in the North-west. First of all, the country lying immediately north of Manitoba was organized into the district of Kewatin. The act provided in the usual way for the definition of the territory and for the extension of civil government over it. The population at this time, as it has continued to be, was exceedingly sparse, and the new region was scarcely half reclaimed from its original barbarism. But the confederative impulse was strong, and the Parliament, after the manner of the American Congress, made adequate provision for futurity.

The question of extending political organization still further to the west and north was renewed from time to time, until in 1882 the whole of the North-west Territories felt the impact of the British Canadian hand. By an order in Council of that year, the north-western territories of the Dominion were divided into four new districts, preparatory to political government. The first of these, with an area of ninety-five thousand square miles, received the name of Assiniboia. The Territory is bounded on the south by the United States, on the east by Manitoba, on the north by the fifty-second parallel of north latitude, and on the west by the meridian of 110½° west from Greenwich. The second Territory, containing a hundred and fourteen thousand square miles, was called Sakatchewan. It lies on the north of Assiniboia, and west of Lake Winnipeg and the River Nelson. The third district, called Alberta, having an area of a hundred thousand square miles, has for its boundary on the east Assiniboia, on the west British Columbia, on the south the United States. The fourth and last Territory, containing a hundred and twenty-two thousand square miles, was named Athabasca, which embraces in general the north-western portion of the great region under consideration. The Canadian Government has thus, after the American manner, and with British energy, laid its hand upon a region as large in area, and almost as wonderful in resources, and in every possibility of the future, as are our own dominions beyond the Rockies.

Meanwhile, the process of development, political, civil, industrial, has gone on rapidly, or at least steadily, under the auspices of the confederated Government. Canada can no longer be disregarded in the family of nations. According to the census of 1871, the population of the Dominion proper had risen to more than three million five hundred thousand, while Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island added a quarter of a million to the aggregate. At the present day the population has undoubtedly surpassed four millions, and is steadily increasing. Every element of nationality appears in vigorous growth. The geographical and commercial situation is by no means so unfavorable as might be reckoned at first glance. The magnificent St. Lawrence reaches far to the interior, and though closed during the winter months, it furnishes for the rest of the year a commodious all-water line into the Atlantic, and thence to all the world. Commercial relations with the United States have become vast and beneficial. Meanwhile, the railway development has gone steadily forward. The Canadian Pacific Railway, though built in piecemeal fashion, has reached the Pacific, so that there is no longer either isolation or weakness from a commercial point of view.

As to civil administration, there is little to be desired. In fact, the Canadian Government is not far removed from a model. It has been evolved from many experiences and conditions, the full consideration of which might well fill a volume. On the whole, there has been constant progress towards independence. The Canadians have been loyal to Great Britain. Superficially, there have been

many professions of attachment to the British crown. At no time has there been more than a small party desirous of absolute separation from the British Empire. On the other hand, a great majority of the Canadians have been and become favorable and still more favorable in their political dispositions to the *practical* independence of their country.

Many grave questions have arisen in this connection, the solution of which has as yet been but partly effected. One perilous situation was that in which the Dominion found itself in the critical days of the American Civil War. It will be remembered how nearly the United States and Great Britain came to drawing the sword. In that event, what would have become of Canada? Her whole border lay open to American invasion. Doubtless she would not have desired to fight. Doubtless the people of the United States would not have desired to make war on Canada. But the crisis was severe. Though the Canadians would bravely have defended themselves, though the conquest of their country would not have been an easy task, it can hardly be doubted that the powerful armies of the United States would have wrought havoc with the rising nationality on the north. Fortunately for civilization and humanity, the peril went by. Fortunately, nothing more serious than petty quarrels about the fisheries and other local interests are the worst that have troubled the perfect amity of our two countries. Fortunately, the people of both have come to a practical understanding that they have virtually a common destiny to be pursued and found along lines of almost perfect parallelism. It may well be believed that the strong links and weavings by which the selvages of these two powerful and progressive peoples are already bound together can not be rent or torn asunder.

In recent years several circumstances have occurred illustrative of the ever-enlarging autonomy of the Canadian Government and of the diminishing influence of Great Britain in the civil affairs of British North America. A single instance may serve to show the tendency towards independence. In March of 1878, M. Luc Letellier, at that time Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, fell into serious trouble with his Ministry. De Boucherville, the Premier, though still supported by a majority of the House, was unceremoniously removed from office. It was claimed by the Lieutenant-Governor that De Boucherville was conducting the Government at his own option, with little regard to the wishes of the Executive—as though such were not the fundamental principle of the British Constitution! Letellier appointed another Prime Minister; but the latter was unable to command a majority in the House, and, therefore, the Government stood suddenly still, after the British manner.

Hereupon a petition, asking for the removal of Letellier, was addressed to the Marquis of Lorne, Governor-General of the Dominion. The latter refused to grant the petition, on the ground that it was his own prerogative to remove or not remove a Lieutenant-Governor, at his discretion. The question was carried to Great Britain, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Secretary for the Colonies, returned for answer, that the Marquis of Lorne should accept the counsel of his Ministers in the matter of removing Letellier from office. The concession on the part of the Imperial Government was extraordinary, since it seemed to take from the Governor-General one of his few remaining prerogatives. It has been said by a British historian that the removal of Letellier was equivalent to the abrogation of "the last pretension of England to rule her North American Colonies."

The recurrence of such questions concerning the relations of the Imperial Government and that of the Dominion has evoked much discussion and brought out the expression of many statesmen-like views on the part of the Canadians. Prominent among the publicists of the Dominion stands the name of Honorable John George Bourinot, Clerk of the Canadian Parliament. More, perhaps, than any other writer of our day, has he brought to the attention of English and American readers the true essentials in this great national and international inquiry. Bourinot has urged upon the attention of Great Britain that one of three destinies is inevitably before the Dominion of Canada. The first of these is annexation to the United States. In this event, the ties between the Imperial Government and Canada would be cut, and the

Canadian Provinces would be admitted as States in the American Union. The transformation would involve the acceptance, by the people of the North, of not only the garment but the name of Republicanism. The second possibility is complete independence. This, as in the other case, would involve the snapping of the last political tie between Great Britain and Canada. But what of the ship thus cut loose from its moorings? Monarchy, republic, principality, or what? A second transformation of some kind would lie immediately beyond. The third destiny which Bourinot has outlined is, that of Imperial Federation, by which is meant the consolidation of the Dominion with the British Empire. It would imply the assumption on the part of the British Government of vast obligations with respect to Canada, and, on her part, of equally vast obligations to the home Government. The scheme implies a greater nearness and unity than exist at present in the relations of Great Britain and her dependency. The system proposed would involve the sending of members from Canada to the British House of Commons. It would imply a common Imperial legislation for the whole Empire, of which Canada is a part. It would signify that the latter is to become integral in the vast system of British Empire. It is the *detached condition* of Canada which the author referred to believes impossible of continuance.

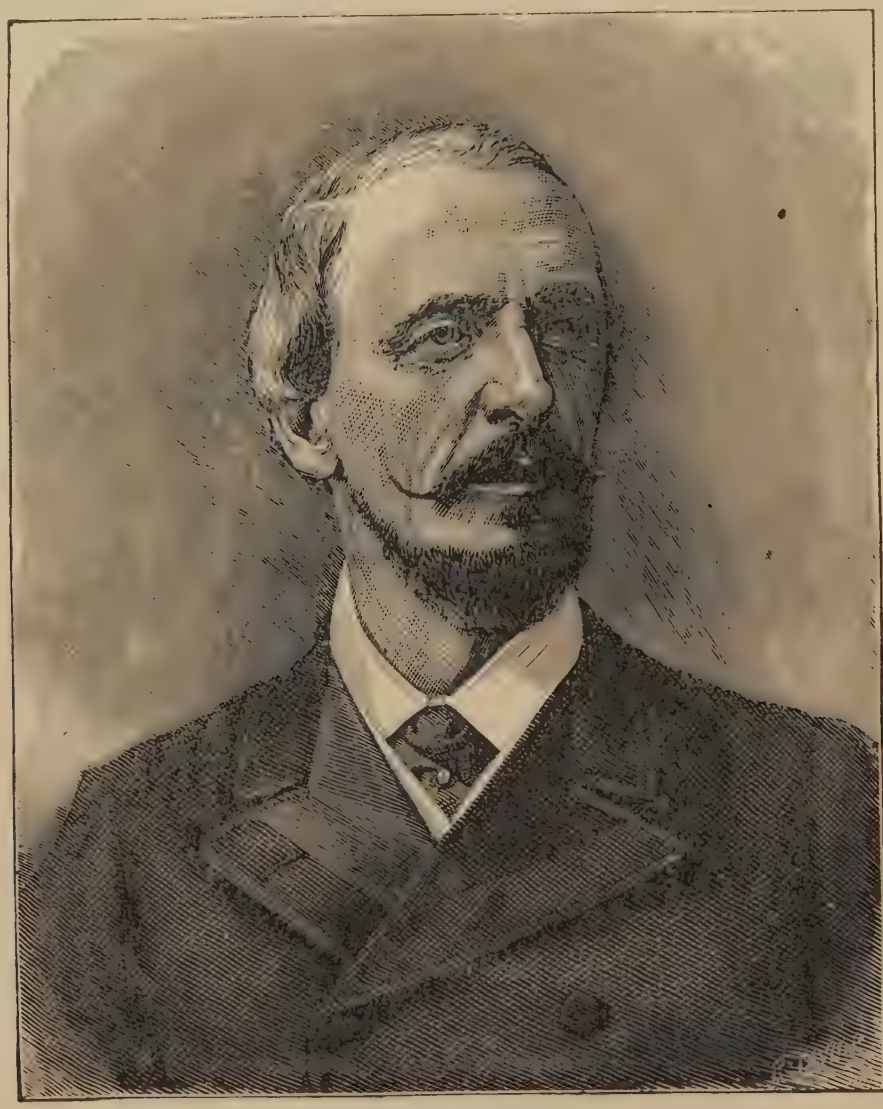
Many difficulties might arise under the proposal here discussed. Could Canada, so nearly independent as she is, recede by mergement into the British Empire without grief and injury to herself? As to the House of Lords, could a peerage like that of England be instituted in British America? Would not such a fact be an anachronism and an impossibility on this side of the Atlantic? Still, it may be freely confessed that the scheme of Imperial Federation has much to recommend it to the consideration of not only the Canadians themselves, but of all thinkers and statesmen everywhere.

MARQUIS OF LORNE.

The first of the two great Administrations in the Dominion was that of the Earl of Dufferin, beginning in 1872, and ending in

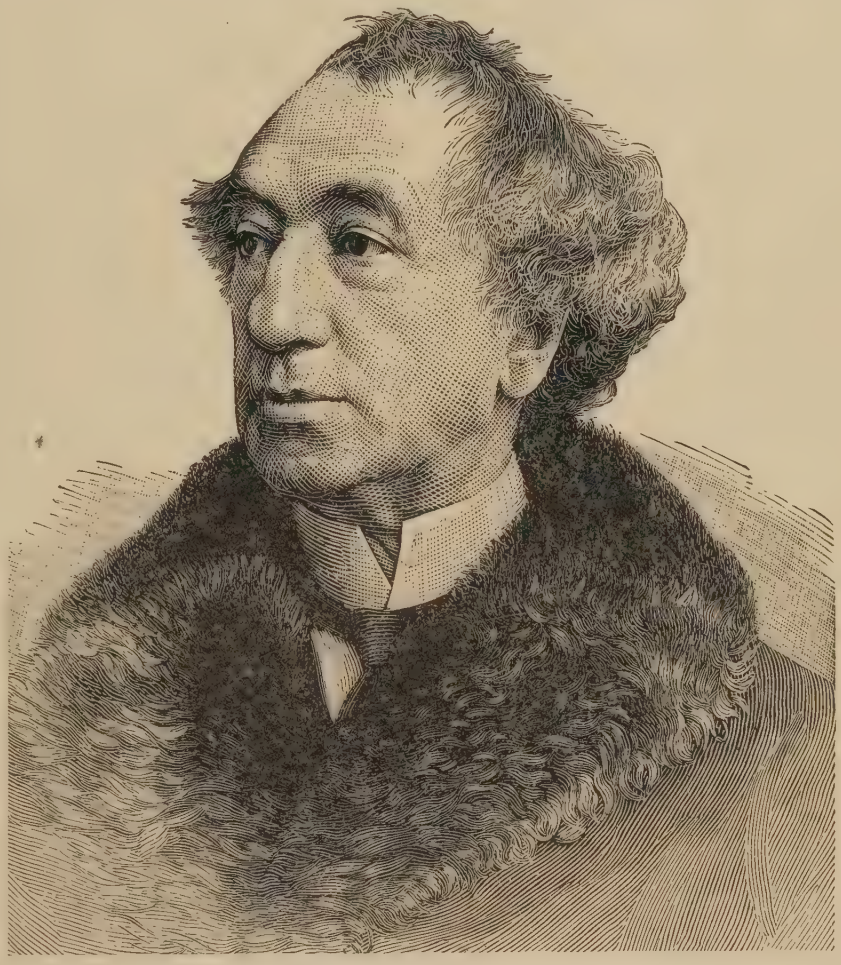
1878. At the latter date the term of Earl Dufferin expired, and he was succeeded by the Marquis of Lorne, son-in-law of the Queen. The Administration of Dufferin had been one of great popularity with the Canadians, and he left the country with every mark of appreciation and esteem. The coming of the Marquis of Lorne in his stead was welcomed with enthusiasm. From the time of his arrival at Halifax, until he reached the seat of Government, by way of Quebec and Montreal, he was greeted with a continuous ovation. We have seen how, shortly afterwards, his Administration, or at least his popularity, received a shock by his policy relative to the dismissal of the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec.

Meanwhile, Canada had taken on the regular moods and methods of British and American politics. There was a division of parties into Liberal and Conservative, and a struggle between the two for power. The elections became exciting. The contest of 1878 was notable for its vehemence and antagonisms. A general depression in business had preceded, and the Liberal party, then in power and professing the principles of Free Trade, was charged by the Conservatives with the commercial disasters which had fallen upon the country. Canada became almost as much



LORD DUFFERIN.

shaken with the contest between Free Trade and Protection, as opposing theories of political economy, as have the United States in more recent years. The Liberals stoutly defended themselves and their system; but the distress of the country told in favor of the Opposition, and the Conservatives came out with a large majority. The Mackenzie Ministry was overthrown, and a new Cabinet was constituted, with Sir John A. Macdonald as Prime Minister. The Government took on a strong Conservative complexion, which continued during the greater part of Lorne's Administration. It was in the year to which we have just referred that a difficulty of considerable proportions arose between the fishermen of Newfoundland and those of the United States, which resulted in a serious diplomatical correspondence between the two Governments.



SIR JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD.

If we pause to glance at the internal development of the Dominion we shall find many evidences of progress and promise. The cities of the North have increased in population and importance. The population of Quebec, that ancient and picturesque stronghold, consecrated by so many heroic memories out of the early days, has risen to sixty-five thousand. Many of the streets and public buildings of the city—her commercial, educational, and civil institutions—have been improved and brought to a high degree of interest and proficiency. Here may be seen the Laval University, dating from 1663; also, many Protestant schools, asylums, churches, and benevolent institutions. Here, on the historic Plains of Abraham, are the memorials of that great conflict by which the destinies of France and England in the New World were determined. Here may be seen, by the St. Foye road, the bronze statue and iron pillar sent by Prince Napoleon Bonaparte to commemorate the deeds of the men of 1760. Here, also, the eye, seeking for the site of the old chateau of St. Louis, will discover in its place the beautiful Dufferin Terrace, fourteen hundred feet in length, and two hundred feet above the level of the river. The gates of St. Louis, of Kent, and St. Johns will attract the eye by their massiveness and beauty. The

CITADEL AND RAMPARTS OF QUEBEC.

stately Parliamentary and other public buildings on the Grand Allée will interest the traveler, even him who has visited the principal European and American capitals.

As for Montreal, with her nearly one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, she stands easily at the head of the Canadian cities. Like Quebec, she has a history extending to the first half of the seventeenth century. Mount Royal, rising behind the city, still preserves the name which was given by the early French adventurers to their primitive village. On the summit of the mountain, embracing an area of four hundred and thirty acres, lies the Public Park, from which a view of the valley of the St. Lawrence and the surrounding country may be obtained. The river at this place is nearly two miles in breadth. The city is built upon a succession of terraces, rising from the stream, each terrace marking what was, perhaps, of old time a bed of the river. The St. Lawrence is here spanned by the Victoria Bridge, a tubular iron structure of great strength and durability. The St. Louis Rapids, just above, constitute the virtual limit of up-river navigation in the St. Lawrence.

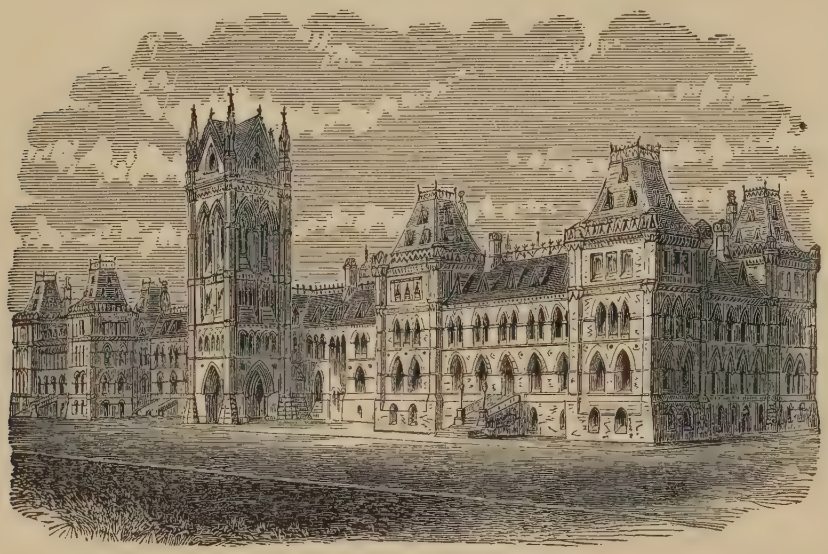
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

Of the structures of Quebec, one of the most noted is the Metropolitan Cathedral, on the plan of St. Peter's at Rome. The Hôtel Dieu was founded as early as 1644, as a hospital, and at the present time the patients admitted number three thousand annually. The City Hall is an object of much interest, and the Court-house is one of the most classical structures in the Canadian Dominion. The great building of the Bonsecours Market, surmounted by a fine dome, is one of the most prominent objects of the city. Among educational institutions McGill College holds a prominent place. Many denominational schools flourish under the patronage of Protestant Churches. The city as a whole has an appearance of picturesqueness and an air of commercial enterprise, which at once delight and interest the traveler.

Toronto, the capital of Ontario, is, after Montreal, the largest city in the Dominion. The population increased from forty-five thousand in 1861 to eighty-six thousand in 1881, and it is believed that a current census would give an enumeration of over one hundred and twenty-five thousand. Less beautifully situated than Quebec and Montreal, Toronto has nevertheless much to recommend it, not only commercially, but as an attractive place of residence. It is doubtful indeed whether either of the rival cities is its equal in commercial thrift and promise. It is the seat of the Provincial Government and of the official residences of Ontario. The old Parliament buildings were long occupied by the Provincial Legislature, but the same have recently given place to newer and finer structures. Queen's Park has been devoted to the new buildings; and on the west of these beautiful grounds stands the University College and the School of Practical Science. The institution as a whole is under the patronage of the State, and is supported by funds gathered from the public. The conduct of the University is strictly secular; the curriculum is ample, and the training given equal to that of first-class universities in Europe. Several other colleges, mostly under patronage of religious denominations, are asso-

ciated with the University and subordinate to it as a center. The industries, such as manufactories, mills, breweries, etc., are in a flourishing condition, and the rich agricultural region with which the city is backed, contributes much to its prosperity.

Of Ottawa, the capital of the Dominion, something has already been said. It is distant from Montreal a hundred and twenty miles. The site was chosen on the banks of the Ottawa River, at the Chaudière Falls, where a village was planted, in the year 1800. About the close of the third decade the hamlet was enlarged, and received the name of Bytown, in honor of Colonel By. We have seen how, in 1858, the Queen settled the controversies



PARLIAMENT HOUSE OF OTTAWA.

and rivalries of the Canadian cities by selecting Ottawa—so called after 1854—as the capital of the Province of Canada. Nine years afterwards the city was able to hold its place as the seat of government for the new Dominion.

The last few years have been noted for several important events in the history of Canada. In 1885 the Macdonald Ministry won a victory over the Opposition in Parliament with respect to the Franchise Bill. The principal feature of this measure was the extension of the right of suffrage to the Indians of all the British American Provinces, with the exception of Columbia and the North-west Territory. The experiment was undoubtedly radical and not without suspicion as to its prime motive. Most of the Canadian Indians at this time lived on reservations, which were governed by agents sent out for that purpose. These agents must necessarily wield a great influence on the half-savage natives under their authority. It was claimed by the Opposition that the enfranchisement of the Indians was intended to fill the hands of the Government with the ballots of an enfranchised but ignorant people, who could be used to maintain the party in power to the detriment of good government. At the same time, the Franchise Bill contained a clause by which the property qualification for the suffrage in some of the elder Provinces was increased, to the hurt of the democratic principle. It happened that the bill, thus reactionary and oppressive in some of its provisions, was finally passed on the significant Fourth of July — a circumstance with which the Opposition twitted the Ministry with satirical references to the bad use to which the day of American Independence had been put.

Early in the same year occurred the Riel Rebellion, so called from the name of its leader, the insurgent Riel. The movement had its origin and took its force from certain French sympathies still existing in the Dominion. Louis Riel was a half-blood French Canadian. For nearly twenty years he had been a turbulent spirit in the Provinces. Before the Act of Federation he drifted to the North-west, and established himself in Manitoba, at this time a part of the territories of the Hudson Bay Company. Here he became a recognized leader among the scattered Europeans, the half-breeds, and the Indians of the remote frontier. When Manitoba was organized, and the Government surveyors first penetrated the country preparatory to throw-

ing the public lands on the market, they found the inhabitants already in occupation, and little disposed to be disturbed in their settlements. The difficulty became serious, and in 1869 Riel headed an insurrection against the authorities. The rebellion was presently suppressed, and the controversy was terminated by conceding to the claimants of the lands three quarter-sections each. Riel was banished from the Provinces for the period of five years.

Sixteen years went by, and in March of 1885 a difficulty of the very same kind and headed by the same leader broke out in the North-west. The countries affected in this instance by the insurrection were Alberta and Saskatchewan. The scene of the insurrection was about five hundred miles distant to the north and west from the place of the former disturbance in Manitoba. The Dominion Government had by this time brought with it the machinery of party, and the same was in full operation. The Opposition to the Macdonald Ministry did not hesitate to give a certain kind of moral sympathy and support to the insurgents. It was urged that the settlers of the far North-west, the brave pioneers who had penetrated the bleak wilderness as the forerunners of civilization, were about to be ousted from their homes, and that the frontier revolt had in it many elements of justice. The Half-Breed settlers and many Indians gathered to the standard of Riel, and the rebellion put on a bold front. The Government forces were thrown forward, and in the spring of 1885 considerable fighting occurred between the militia on one side and the insurrectionists on the other.

It was not until the middle of May that Riel was captured by the troops under General Middleton and an end put to the rebellion. About a week later the Indian leader, Poundmaker, was taken, and his force of about two thousand men dispersed. The insurrection was at an end, but the very serious question remained as to what should be done with Riel. Much sympathy was excited for him and his cause, especially among the French element of the Canadian people. Some of the great American newspapers took up the question, and urged upon the Canadian Government the policy of clemency towards the rebel leader and his accomplices. The Macdonald Ministry found that they had on their hands what would in American parlance be known as an *elephant*. Sir John and the party in power took the ground that Riel must now be visited with the extreme penalty of the law. He was accordingly brought to trial on a charge of treason, rebellion, and murder; was convicted, condemned, and on the 16th of November, 1885, was hanged at Regina.

At the time of his death Riel was forty-one years of age. He was the son of an intrepid hunter, who had intermarried with an Indian woman, of which union the rebel leader was born. He was a man well educated, having been instructed in his youth at Mary's College, Montreal. For a while he had acted as a professor in an institution under the control of the Jesuits. His execution produced much excitement in Canada, and engendered the bitterest feelings among the descendants of the French. At Montreal there was danger of a serious upheaval. The students of the colleges paraded the streets cheering for Riel and his cause, and in the evening mass-meetings were held in the city. Other executions followed, but the greater part of the remaining sentences were commuted to milder forms of punishment.

The year 1886 was noted for the revival of trouble between Canada and the United States relative to the fisheries. It would seem that this question is interminable. The two nations having once adopted the principle that legislation, treaty, and contrivance instead of natural laws are the proper means of regulating industrial intercourse, could but proceed to amend and reämend the existing laws and compacts, but were never able to prevent the recurrence of troubles between the fishermen of the two countries. One of the clauses of the Treaty of 1818 forbade the fishermen of the United States to trade on shore with the merchants of Canada and Newfoundland, in the way of purchasing bait, ice, and other articles having immediate respect to the fisherman's work. Such articles the Canadians and Newfoundlanders desired to sell, and such the Americans desired to buy; but the treaty stipulation lay as a bar to this kind of intercourse.

As always happens in such cases, law-breaking, intrigue, and smuggling ensued. The

American fishermen persisted in going ashore to buy, and the Canadians persisted in selling the forbidden bait. The authorities of the Dominion, in the interest of the fisheries monopoly, complained to the American Government, and more rigorous measures were adopted to prevent the fishermen of the United States from purchasing supplies on shore. Hereupon tradesmen of Newfoundland and Canada became the transgressors. Having the contraband articles for sale, they adopted the plan of putting them in canoes and smacks, and paddling out from shore beyond the limits of a marine league, that is, to the high sea, where all trade is free, and there engaged in the interdicted commerce. It thus became necessary for the Government of the Dominion to direct its restrictions to its own subjects. But the combined endeavor of both nations could not avail to extinguish the illicit commerce.

In the meantime, the spirit of reciprocity has begun to prevail between Canada and the United States. On the whole, a feeling of perfect amity and cordial good-will has supervened, and the difficulties that occasionally fret the maritime borders of the two great States are sinking to the level of commercial squabbles, which are better ignored than magnified.

Ever and anon the question of the annexation of Canada is revived by the American people; and it may be fairly confessed that each renewal of the agitation has tended to a more favorable entertainment of the project. Canada is capable of independence. She is also capable of that Imperial Federation which we have above described as the most probable destiny before her. She is also capable, should she so elect, to cast in her destinies with those of the American Republic; and in that event her people would find a cordial welcome and glorious opportunities of expansion into the higher forms of power under the ægis of the American Constitution. In any event Canada has her future, and the voice of history out of the great sisterhood of States bracing her southern borders can but give her all hail and benediction.

CHAPTER CLIII.—MEXICO.

WE may now glance from the North to the South, from the St. Lawrence to the Rio Grande, from Canada to Mexico, from the land of the French explorers to the land of the Montezumas. Different in every respect is the civilization which we are now to consider. Of the condition of Mexico in the time of Cortez, and of the wars in which the native subjects of Montezuma engaged, in the fierce struggle which ensued for the mastery of the country, a sketch has been given in the preceding Volume. Nor is it appropriate in this connection to enter into a dissertation on the manners, customs, and institutions of the ancient Mexicans.

The first regular government in New Spain was established in 1522, under Cortez himself. Six years later a new administration was instituted under Nuño de Guzman. The arbitrary exactions of this Governor, whose practices were tyrannical in the last degree, produced so great discontent among the Spanish colonies that the mutterings reached the ears of Charles V., and Guzman was displaced to make room for a vice-regal government, which the Emperor now appointed. The first viceroy was Antonio de Mendoza, whose term of office extended from 1535 to 1550. Great progress was made during this Administration. Mexico became the most enlightened of the Spanish colonies. The country was explored from North to South. The first money was coined in the New World. The first printing-press ever used west of the Atlantic was set up in Mexico. There, also, a university of learning was established as early as the middle of the sixteenth century.

Between this epoch and the beginning of the struggle for Mexican independence, in 1821, the country was ruled by a succession of sixty-four viceroys, of whom only one was

MAP XXIX.
MEXICO
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200
Capital
State Capitals
Railroads
Unfinished Railroads
Fisk & Co. Engr's N.Y.
CALIFORNIA
ARIZONA
NEW MEXI
UNITED STATES
Gulf of California
Pacific Ocean
Gulf of Mexico
Sonora
Chihuahua
Sinaloa
Durango
Coahuila
Tamaulipas
Nuevo Leon
Yucatan
Campeche
Guatemala
Belize
G. of Honduras
San Diego
Vallecitos
Yuma
Gila Bend
Maricopa
Casa Grande
Tucson
Silver Cy.
Rincon
Dona Ana
Encenada
Sonoyta
Pt.Isabel
Papagos
Benson
Deming
El Paso
Isleta
Guadalupe
S.Vincente
Adair B.
S.Felipe
Tubutama
Nogales
Calabazas
Lordsburg
Paso del Norte
Mesa
S.Quintin
Caborca
Altar
R.Altar
S.Rafael
Santa Cruz
Cibuta
Fronteras
Janos
Candelaria
Presidio
Viejo
Sierra Blanca
Rosario
Sta.Isabel
Las Palomas
La Libertad
Cruces
Magdalena
Santa Ana
Opato
Arispe
Campas
Casas Grandes
Las Minas
Sta. Maria
S.Jose
Ojo del Monte
Carmen
Pilares
S.Fernando
Sta.Maria
Bacuachi
Querobabi
Tepoca
Carbo
Oposura
Guazavas
Galeana
Montezuma
Tres Castillos
Ojo de
Sta.Ana
I.del Angel
Tiburon I.
Hermosillo
Sahuaripa
Santa Cruz
Gallego
Torresiqua
Vado
Encinillas
Laguna
Presidio del Norte
Sta.Clara
Escobedo
Sacramento
Aldama
S.Carlos
Pedros I.
Sebastian Vizcaino B.
S.Domingo
Torres
Moreno
S.Javier
Concepcion
Horcasitas
Cushuiriachi
Bachimba
Ortiz
Cieneguita
C.Eugenio
Sta.Maria
S.Juan
Rosarito
Guaymas
Mayorena
Coyorio
Jesus Maria
Sahuaripa
Satevo
Sancillo
Espiritu Santu
S.Ignacio
S.Lorenzo
Guadalupe
C.St.Lorenzo
Patrocinio
S.Jose
Purisima
P.S.Juanico
Loreto
Belen
S.Martin
Guazupares
Batopilas
Choix
Sta.Barbara
Alamos
El Fuerte
Santa Rosalia
Pilar
Conchos
Jiminez
Parral
Balleza
Allende
Escalon
Rio Florido
Chicorato
Sinaloa
Ghuadalupe
Calvo
Cerro Gordo
I.Carmen
Ahome
S.Benito
Juntas
El Oro
Jute
La Zarca
Santa Cruz
Jesus Maria
Mocorito
Badiraguato
Altamura I.
Tamazula
Nazas
Pt.S.Lazaro
S.Luis
Magdalena B.
I.S.Margarita
I.Creciente
I.Espiritu Santo
I.Ceralvo
CULIACAN
Altata
Tapasniaro
S.Juan del Rio
S.Hilario
LA PAZ
S.Dimas
Guatimape
S.Ignacio
DURANGO
Todos Santos
S.Bartolo
C.Palmo
S.Jose
C.St.Lucas
S.Lucas
Mazatlan
Sato
Nombre de Dios
Noria
Concordia
Francisco
Pasquital
Rosario
Acaponeta
Jesus Maria
Las Tres Marias
Maria Madre
I.Magdalena
I.Cleofias
San Blas
Tepic
GUADA
Tequi
Bancos de Sisal
Progreso
Chiland
Angostura
Catoche
Sisal
Motul
MERIDA
Tixmin
Izamal
Acanceh
Tonca
I.de Cozumel
Kalkini
Ticul
Tekak
Valladolid
Bolonchen
Peto
CAMPECHE
Chausantacruz
Ascencion B.
Balche
La-Ascencion
Espiritu Santo B.
Champoton
Sta.Cruz
S.Antonio
Bacalar
Chichanha
I.de Ambergris
Salchieh
Las Flores
Chetumal B.
BELIZE
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
S.Francisco to Panama 13 days 5430 miles
S.Felipe
Mascota
Tomatlan
Tecolotlan
C.Corrientes
Autlan
Chamila
Manzanillo
Ixtlahuac

26 Longitude West 24 from Washington 22
20
18
16
14
Denison
Texarkana
Camden
Brazos R.
McKinney
Ft. Worth
Dallas
Longview
Shreveport
Vicksburg
JACKSON
Cisco
Marshall
TEXAS
LOUISIANA
Mustang Spring
Corsicana
Jackson V.
Red River
Mississippi R.
32
Aroya
Lampasas R.
Waco
Natchez
Colorado R.
Temple Jc.
Trinity R.
Moscow
Summit
Cheneyville
Pecos R.
Burnet
Trinity
Willis
Sabine R.
S. Jacinto
Vermillion V.
Baton Rouge
Sanderson
AUSTIN
Navasota
Hempstead
Orange
Houston
Morgan City
Camp Hudson
S. Antonio
Columbus
Arcola
Del Rio
Rosenburg Jc.
Sabine Pass
NEW ORLEANS
RIO GRANDE DEL NORTE
Presidio
S. Vicente
Spofford Jc.
Cuero
Columbia
Galveston
Victoria
Piedras Negras
Eagle Pass
Matagorda
Las Tanajas
S. Fernando
Presidio
Salto
Nueces R.
Indianola
Port Lavaca
Cerro Blanco
Matagorda I.
28
Sta. Rosa
Nuevo Laredo
St. Joseph's I.
Laredo
Mustang I.
Corpus Christi In.
Mier
Corpus Christi
R. San Rosa
Padre I.
Cuatro
Lampazos
Monclova
Villaldama
Belleville
Rio Grande City
Reynosa
Edinburg
Brownsville
Bajan
Guadalupe
Camargo
Cerralvo
S. Isabel
Tanque S. Felipe
Salinas
Los Animas
Matamoros
Garcia
R. S. Juan
Bagdad
S. Felipe
L. S. Nicolas
SALTILLO
MONTEREY
China
Moquete
Parras
Cadereyta
Barra del Tigre
Alamo
Parras
Buena Vista
Peralta
Patoso
Agua Nueva
Montemorelos
Mendez
S. Isda
Encarnacion
Linares
S. Fernando
Presas
Mazapil
Potosi
S. Antonio
L. Madre
Gonzales
Caneto
Jimenez
Pacheco
Salado
Cedro
Parrida
VICTORIA
R. la Marina
Catorce
Dr. Arroyo
Gutierrez
Matehuala
Palmillas
Soto la Marina
Fresnillo
Mier y Norega
S. Venado
Tula
ZACATECAS
Montezuma
Aldama
Guadalupe
Salinas
Guadalcazar
Quiatero
Tancashequi
Rio Caliente
El Maiz
Tampico
Asientos
AGUAS CALIENTES
S. LUIS POTOSI
Rio Verde
Tanquahuitz
Encarnacion
S. Felipe
S. Luis de la Paz
Ozuluama
Lagos
Leon
Tantoyuca
GUANAJUATO
Lagos
Jalpan
Ihuatlan
Tepatitlan
Tollman
Chicontepec
Irapuato
Silao
Tuxpan
Penjamo
Zacualtipan
Papantla
Jiquilpan
Piedad
Ancalco
Nautla
Zamora
Acambaro
Tulancingo
Misantla
Los Reys
MORELIA
Ixtlahuaca
Zitacuaro
Tacambaro
Toluca
MEXICO
Texcoco
Perote
Huatusco
Jalacingo
Jalapa
Patzcuaro
Urupan
Ario
Coalcoman
Aguililla
Inguaran
Huetamo
Taxco
Matamoros
Tehuacan
Tlacotalpan
Tuxtepec
Jalpa
Tonuta
Pomaria
Iguala
Teloloapan
Acatlan
Tecolitlan
Minatitlan
Hidalgotitlan
Mascupana
Teapa
Palenque
Balancan
Chilon
Pichucalco
Simojovel
Chiapa
Tuxtla
S. CRISTOBAL
Comitan
Tonala
Tapachula
Acapulco
Ometepec
Ixtapan
Tehuantepec
Salina Cruz
Jamiltepec
Pochutla
Port Escondido
Longitude West 101 from Greenwich 99
97
95
93
GULF OF MEXICO
GULF OF CAMPECHE
I. Bermejo
Arenas
Steamer Route to New York
To Havana 3 days
S.S. to New Orleans
6 days to Panama
Sierra Madre
Sierra Madre
Sierra Madre
Sierra Madre
CAMPECHE
Champoton
Frontera
S. Antonio
Tuxtla
Coatzacoalcos
Moloacan
Cunduacan
S. Andres
Alvarado
Medellin
VERA CRUZ
Orizaba
Cordova
Tepaca
Atlixco
PUEBLA
TLAXCALA
Apizaco
Chalco
Zacatlan
Apam
Tulancingo
Pachuca
Tula
Actopan
Jacala
Nahuatlan
Xilitla
Tamazunchale
Ciudad del Maiz
Rio Verde
Tanlajas
Valles
Tancahuitz
Ozuluama
Tantoyuca
Chicontepec
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Suchil
Villa Alta
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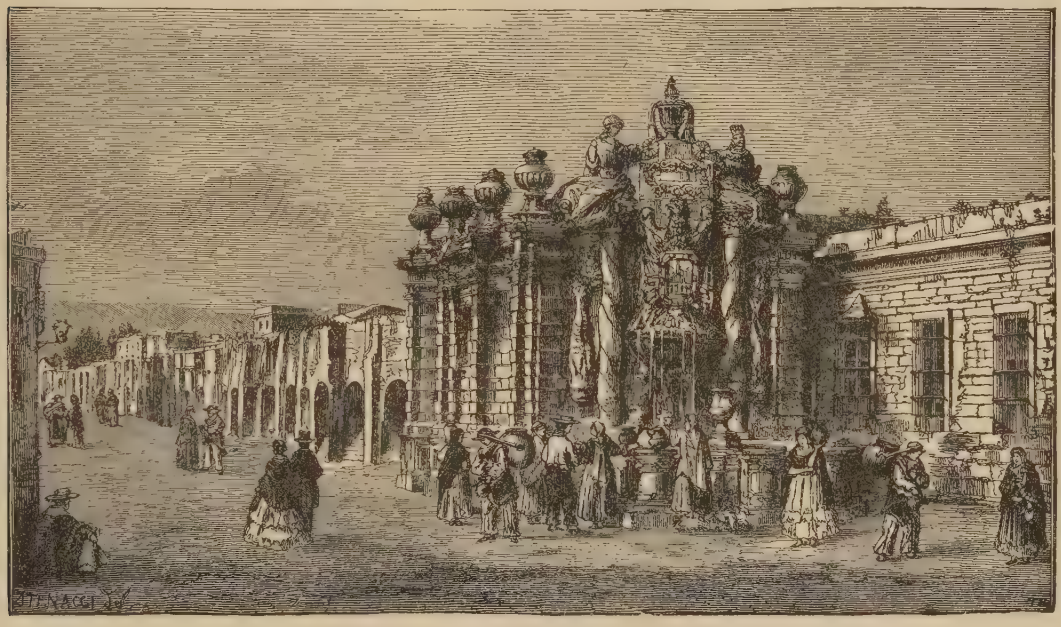
Jamiltepec
Pochutla
Port Escondido
Salina Cruz
Tehuantepec

born in America. The greatest of all these reigns was that of Juan Vicente Pacheco, whose rule extended from 1789 to 1794. It was at this time that most of the important improvements of Mexico were made. The streets of the principal city were paved and lighted. Those great drains and sewers, which still attract the attention of the traveler, were constructed. A system of municipal government was instituted, more perfect in its details than could have been expected of the age and country. Regular taxes were imposed and collected, and elections held, at which only persons of reputable character were allowed to present themselves for office.



FOUNTAIN AND AQUEDUCT, CITY OF MEXICO.

If we glance at the social condition of Mexico at the beginning of the present century, we find four distinct classes of people. These were, first, the native Indians; second, the Creoles, or people of Spanish descent but Mexican birth; third, Spaniards born in Europe; fourth, the Mestizos—half-breeds, or crosses between the Mexicans and the Indians.

The first class, with the exception of the chiefs or caciques, was held in a subjection amounting almost to servitude by the dominant race. The Creoles, though strong in numbers, were weak in influence; for they were, as a rule, excluded from office, and even from any but common service in the army. It was the policy of Spain to govern Mexico by those who were certainly in her home interest, and under this theory she limited the administration of provincial affairs to Spaniards proper; that is, to those who were born in Spain. This method bore hard on the natives; but the latter, being oppressors themselves, could not well resist the foreign government which was imposed upon them. Should the Creoles have made a rebellion against the Spaniards they would have been attacked from the other side by the Mestizos and Indians.

Such was the condition of affairs when, in 1808, Napoleon I. overthrew the Spanish Bourbons. The shock of the revolution was at once felt in Mexico. The provincial government became almost as much convulsed as that of Spain. The alleged usurpation of Bonaparte was denounced by both the Spanish and Creole factions; and for the time it appeared that the two would make common cause. But when it came to the organization of a provisional government, a step made necessary by the abdication of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, violent disputes broke out, and the viceroy, Iturrigaray, was seized and thrown into prison.

It appears that the Mexicans now came to understand that they could survive and flourish without a foreign governor. There were

signs of a spirit of nationality and independence. The influence of the Spanish Government rapidly declined. In 1810 a conspiracy was organized by the priest, Miguel Hidalgo, a man whose influence over the lower classes was very powerful. A formidable insurrection broke out in the province of Guanajuato, and the rebellious army grew to a host of a hundred thousand men. But Hidalgo's insurgents were poorly armed, and were presently defeated in several battles. Hidalgo himself was taken and shot, and the rebels were, for the time, dispersed. Soon afterwards, however, another priest, named Morelos, rekindled the fire of insurrection, and in 1813 a National

MESTIZO MAIDEN

Congress was convened at Chilpanchiugo. An act was passed declaring the independence of Mexico, and in the following year the first Mexican Constitution was promulgated.

But the better equipment and discipline of the vice-regal army soon gave the advantage to the old Government, and the Nationals, under Morelos and other popular leaders, were several times defeated. In December of 1815 the leader was taken, carried to Mexico, condemned, and shot. For the next two years the war was carried on in the manner of guerrillas. The patriots broke into bands, and when unable to meet the forces of the Government in the field, took to the mountains. It seemed impossible, on the one hand, for order ever to be restored by the Spanish Government; and on the other, for the Nationals to gain their independence.

By degrees, however, the partisan troops were beaten down, and with the restoration of peace in Europe by the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle, the Spanish provincial authority in Mexico was, in a measure, reëstablished. But when, in 1820, the news came of the revolution which had broken out in Spain, and of the proclamation of the Liberal Constitution which Ferdinand VII. had been compelled to grant to his subjects, the agitation was at once renewed in Mexico.

Thus far the patriot party had had no competent leadership. At this juncture, however, a native Mexican soldier, Colonel Don Augustine Iturbide, who had served on the Royalist side in the recent Civil War, appeared at the head of the National party, and in February, 1821, proclaimed the independence of Mexico. The movement now drew to its support the better classes of Mexicans, and the revolt, headed by Iturbide, was soon successful. The Government in the provinces was quickly overthrown, and the Spanish Viceroy, Don Juan O'Donoju, was cooped up in the capital. But this city soon fell into the hands of the Nationals, and on the 24th of August, 1821, O'Donoju signed a treaty at Cordova by which the independence of Mexico was recognized. A regency was formed, with Iturbide at the head and O'Donoju as one of the members of the Government.

Ambition now came in to mar the work of popular revolution. The army and the Mexican mob of patriots proclaimed Iturbide Emperor, with the title of Augustin I. This happened in May of 1822. The style of government thus about to be established was exceedingly distasteful to the genuine Republicans, and in the course of a few months a counter insurrection broke out at Vera Cruz, under the leadership of Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna. The latter was supported by several other popular leaders, and the Mexican Republic was proclaimed at Vera Cruz. Two armies were organized, and the country was about to be involved in a bloody civil war, when, on the 19th of March, 1823, Iturbide abdicated the throne and was sent into exile.

Before this act, however, the alleged Em-

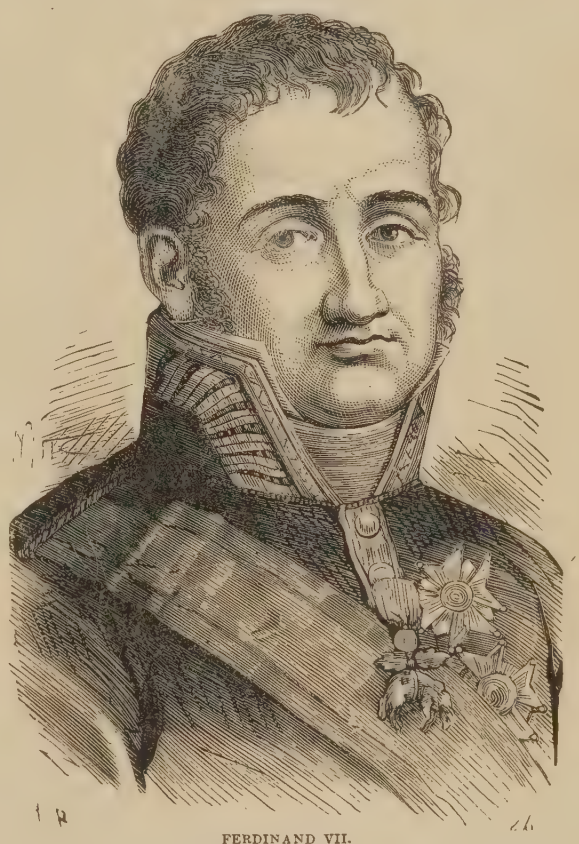
peror had convoked a Mexican Congress. That body immediately undertook the work of reorganization. A new Constitution was prepared on the basis of that of the United States. The Mexican Republic was organized, with nineteen States and five Territories. The new Government was proclaimed on the 4th of October, 1824, and General Don Felix Fernando Victoria was elected President. Soon afterwards the banished Iturbide came back from London, was arrested as a conspirator, condemned, and executed.

The first Administration of the new Republic went by with comparative success. But when, in 1828, the time arrived for a Presidential election, and General Gomez Pedraza was elected Chief Magistrate, the defeated party took up arms under the opposing candidate, General Guerrero, and Pedraza was driven from power. Guerrero took the Presidency on the 1st of April, 1829, and soon afterwards secured from the Government of the United States a formal recognition of the Republic of Mexico.

The same year was marked by an attempt on the part of Spain to recover her supremacy. A Spanish army under General Barradas was sent to Mexico, in July of 1829, and landing near Tampico, began an invasion of the country. But General Bustamante, Vice-President of the Republic, led forth the national troops and soon compelled Barradas to surrender. The Vice-President then made a proclamation against the usurping Guerrero, and drove him from the Presidency. A civil war broke out, and continued until 1831, when Guerrero was seized and executed.

In the next election General Pedraza was again chosen President. But about three months after entering on his official duties, in 1833, he was a second time deposed and driven from power. This time the leader of the opposition was Santa Anna, who took the Presidency for himself. The late Executive, Bustamante, was, with several of his adherents, sent into exile. Nor could it be denied that the violent proceedings of Santa Anna were accompanied with beneficial reforms. A law was passed for the abolition of the Mexican convict system, and another interdicting the compulsory payment of tithes. The President also proposed that the property of the Church should be confiscated for the payment of the national debt. This project, however, was not carried into effect, and the agitation resulted in several serious revolts.

In 1835 the Constitution of 1824 was abolished, and a new frame of government, less democratic but more substantial, was produced. The office of President was still retained, but the executive powers were so much enlarged as to constitute a virtual dictatorship. Santa Anna was continued at the head of the new Government. The revolution was quietly accepted in the Mexican States proper, but was resisted in Texas, in which country the American colonists had already scattered the seeds of the Texan revolution, which was about to ensue. The people of Texas chose to regard the Presidency of Santa Anna as a usurpation, and the Government which had been established under his auspicies as a centralized despotism.



FERDINAND VII.

The hostile attitude of the Texans induced

Santa Anna, in the beginning of 1836, to undertake a campaign against the rebellious province—an expedition which resulted, on the 21st of April, in the ruinous defeat of the Mexican army at the battle of San Jacinto, and the capture of the President. Then followed the declaration of Texan independence, the visit of Santa Anna to Washington City, the usurpation of the Mexican Government by Bustamante, and the return, in 1837, of Santa Anna to Mexico.

obliged to give up his office to General Herrera, who held the Presidency until December of 1845, and was then deposed by violence. During his brief administration, the Republic of Texas was annexed to the United States—an act which led immediately to the conflict between the latter country and Mexico.

The story of the Mexican War, from the beginning of hostilities on the Rio Grande to its conclusion by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in February of 1848, has already

CITY OF MEXICO.

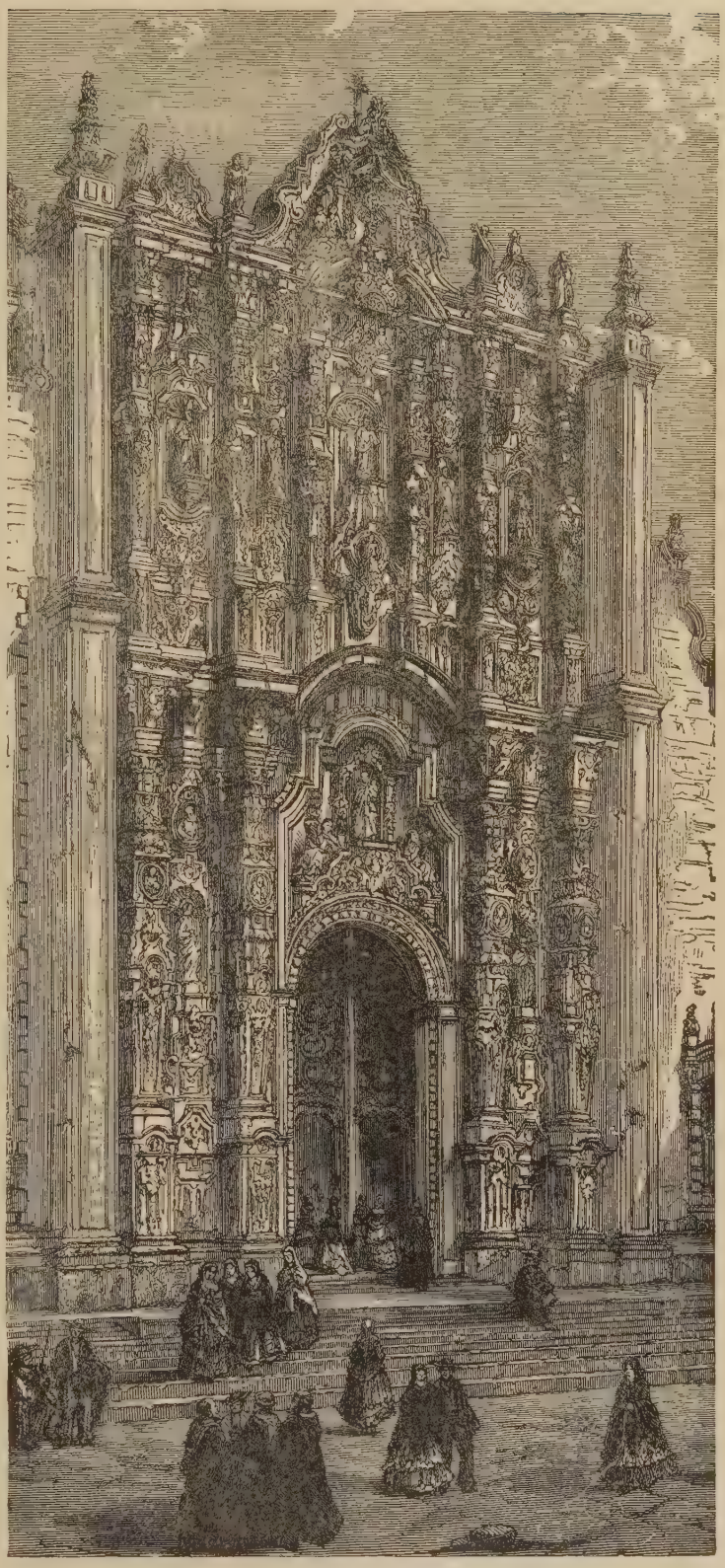
A period of great civil discord ensued, in which the dictatorship was for the most part held by the late President and by Generals Bravo and Canalizo. For three years, from 1841 to 1844, this confusion and turmoil continued. At the latter date the Constitution of 1835 again went into operation, and Santa Anna was again elected President. But his accession to power, or rather his continuance, led immediately to another revolution, in which he was deposed and superseded by General Canalizo. But he, in his turn, was

been fully narrated in a former chapter. It is sufficient, in this connection, to note the ruinous terms which the victorious power was pleased to exact of the vanquished. An inspection of the new boundary-line of Mexico along the Rio Grande, the southern border of New Mexico, the rivers Gila and Colorado westward to the Pacific, will show at a glance how greatly the Mexican dominions were reduced by the war. Nor could it be said that the small sum of fifteen millions of dollars, which the United States agreed to pay for her

immense acquisitions, was at all fairly compensatory to the Mexican Government for its tremendous losses.

For a while after the Mexican War, Santa Anna, blamed with the disastrous results, was under the disfavor of his countrymen. For four years he lived abroad; but after the Presidencies of Herrera and Arista he was, in 1853, recalled, and for the *fifth time* made President of Mexico. He was soon suspected of concocting a scheme for making the office which he held hereditary, or at least of securing to himself the right of appointing his own successor. On this account another revolution broke out, and in 1855 Santa Anna was deposed by General Alvarez, who succeeded to the place of chief magistrate. The latter, however, was more patriotic than ambitious, and soon resigned his trust to General Comonfort, who became President in December of 1855.

A violent agitation now ensued between the Administration and the party of the Church. Early in 1856 the President recommended to Congress a measure looking to the confiscation and sale of the church lands. The recommendation was accepted, and an Act was passed for this purpose, and for the establishment of the freedom of religious belief in Mexico. About the same time an agitation began for the formation of a more democratic constitution. Such an instrument was framed and accepted by the Government



ENTRANCE TO CATHEDRAL, CITY OF MEXICO.

in 1857, and, with greater enlightenment of the Mexican people, it would have appeared that the country might now have peace. But at this juncture it was foolishly resolved by the Government to repudiate a portion of the national debt due to Spain. The unwisdom and dishonesty of this course portended war, and Mexico appealed to the United States for aid. Conspiracies were made in many parts of the country, and Comonfort with difficulty retained the Presidency till January of 1858, when he

GENERAL PRIM.

was superseded by Zuloaga, and obliged to fly from the country.

The accession of Zuloaga, however, was contrary to the Constitution; for that instrument provided that in case of an abdication the Presidency should pass to the Chief-Justice of Mexico. In accordance with this provision, Benito Pablo Juarez, the Supreme Judge, came forward, and claimed the Executive office. Zuloaga at length gave way, but turned over the Presidency to one of his own supporters, General Miguel Miramon. Juarez retired to Vera Cruz, and there established himself according to the Constitution. The latter was recognized as President by the Government of the United States, and was at length successful in entering the City of Mexico and completely establishing his authority.

This change was followed by the most salutary reforms. Juarez showed himself capable of heroic measures. Thoroughly acquainted with the political vices of his country, he laid the axe at the root of the tree. Even while still at Vera Cruz he proclaimed the reformatory policy as the true work of his Administration. Once firmly seated in the Presidency, he carried forward his measures with a strong and steady hand. Marriage was declared to be a civil contract. Perpetual monastic vows were abolished. The ecclesiastical tribunals, which had always arrogated to themselves the right of meddling with the administration of justice in Mexico, were suppressed. The monasteries were put down. The enormous landed property of the Church, valued at more than three hundred millions of dollars, or about one-half of all the real estate in Mexico, was confiscated and given over to the uses of the State. Church and State were legally separated, and the mediæval *régime*, by which Mexico had been enthralled in fetters and darkness, was thoroughly broken up.

The effect of these reformatory measures was greatly to enrage the partisans of the ancient order. Juarez was assailed by every missile known to the experienced hands of religious bigotry. It chanced that among those who had suffered from the confiscation of the Church estates, by actual possession or by holding mortgages on the same, were many citizens of European States. Spain, France, and England were all thus represented in the losses which the clerical party had sustained by the secularization of the ecclesiastical properties. This fact furnished a good excuse to foreign powers to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico. Remonstrances and demands for satisfaction were sent to the Government; but such demands were either ignored or disallowed. In October of 1861 a conference of the three kingdoms just mentioned was held in London, and President Juarez was notified that if the demands of the Powers were not at once complied with, he might expect an invasion of his dominions.

But even this had no effect, and in December of 1861 a Spanish army, commanded by General Juan Prim, Count of Reus, was landed at Vera Cruz. In the following month the forces of France and England arrived, and the city was taken. It soon appeared, however, that the claims of Great Britain, as well as those of Spain, against Mexico, could be easily adjusted. It was agreed by the Mexican Government that such claims should be discharged, and for this purpose a portion of the customs duties of the Republic was set aside. A settlement was immediately effected as to Spain and England, and in the following May the armies of those two Powers were withdrawn from the country.

Not so, however, with the French. The forces of Napoleon III. remained in Mexico, and it became evident that the covert purpose of the French Emperor was to subvert the existing form of government. It was soon discovered, moreover, that the scheme of France was promoted, if not originally suggested, by the Mexican diplomatist, General Almonte, who had been Minister of War during the Presidency of Bustamante, and afterwards ambassador at Paris. The plot became more evident when, in 1862, Almonte was made dictator by the authorities of Vera Cruz, supported by the French. But his usurpation was of brief extent, for in the following October he was deposed by the same power which had lifted him to office.

The last months of 1862 and the beginning of 1863 were occupied with a war between the French and the native army. The old city of Puebla was attacked by the invading army, and after several assaults was carried by storm. On the 10th of June, 1863, the City of Mexico was taken by the French, and Juarez and his ministry obliged to retire to San Luis Potosi. As soon as the French were in possession of the capital, an assembly of the Mexican notables was convened and an act passed establishing a Hereditary Monarchy under a Catholic Emperor.

The story of the election of Maximilian of Austria, of his acceptance of the Mexican crown, of his attempt to establish his government on the ruins of Mexican Republicanism, of the disastrous collapse, and of the capture and execution of the ill-fated Emperor at Querétaro, has already been narrated. Generals Miramon and Mejia, who had been the chief supporters of Maximilian, were shot at the same time with himself. President Juarez soon returned in triumph to the City of Mexico, and in October of 1867 was reëlected to the Chief Magistracy of the Republic. While he was engaged in the work of reconstructing the government, that ancient specter of the past, Santa Anna, appeared on the horizon, and undertook to raise an insurrection against the constituted authorities. He even succeeded in gaining possession of some of the ports on the Gulf, but was presently captured and condemned to an eight years' banishment. His rebellion was of little consequence in itself, but was the precursor of several other revolts which took place in 1868-69.

EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN

In 1871 President Juarez was reëlected. The opposing candidates being General Diaz and Don Sebastian Lerdo. He was the first Chief Magistrate of the Republic of Mexico who was permitted to serve through a full term of office. His death, in July of 1872,

STORMING OF PUEBLA BY THE FRENCH.

ENTRANCE OF THE FRENCH INTO THE CITY OF MEXICO.

was a calamity to the country, to whose reformation, peace, and prosperity he had contributed more than any other ruler that country had ever known. His accession to power in Mexico marked the turning-point at which the military methods, which had hitherto prevailed, gave place to a true civil administration. The great reforms which he projected came like a shock from a battery to the lethargic body politic of the priest-ridden and oppressed country which he was called to govern; and much of the reputation which Mexico has gained in the last two decades, as a respectable and rising State must be attributed to the wisdom, patriotism, prudence, and courage of Benito Pablo Juarez, greatest of the statesmen whom that Republic has yet produced.

EXECUTION OF MAXIMILIAN AND GENERALS MEJIA AND MIRAMON.

Juarez died in office. He was succeeded by the Supreme Justice of Mexico, Lerdo de Tejada. It was the signal for the beginning of a struggle, the effects of which have not ceased to the present day. Organically considered, the question was whether the Liberal Constitution of 1857 should or should not be the fundamental law of the land. At times the political condition has seemed anarchic, but, on the whole, the ever-recurring violence and conflict has tended to permanence and the establishment of a higher order of Republicanism.

President Lerdo was at length regularly chosen to the Executive office; but it was claimed by the opposing party that the result was reached by means irregular, fraudulent, and tyrannical. The years 1874–75 saw the beginning of a new insurrectionary movement, which was destined by reäction and violent measures to give another check to the policy of Juarez, which had been followed by his successor. The difficulty to which we refer gathered head in the State of Michoacan. At bottom the opposition to Lerdo and his Government was of a religious origin. We have seen how secular in its tendencies was the Administration of Juarez; how strongly he had repressed the arrogance of the Mexican Church, and how the prerogatives and vast

landed monopolies of that organization had been swept away. To all this the Clericals could but oppose their whole power and endeavor. The party of the Church seems to have had its strongest hold in Michoacan, and there, in 1875, a political revolt broke out against the Government. Lerdo, his Ministers, and even the Supreme Court of the Republic were repudiated, along with Congress and the whole existing system.

A manifesto was issued, and a new election was demanded. The Revolutionists put on so bold a front that General Escobedo was sent, with a division of the army, to put down the insurrection. This he certainly would have accomplished in a brief period had not a new rebellion broken out in the opposite quarter. The mountain towns of the State of Oajaca, dissatisfied with the existing order, broke into revolt, and the leaders published a plan for a new Constitution. An army sprang up from the hill country, descended to the lowlands, and gained possession of the State capital. The movement in this part of the country was secular, and was based upon complaints, not wholly invalid, as to the methods by which Lerdo had gained the Presidency, and the measures by which he held it. These complaints were so well grounded that other States—Sonora, Jalisco, Aguas Calientes, Zacatecas, Durango, Guanajuato, Mexico, Puenla, Tlaxcala—joined the insurrection. Michoacan, though moved by religious prejudice rather than by the spirit of political reform, cast in her lot, and the movement gained tremendous headway.

The Revolutionists from the first looked to General Porfirio Diaz as their leader and candidate against Lerdo. The term of office of the latter was to have extended to 1880. General Diaz, however, took the field against him soon after his accession, and in November, 1876, the President and his Cabinet and staff, perceiving that the game was against them, retired from the city, and took flight to the coast on their way to Panama. According to the Mexican Constitution, the Presidency, in such emergencies as that now present, is devolved on the Chief Justice of the Republic. It was in this manner that Lerdo himself had come to the Presidency after the death of Juarez. Before leaving the capital, Lerdo, in accordance with the Constitutional provision, called on Senor Iglesias to assume the chief magistracy *ad interim*. The latter issued a manifesto, promising to introduce and enforce almost the identical reforms for which the Revolutionary party was clamoring.

The paper was thrown before the insurgent forces as a sop to Cerberus, and for the moment the ruse was sufficient. General Diaz himself made as though he would accept the situation. But the revolution was not to be so easily placated. Iglesias was also driven forth like his predecessor, and General Diaz succeeded to the Presidency. He had on two previous occasions been a candidate for the same high office, but was unsuccessful. Though not unwilling to be the leader of a revolution, Diaz was a lover of his country, and had given many evidences of patriotic devotion to her cause.

The new Administration was more peaceful than might have been expected. The President held authority with a firm hand, and the turbulent elements of Mexican politics fell to a comparative calm. During the new quadrennium, however, a trouble arose between Mexico and the United States relative to lawlessness along the boundary of the two countries. This border-line had been immemorially the scene of violence and brigandage. The boundary extends through a comparatively unpopulated territory, for a distance of more than a thousand five hundred miles. It was in 1878 that the American Government found occasion of unusual complaint against Mexico on the score of frontier lawlessness. Ever and anon bands of brigands and desperadoes broke out of the Mexico territories, crossed over into those of the United States, wrought what havoc they would with property and life, and returned unwhipt into their old lairs.

Our Government demanded of Mexico the immediate correction and abatement of these outrages, and the latter professed entire willingness to do as much as might be done to prevent their recurrence. But the difficulties in the way of establishing peace along such a border were very great. It transpired in the course of the negotiations that Mexico had herself suffered in like manner from lawless incursions into her territory by Ameri-

can desperadoes. The evil was found to be mutual between the two countries. Efforts were put forth by both for the protection of the border. At length the country in question was penetrated at several points by railways, from both directions, and with this facility for throwing troops into the troubled country, lawlessness in a large measure subsided and disappeared.

President Diaz served out his term, and in 1880 was succeeded in the office of Chief Magistrate by Manuel Gonzalez. The election in this instance was less violent and more in the constitutional manner than those which had preceded it, giving token of political development, civil quietude, and general promise to the Republic. At the close of his term, Gonzales was, on December 1, 1884, succeeded in office by General Diaz, whose Administration was noted for continued improvement, and for the strengthening of industrial and commercial relations between Mexico and the United States. The same interweaving of interests between the two countries may be noted which we have already observed on the side of the Canadian Dominion; but not in a like degree of intimacy. On the Mexican side the question of race comes in to retard and obstruct the development of internationality. The Mexican Republic has a large Indian citizenship, especially prevalent in the frontier States, with which it is difficult to deal. Besides this, the Spanish Mexicans are not themselves, in their ethnic and political antecedents, of a character to assimilate well with the English-speaking republican democracy of the United States.

As a fact, there has never been much *political* sympathy between our country and Mexico. Though the Mexican Republic is after the precise model of the United States, the two Governments are dominated by different forces and borne onward by diverse tides. But from an industrial point of view much intimacy and friendship are possible between the two peoples. This possibility impressed itself most strongly on the mind of General Grant, who, during his Presidency, and afterwards, sought assiduously to draw into greater intimacy the commercial interests of the two countries, and the policy of doing so may be said to have been accepted as correct by the American Government. It may be truthfully averred that, as it respects the problem of a republican government, Mexico furnishes by far the best example which has thus far been given by any of the Latin races, exclusive of France. There is manifested in our sister Republic of the South-west little disposition to recede from the representative method, or to take up with the abandoned forms of monarchy. Experience and habit appear to have prevailed over race instincts and ancient precedents, and it may well be hoped that the future holds in store for the Republic of Mexico a large and glorious nationality.

CHAPTER CLIV.—SOUTH AMERICA.

WE are now to enter upon the further consideration of the Spanish American nationalities of the New World. No transformation in history is more extraordinary than that by which the Spanish and Portuguese, having so great a start, were pushed aside and remanded to a subordinate work in possessing and developing the American Continents. Viewed from before the event, nothing could seem more improbable than that insular and provincial England—dominated at the time of the discovery and first planting in America by the dark-minded and illiberal founder of the Tudor Dynasty—should succeed in throwing forward her forces upon the central line of the American coast, beating her way to right and left, forcing back the French on the one hand and the Spaniards on the other, and finally compelling the one to accept the frozen countries beyond the St. Lawrence and the other to be content with the narrow, mountainous land beyond the Rio Grande, or with the tremendous solitudes of aboriginal South America. It is to the ris-

ing nationalities of the latter country, precariously founded and feebly developed by Spanish and Portuguese colonies, that our attention is now to be briefly directed.

Beyond the Isthmus of Darien, stretching from the upper arm of the United States of Colombia, in latitude 13° N., to the ocean-beaten cliffs of Cape Horn, lies the great continent of South America. In this vast region civilization has had a tardy growth. Though discovered at as early a date as North America, it chanced in the vicissitude of things that the South American coast did not feel the impact of any vigorous race. Perhaps we should say that it did not feel the impact of any race in which the political and colonizing instincts were naturally strong. What with the greater expanse of water lying between the coast of South America and the shores of Europe, and what with the more powerful exhibition of those forces of nature with which men must contend in the creation of civilized States, the development of the various kingdoms and republics of South America was late in beginning and slow in progress.

If we begin a cursory survey of the various political powers now spread before us in this great peninsula, we shall find, first of all, running up and including the Isthmus of Panama, bounded on the north by the Caribbean Sea and on the west by the Pacific, the UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA, formerly known as New Granada. At the present time this State is a republic in government, consisting of nine divisions, somewhat like the States of the American Union. The coast of this country was first traced by Ojeda, in 1499. The Viceroyalty of Granada was created in 1718, and the first struggle for national independence occurred near the close of the eighteenth century. For a while, however, Spain held her grip, and it was not until 1811 that actual independence was proclaimed.

Eight years afterwards, the people, under the lead of Bolivar, succeeded in their efforts, and a union was formed with Quito and Venezuela, the new State being known as the Republic of Colombia. After an existence of ten years this union was dissolved, and Venezuela and Quito resumed their former political condition. New Granada became an independent republic in 1831, and a constitution was promulgated in the following year.

The model of the new government was that of the United States. For twenty-eight years the course of events was comparatively unruffled; but in 1860 a popular revolution broke out against the conservative Administration of President Ospina. In July of 1861, Bogota, the capital, was captured by the insurgents and the government assumed by General Mosquera, leader of the rebellion. In the following October the Congress of the republic assembled, and the name of the country was changed to the United States of Colombia.

But the civil conflict did not end until December, 1862. The Constitution was modified. The President's term was reduced to two years instead of four. From 1863 to 1867, Mosquera continued in authority. But the majority in Congress became opposed to his policy, and he was driven into exile. Colombia, in this stage of her affairs, sought to steady her fragile institutions by an appeal to the United States of America. In 1868, Caleb Cushing was sent as an ambassador, and in the following year a treaty was concluded between our country and the lesser republic, by which the former acquired the right to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. In 1870 the compact was amended and amplified, and the influence of the United States confirmed in that region. Since this epoch, the affairs of Colombia have greatly improved, and the lover of free institutions in South America finds many causes of gratification and promise as respects the future of the State.

The history of VENEZUELA is very similar to that of Colombia. This coast was visited by Columbus in 1498. The name of the republic signifies Little Venice; for the shore-lines from the mouth of the Orinoco westward are so much indented and the lake regions so pronounced as to justify the analogy expressed in the name. Venezuela was the seat of some of the oldest settlements in the New World. Many of these antedated the middle of the sixteenth century. About the year 1700 a Spanish company was formed for the cultivation of indigo and cocoa.

Under the auspices of this corporation the principal settlements in Venezuela were made and governed until 1778. When Napoleon I.

CARIBBEAN SEA
CENTRAL AMERICA
WEST INDIA IS.
Barbadoes
Trinidad I.
Port of Spain
Tobago
Grenada
Curaçoa
Aruba
Bonaire
Margarita
Cumana
Barcelona
Maracaybo
Coro
Puerto Cabello
Valencia
CARACAS
Merida
Truxillo
Guanare
Barquisimeto
Calabozo
Pao
Angostura
S.Fernando
Varinas
Ocaña
Pamplona
Mompox
Tolu
Panama
Chagres
Portobello
Darien
Cartagena
Sta. Marta
Pt. Gallinas
La Hacha
R. Magdalena
Nicaragua
S. Juan
Aspinwall
Chiriqui L.
G. of Dulce
Veraguas
Santiago de
Bay of Panama
G. of S. Miguel
P. Malo
Cocos I.
C. Corrientes
Cupica B.
Buenaventura
Choco Bay
Gorgona I.
Malpelo I.
Cartago
Antioquia
Medellin
Remedios
Tunja
Socorro
Honda
SANTA FE DE BOGOTA
S. Juan
Popayan
Oakuan
Barbacoas
Esmeraldas
C.S. Francisco
Tumaco
Galapagos Is.
James I. (To Ecuador)
Abingdon I.
Indefatigable I.
Chatham I.
Hood I.
Charles I.
Albemarle
EQUATOR
QUITO
Antisana
Cotopaxi
Puerto Viejo
C.S. Lorenzo
Chimborazo
Riobamba
Guayaquil
Pt. S. Helena
Gulf of Guayaquil
Puna I.
ECUADOR
Tumbez
Cuenca
Loxa
Santiago
S. Borja
C. Blanco
Parina Pt.
Payta
Piura
Sechura
Pt. Aluja
Lobos de Tierra
Lambayeque
Caxamarca
Truxillo
Santa
Guayaquil
Tarapato
Mayobamba
Guanuchuco
Huamachuco
Caxatambo
Huanuco
Guarmey
Huaura
Huacho
Callao
LIMA
Canete
Chincha Is.
PERU
Tarma
Jauja
Huancavelica
Ayacucho
Cuzco
Huamanga
Abancay
Yca
P.S. Nicolas
Arequipa
Acari
Apolobamba
Esaltacion
Trinidad
Sorato
PAZ
Chiquitos
Bolivia
Tucuman
Buenos Ayres
Rio Negro
Patagonia
Falkland Is.
Cape Horn
Tierra del Fuego
Magellan Str.
Cape Pillar
Cape Tres Montes
Chiloe I.
Valdivia
Concepcion
Valparaiso
Coquimbo
Copiapo
Atacama
Cobija
Arica
Tacna
Iquique
Tarapaca
Pisagua
Mollendo
Islay

MAP XXX.
SOUTH AMERICA
English Miles
0 100 300 500 800
Railways shown thus
Falkland Isles. (British)
Georgia (British)
Tropic of Capricorn
Longitude West 60 of Greenwich
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CHILI
BOLIVIA
PARAGUAY
ARGENTINA
URUGUAY
BRAZIL
PATAGONIA
TERRA DEL FUEGO
SUCRE
SANTIAGO
BUENOS AYRES
MONTE VIDEO
RIO DE JANEIRO
Valparaiso
Juan Fernandez
Masafuera
St. Felix
St. Ambrose
Cape Horn
Strait of Magellan
Falkland Sd.
Martin Vas.
Trinidad
Sazemburg
Fisk & Sec.

FIRST STEAMER ON THE ORINOCO.

overthrew the Bourbon dynasty of Spain, the same effects were first produced in the South American colonies as in Mexico. A spirit of loyalty was awakened for the overthrown house. But in the course of time a revolutionary reaction took place, and in 1811 Venezuela declared her independence. Freedom was won under General Bolivar, and the three States next to the isthmus formed a republican union.

For several years Spanish authorities sought to recover their supremacy; but the revolution had gone too far to be counteracted. In 1829–30, Venezuela became independent, and a republican Constitution was adopted. For a decade and a half the Government was administered by Presidents Paez, Vargas, and Soublette. With the accession of General Monagas, in 1846, until the election of General Falcon, in 1863, the country was involved in civil war. For two years tranquillity was restored; but under the Presidency of Guzman Blanco, hostilities broke out afresh, and for several years the civil Government was at the mercy of hostile factions. In 1873, Blanco's authority was renewed for four years and the Government became a virtual dictatorship. But the methods of the President, though arbitrary, were generally just, and the enforced quiet was preferable to the previous anarchy.

Of the same general character with the two preceding States is the Republic of ECUADOR, the ancient kingdom of Quito. This country, one of the most varied in the world composed of snow-capped mountain-peaks, dense forests, and vast savannas, was at the first a dependency of Peru under the general dominion of Spain. This relation was maintained from the middle of the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is probable that Quito was the most productive of all the Spanish colonies. In the year 1809 the yoke of Spain was thrown off by the Ecuadorians, who sought to gain their freedom by war with the mother country. In May of 1822 a decisive battle was fought at Pichincha, and independence was achieved. In common with the United States of Colombia and Venezuela, Quito proclaimed a republic, and

GATHERING PERUVIAN BARK.

entered into union with her sister States of the North.

The true independence of the country, however, dates from 1831, when the present name of Ecuador was adopted. For a long time the State was embroiled with civil wars, and this condition of affairs was not ended until the beginning of hostilities with Peru in 1852. The struggle continued six years; and even after the establishment of peace with the foreign power, domestic insurrections were of such frequent occurrence as to prevent the development of the State. In 1869 the city of Guayaquil was destroyed by fire, and Quito laid in ruins by an earthquake. A little later an unsuccessful effort was made by President Mosquera, of New Granada, to reconstruct the old Colombian Republic, and his ambitious scheme led to a war, in which the Ecuadorians were defeated. For several year civil discord reigned until the accession to the Presidency of Garcia Moreno in 1869. Even he was obliged to resign before the end of his official term, and was succeeded by Rafael Carvajal, whose Administration extended over a period of six years.

Of the history of ancient PERU, something has been already presented in a former Book. The country, perhaps the most famous of the early States of South America, still holds an important rank. Her products, especially the Peruvian bark and the guano, are in demand in every part of the world. The story of Pizarro need not be repeated. About the middle of the sixteenth century a civil government was firmly established by the Spanish Viceroy, Pedro de la Gasca. The ancient Empire of the Incas became one of the four principal Spanish dependencies in the New World.

Until near the close of the eighteenth century, Peru was of vast territorial extent; but in 1776 the provinces of La Plata, Potosi, Charcas, Chiquitos, and Paraguay were torn away in order to form the new government of Buenos Ayres. In 1780 a formidable Peruvian rebellion broke out, but was presently suppressed. Peru was one of the most loyal of the Spanish-American States. She was the last to become independent of the Mother Country. Her independence was declared in July of 1821. Three years afterwards, the war with Spain still continuing, General Bolivar became dictator, and a few months later the Spanish army was decisively defeated.

BELLE OF PERU.

It was at this epoch that the State of Bolivia was wrested from the parent Republic to become an independent Confederation. The Peruvian annals subsequent to this event are so similar in character to those of the States already named in this chapter, that their recital in detail would prove uninteresting and monotonous. In the year 1837 war broke out

between Peru and Chili; but peace was concluded after a few months of conflict. After this, General Gamarra was chosen President, but was killed in 1841, in a battle in Bolivia. The next Chief Magistrate was Menendez, who was deposed from office in 1842. The two following years were occupied with another civil war, of which General Castilla was the hero. Being himself elected to the Presidency, he was defended by a body of European and American soldiers. By these, Vivanco was repulsed; but his fleet still held sway over the neighboring waters. It was at this juncture that the two American ships, *Georgiana* and *Lizzie Thompson*, gathering guano on the coast, were captured by one of Castilla's steamers. This act of violence was followed up by others of like sort, until what time the attention of

LIMA.

restored order in the country, and the following five years were a period of prosperity unparalleled in the history of the country.

Afterwards, during the Presidency of General Echinique, whose Administration was too corrupt to be tolerated, another revolution was headed by Castilla. Against him another leader arose, named Vivanco, who, for a while, besieged his rival in a town of Callao, which the American Government was drawn to the outrages, and Peru obliged to make ample reparation for the damage which she had inflicted.

In 1858, Castilla succeeded in capturing the city of Arequipa, and presently reëstablished his authority throughout the country. Meanwhile he had published a proclamation freeing the slaves, and at one time extended

his authority over Ecuador. Several attempts were made to assassinate the President; but these proved abortive, and he continued in power until the expiration of his term.

The next Chief Magistrate was General San Ramon, elected in 1862. In the following year he died in office, and was succeeded by General Pezet, during whose Administration a war broke out, occasioned by the seizure of the Chincha Islands. The conflict resulted favorably to the Peruvians; but the seizure cost them a war indemnity of three million dollars. The agreement to pay this large sum was regarded by one of the political parties as treasonable. President Pezet was deposed, and the war with Spain broke out anew. Chili and Peru entered into an alliance, and in 1866 the Spanish army was driven from the country.

In the following year the present Peruvian Constitution was adopted. But before the Government was one year old the ruling President, General Prado, was driven from office, and obliged to leave the country. Balta, the next Chief Magistrate, was assassinated in 1872. This event, however, seemed to put an end to the fierce broils which had continued for more than a quarter of a century, and with the reäccession of Don Manuel Prado to the Presidency, an interval of peace ensued, during which national industry was promoted, railways built, commerce encouraged, and an interest excited in the education of the people.

We have now reached by far the most important of the South American States—Brazil. It was on the coast of this country that Amerigo Vespucci made his most important discoveries. Even before his day, a greater than he, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, sailing under the flag of Emanuel, King of Portugal, and attempting to follow the course of Da Gama, was driven to these shores, on the 22d of April, 1500. It was on his return to Portugal that Vespucci published what purported to be a map of the New World, from which circumstance he gained for the Western Continent the name of America.

The dye-woods, of which Brazil is so wonderfully productive, gave a lucrative trade to the early Portuguese merchants, who, in the times of King John III., had already claimed a monopoly of this branch of commerce. It was to maintain these advantages of trade that the first Portuguese colonies were established in Brazil. For a while the settlements thus planted flourished greatly. But in the course of time the savages, as in North America, became hostile, and the nobles who had thus far conducted the enterprise were obliged to turn over the colonies to the government of Portugal.

In 1549 the first Portuguese Governor of Brazil was appointed. His name was Thoumé de Souza. He established his Government at São Salvador da Bahia, which was at that time the capital of Brazil. Six years after his arrival, a French colony was planted on an island in the bay of Rio de Janeiro. The founder of the settlement was Admiral Villegagnon, whose bad faith and worse management led to the extinction of the colony after an existence of ten years.

It was in 1567 that the city of São Sebantiäo, afterwards called Rio de Janeiro, was founded by the Portuguese. Thirteen years afterwards Portugal was annexed to Spain by Philip II., and the colonies of the former State passed under the dominion of the latter. So far as Brazil was concerned, the change was not salutary. By this time the rapacity of the Spaniards had wakened the hostility of half the world. Savage tribes, as well as civilized nations, had come to dread her cruel and domineering spirit. It were hard to say whether, at this epoch, Spain was more cordially hated by England, by France, or by Holland. As a result of these conditions, the coast towns of Brazil suffered greatly at the hands of the enemies of the parent State.

In 1612 the Province of Maranhão was seized by the French and the city of São Louiz founded, only to be captured by the Portuguese in the following year. In 1623 a Dutch fleet took Bahia and held it for two years, at the expiration of which time they were expelled. In 1629, Pernambuco fell into the hands of the Dutch, who were indefatigable in their efforts to gain possession of the whole country. In this ambition they were successful, in so far as to obtain possession of all Brazil north of Pernambuco, except Pará.

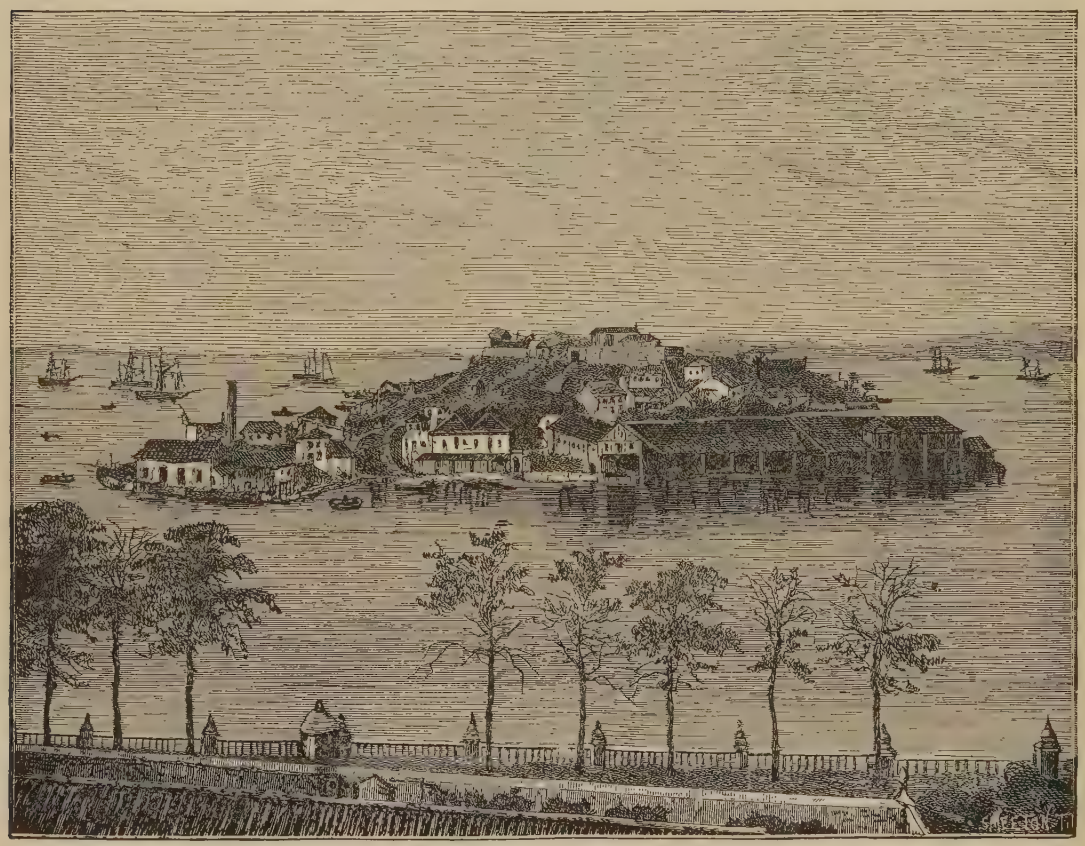
Such was the condition of affairs at the middle of the seventeenth century. But the Portuguese were in no wise tolerant of

foreign domination. They rose vindictively upon the invaders, and, in a war of five years' duration, succeeded in driving them out of the country. In 1660 a treaty was concluded by the terms of which the whole Brazilian territory was freed from the presence of the Dutch.

Meanwhile, Portugal, always restive under Spanish domination, revolted against the king of Spain, and, led by John IV. of Bragança, recovered her independence. The House of Bragança was permanently restored to the Portuguese throne, and the heir apparent of that kingdom was given the title of Prince of Brazil. These events happened about twenty years before the expulsion of the Dutch, and it can not be doubted that the revulsion in the parent State contributed much to make and keep the Portuguese dominant in Brazil.

Of all the South American countries, the colonies of Portugal had greatest peace and prosperity. From the earliest time the principality of Brazil appeared to possess stability and permanency. In the course of time the great mineral wealth of the country, especially in gold and diamonds, was discovered and a wonderful impetus was given to wealth and population. At length the seat of government was transferred from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro, which has ever since remained the metropolis of South America.

When, in 1807, the House of Bragança was overthrown by Napoleon, John VI., the reigning sovereign of Portugal, fled with his court to Brazil, and took up his residence at the capital. The movement was so important as almost to reverse the relations between the principality and the parent State. The Brazilian Constitution was modified and adapted to the altered condition. The restrictions which had been laid by Portugal upon her colony were removed, and the Brazilian ports opened to the commerce of all nations. For eight years the Portuguese world was ruled from Rio de Janeiro instead of Lisbon; and on the whole, the shock which the Braganças



ISLE OF SERPENTS—BAY OF RIO DE JANEIRO.

had received was favorable to the growth of their power. After Waterloo the title of Principality gave place to Kingdom of Brazil, and John VI. styled himself henceforth King of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarve.

In the interval of this foreign residence of the Bragança princes a revolt occurred in Portugal, and in 1820 the Liberal Constitution of Spain was proclaimed as the law of the land. The revolution extended to Pará and Pernambuco, and John VI., perceiving that the same wave would soon extend to Rio de Janeiro, anticipated the movements of his subjects, accepted the new Constitution, and made a proclamation of that fact in February of 1821.

As soon as this political transformation was effected the king appointed his son, Prince Pedro, to rule over Brazil, and himself returned to Portugal. By this time the former country, becoming conscious of its own vast territories and capacities, and the swelling tides of population, began to feel the premonitory thrills of independence. In the very year of the king's departure the revolutionary spirit became perceptible among the Brazilians. In October of 1822, the movement was so overwhelming that a declaration was made of the independence of the country, under the name of an Empire. On the 1st of the following December the Prince Regent was formally crowned as Emperor of Brazil, with the title of Dom Pedro I. Within the next two years an imperial Constitution was framed and adopted, and on the 7th of September, 1825, the independence of the new power was acknowledged by the Government at Lisbon. A year later King John died, and Dom Pedro became, by that event, ruler of Portugal. But he was well satisfied with the independence and sovereignty of his new American State, and resigned the Portuguese crown to his daughter, Donna Maria. The relations between Portugal and Brazil were thus amicably adjusted on the basis of mutual independence.

In the year 1826 war was declared by the Empire against the Argentine Republic. An effort had been made by the latter power to convert Uruguay into a dependency. When, however, the conflict between the two States was about to begin, Great Britain offered her mediation, and peace was happily restored. It was agreed that Montevideo should become independent, under her own Constitution.

It was the misfortune of Dom Pedro I. not to get along smoothly with the legislative branch of the Brazilian Government. Angry quarrels broke out between him and the Chamber of Deputies, and the troubles increased until 1831, when the Emperor, finding himself hopelessly unpopular with his subjects, was constrained to abdicate his throne in favor

DOM PEDRO I.

of Dom Pedro II. The latter prince, however, was at this time but six years of age, and a regency had to be established until he should reach his majority. Not until 1841 was Pedro proclaimed as sovereign in his own right. In the very year of the revolution which had dethroned his father, a law was passed by the Brazilian Government for the abolition of the slave-trade; but that nefarious business was still carried on in a covert way until 1850, when it was finally suppressed.

The first eight years of the reign of Dom Pedro II. were marked by a number of insur-

rectionary movements in the Brazilian provinces, notably in Minas Geraes and Pernambuco. But none of the revolts became so formidable as seriously to threaten the Empire. The years 1849–52 were marked in South American history for the rise of Rosas, the dictator of the Argentine Confederation, who was finally overthrown at Monte Caseros by the combined armies of Brazil, Uruguay, and Entre Rios. The dictator fled to England, and hostilities ceased in 1852.

The next thirteen years were a period of peace in Brazil. It was in this interval that the State of Paraguay, small in territory but intense in spirit, awaked the deadly hostility of the neighboring Powers. In 1865 an alliance was made by Brazil, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic, and war was declared against Paraguay under the express agreement that the parties to the compact would not lay down their arms until the existing government of that offending State should be destroyed. The war which ensued continued for six years, and was concluded in 1871 by the defeat and death of the dictator Lopez, who had been the main-stay of the cause of Paraguay. When, however, it came to settle the conditions of peace, a dangerous dispute arose between Brazil and the Argentine Republic. The late allies became jealous, and war was seriously threatened. At last, in 1872, it was agreed that the Argentine Republic should be permitted to make a separate treaty with Paraguay, as Brazil had done before; and by this means the war was averted.

On the whole, Dom Pedro was one of the most successful rulers of his times. His liberal policy and enlightened views did much to make the Empire of Brazil reputable among the great Powers of the earth. He it was who, in 1875, was elected a corresponding member of the French Academy of Sciences, an honor not often done to kings. He it was who, in 1876, came with his Empress and suite to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, and was received by the American people and their great representatives as a distinguished guest and friend. Under his auspices the domestic tranquillity and industrial prosperity of Brazil were greatly promoted, and his own example in literature and scientific acquirements did much to quicken the intellect and kindle the moral enthusiasm of the Brazilian people.

After the Emperor's visit to the United States, in 1876, he and the Empress proceeded to the Continent of Europe. He went as a student of political science, studying the economy and statecraft of the European governments. During his absence the Imperial authority of Brazil was left in the hands of the Princess Izabel, his daughter, who had been constituted Regent before his departure. Dom Pedro and the Empress, after nearly eighteen months of travel, returned to their own country, reaching Bahia in September of 1877. The good effects of the Emperor's intercourse with foreign nations were soon apparent. A great impetus was given to internal and international improvements. In 1867 there were only six railroads in the Empire, having a total length of five hundred and fifteen miles. In 1872 there were fifteen lines, aggregating seven hundred and sixty-eight miles in length. Four years afterwards the railways numbered twenty-two, having a total length of one thousand one hundred and forty-three miles. In the single year following, five other lines were added, with a total additional length of eight hundred and fifty-one miles. In 1882 there were two thousand three hundred and eighty-eight miles of Brazilian railway open to traffic, and twelve hundred miles additional in process of construction.

Within two months after his return, the Emperor signed an Imperial decree granting a subsidy of a hundred thousand dollars per annum, for a period of ten years, to the shipbuilders John Roach & Son for the establishment of a line of steamships between Rio de Janeiro and New York. The steamers were to have stations at St. Thomas, Pará, Pernambuco, and Bahia. It was stipulated that the vessels to be constructed should be equal in character to those plying between Brazil and Europe. The time fixed for the voyage between Rio de Janeiro and New York was twenty days. The steamships *Rio de Janeiro* and *City of Pará* were speedily constructed, and on the 29th of May, 1878, the former vessel completed its first voyage, coming safely to harbor, and receiving the Emperor and Empress of Brazil as guests. In every direction the material enterprises of the Empire were

thrust out rapidly and successfully, and the financial and commercial condition of the Government and nation were correspondingly improved.

The year 1878 was noted for the rare occurrence of a famine in Brazil. Several of the northern provinces of the Empire, Ceará in particular, were visited with an unprecedented drought. The brooks and minor streams, even some of the rivers, dried up to the bottom. The crops utterly failed, and the inhabitants of large districts, in a great measure inaccessible to relief, were reduced to sudden and fearful want. Some of the towns were depopulated. It was estimated that the province of Ceará lost at least ten thousand inhabitants by actual starvation. Though the national treasury was liberally opened for the relief of the sufferers, the help thus afforded could not avail, and the recovery of the stricken provinces was slow.

Something has already been said of the struggle of Dom Pedro II. and his Government against the institution of slavery. That incubus has rested upon the nation much as it did for two hundred and forty years on the United States; but it has been the good fortune of Brazil to proceed by easier stages to the destruction of the offending system. Beginning with 1871 the policy of emancipation was steadily pursued. At first, the legislation and Imperial decrees were directed to the traffic in slaves, and afterwards to the institution itself. Between 1871 and 1875, more than twenty-one thousand slaves were emancipated. It was provided by law that slave children on reaching the age of eight years should become free. The number of such in 1879 was fully twenty-five thousand. When the slave-child reached the age of emancipation, it was provided that the master might have his services to the age of twenty-one, on condition of paying to the youth fair wages and giving him an education. In lieu of this, the master might, should he so elect, receive a Government bond for three hundred dollars, bearing interest at six per centum. Nor will the reader fail to approve these judicious measures for the elevation of a servile race, and to compare the process with that by which, through blood and woe and wasting, the Negro slaves of the United States were brought to freedom.

Another favorable symptom in the current political and social condition of the Brazilians is the strong secularizing tendency everywhere apparent. In Brazil, as in other Catholic countries, the Roman Church continued until within the last two decades to dominate educational institutions, and to claim for herself that monopoly of society which she had enjoyed since the Middle Ages. The growth of public opinion at length demanded a reform. In 1878 the obligation which had been hitherto exacted from Protestants before they could receive degrees in the Government College was abolished, as was also the requirement for an examination in religious discipline and doctrine. The oath as to creed was also put aside, and the examinations were opened freely to all. The next step was the establishment of civil marriage, and the removal of the religious disabilities of the parties thereto. Then followed an amendment of the facilities for immigration, and the beginning of a new policy on the part of the Empire with respect to the foreign elements of the Brazilian population. This policy and many other liberal and enlightened measures were advanced by the Imperial Government, insomuch that it is doubtful whether any other rule of the present epoch did more for the advancement of the nation concerned than that of the broad-minded, reformatory, and progressive Dom Pedro II.

Events in the Empire followed an even course during the remainder of the decade until late in the year 1889, when an unexpected political cataclysm ensued for which it might be difficult to find a parallel in history. To all seeming the surface of civil society was undisturbed. The Government was administered in the usual manner. The internal affairs of the country, whether industrial, commercial, or political, gave no sign of disturbance. The relations between Brazil and all foreign Powers were amicable, and the observer could perceive no symptom of a coming storm. But all of a sudden, on the 15th of November, in the year just referred to, a revolution broke out, and was successful in a single day.

The event showed that the army, the navy, the larger part of the civil authorities, and the people generally had not only drifted away

from the Imperial system of government, but had become disloyal to the extent of wishing its destruction. It was also revealed that a specific cause of dislike had operated powerfully to break the allegiance of the people to the throne. This was the extreme unpopularity of the Princess Izabel with some classes of the Brazilians. The gravamen of her offending was the course which she had pursued during the absence of the Emperor in the United States and Europe. Acting as Regent for her father, she had taken the law into her own hands in the matter of the abolition of slavery. The process of gradual emancipation and compensation for slaves adopted by the Imperial Government has already been described. It appears that the Regent became dissatisfied with the slow operation of the emancipatory statute, and suddenly precipitated matters by an edict ending the institution of slavery at a blow. This gave a shock to the country and greatly offended the slaveholding classes on account of the inconveniences and losses to which they were subjected by the destruction of their human property. It appeared in the sequel that these classes and the affiliated parts of Brazilian society cherished a grudge against Princess Izabel, and determined to prevent her accession to the throne. Dom Pedro had now been Emperor for more than forty-eight years, and his demise was an event to be anticipated at no distant day. The dislike of the late Regent, and determination that she should never reign, seem to have been the *occasion*, if not the *cause*, of the impending Revolution.

Under these conditions a conspiracy of several of the leading men of the Empire was formed, under the leadership of General Fonseca, and, without a moment's warning, the Emperor was, on the 15th of November, 1889, summoned by a committee to come down from the throne, renounce his right to rule, and to leave the country. The aged sovereign was obliged to comply. He and his family, including the Princess Izabel, heir to the throne, were put on shipboard, and sent to foreign parts. It was supposed that the steamer was destined for London, but the event showed that Lisbon was the refuge chosen by the deposed monarch. The Revolutionists at once proclaimed a republic—the Republic of Brazil—and General Fonseca was made provisional President. The Revolution was enacted like the scenes of a drama. Foreign governments were notified that Brazil had peaceably, and of her own purpose, changed her form of government. The provinces gave in their adhesion to the Republican *regime*. It was expected that counter insurrections would break out, but only feeble symptoms of such movements appeared The new order was accepted as a matter of course, and the historians of different nations were surprised at the spectacle of a thorough and radical revolution in the government of a great Empire, effected by the action of a few resolute men, with only sporadic and fitful resistance and trifling losses of life.

Next in greatness among the States of South America may be ranked the ARGENTINE REPUBLIC. In territorial extent this power is second only to Brazil, and in the vigor of her people and institutions she may claim the same relative position. The country at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata was first known to white men in 1512. Buenos Ayres was founded by Mendoza in 1535. Under his orders the country was explored as far north as Asuncion, present capital of Paraguay. Before the close of the sixteenth century many colonies were established in the valley of La Plata. At this period the country was regarded as forming a part of the Viceroyalty of Peru. This relation was also held by the State of Paraguay. Until 1620, Buenos Ayres was dependent upon the Government of Paraguay, but in that year became independent.

This condition was maintained until 1776, when an entirely new distribution was made of the powers south of the equator. The States of Bolivia, Uruguay, Paraguay, and the Argentine Republic were united in one government under the title of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres. In 1806 a British fleet appeared on this coast and captured the capital and Montevideo. The inhabitants, however, rose on the invaders and recovered the cities. In the following year the British, more than ten thousand strong, returned to the attack, but were defeated and driven away. Three years afterwards a popular revolution broke out, and the people renounced their allegiance to Spain. War ensued, and in 1812 the independence of

the viceroyalty was achieved by the capture of Montevideo, the last city under the Spaniards. A republican form of government was instituted, and the chief power of the commonwealth was lodged in a chamber of deputies, known as the Sovereign Assembly. The city of Tucuman was chosen as the seat of government.

It was at this period that General San Martin, Governor of the province of Mendoza, raised an army of patriots, crossed the Andes, and aided the Chilians in gaining their independence. Shortly after, the combined armies of Chili and Buenos Ayres penetrated Peru and captured Lima. While these movements of the Argentines northward were taking place, the Portuguese gained possession of Montevideo. About the same time the seat of government was moved from Tucuman to Buenos Ayres, and the Constitution was modified in favor of democracy.

The transfer of the capital induced the provinces contiguous to the Rio de la Plata to join their fortunes with Buenos Ayres in the work of constructing a true republic. This was accomplished in the year 1824, and the first Presidency of the United Provinces was conferred on Las Heras. Then came a declaration of war on the part of Brazil, the general result of which was a serious check to the growth of republicanism in the South. Neither Las Heras nor his successor, Rivadavia, was able to uphold the cause against the superior power of the Brazilians. Nor is it likely that the Republic would have been able to maintain its existence at all but for the mediation of England. Under her auspices, in 1828, a treaty was concluded, by which the State of Uruguay was made independent under a triple guarantee of Great Britain, Brazil, and the Argentine Republic. The latter power was, however, for the time greatly weakened; but in 1831 the former course of affairs was resumed by the union of the provinces of Corrientes, Entre Rios, and Santa Fé with Buenos Ayres.

This work was seriously opposed by the army under General Lavalle, who defeated the constituted authorities and shot the President. For a while there were two governments, but at last Buenos Ayres was triumphant, and the distinguished General Juan Manuel de Rosas obtained control of the country. Once he was elected President, and twice Dictator. The latter office he held until 1852; and though for a period of more than ten years there was no meeting of the Congress, the Government was administered with such justice and patriotic rigor as to secure the public welfare in a higher degree than ever before.

It was the theory of Rosas that all the States formerly belonging to the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres should become integral parts of the Argentine Republic. The two most important countries to which this policy related were Uruguay and Paraguay, and the question whether these States should or should not be reïncorporated with the Republic of La Plata became the source of those bloody struggles which have made up the annals of the countries concerned for the last thirty years.

At last, in 1852, Rosas was defeated and compelled to fly from the country. The government was hereupon conferred upon Vicente Lopez; but he was suddenly overthrown by General Urquiza, who made himself Dictator instead of Rosas. The independence of Paraguay was acknowledged; and in the following year a new Constitution, modeled after that of the United States of North America, was adopted. Urquiza was elected President for six years. Bajada del Paraná was chosen as the seat of government. For a while Buenos Ayres resisted the new order of things, but gave in her adherence in the year 1855. For four years, however, the union between the latter city and Paraná was merely nominal, and the country was constantly threatened with civil war.

In 1865 the long-suppressed hostility between Paraguay and the Argentine Republic broke into an open declaration of war. It was at this juncture that the league above mentioned, between Brazil and Uruguay and the Argentine Republic, was made against Paraguay, under the solemn pledge that the existing government of the last named State should be destroyed. The result of this struggle, and its termination by the defeat and death of the Dictator Lopez, have already been narrated. During the progress of the conflict a strong anti-war party had sprung up in the States that were parties to the alli-

ance. Especially was this true in Buenos Ayres and Entre Rios, in both of which provinces formidable insurrections were made against the Government. During the last two decades the domestic tranquillity of Argentina has been little disturbed, and the civilizing forces have continued to propel the Republic in the direction of a broader and truer nationality.

Before the conclusion of the late war, namely, in 1868, the official term of President Mitre expired, and he was succeeded by General Sarmiento. The election was without a serious disturbance or revolutionary manifestations. In April of 1870, General Urquiza, who had been Governor and commander in Entre Rios during the Paraguayan War, was assassinated by some officers of the army, and Lopez Jordan was elected Governor in his stead. The latter publicly avowed the assassination as one of the necessities of the revolution, and the National Government refused to recognize his authority. Hostility supervened, which continued until 1873, when Lopez Jordan and his insurgents were put down by a division of the national troops, under command of Colonel Gainza.

The vast extent of territory and resources which the Argentine Republic had now attained might well make her the rival, or at least the competitor, of Brazil. The new Republic had now taken under its ægis no fewer than fourteen extensive provinces. Its dominions reached from the Atlantic to the crest of the Andes; from the borders of Bolivia on the north to Cape Horn. It would appear that Brazil was not insensible to the great and growing power on her southern boundary, and some jealousy was shown with respect to the establishment of the international line between the two Powers. The boundaries of Paraguay were difficult to determine, and hostilities were at one time imminent; but Ex-President Mitre was sent as special envoy to Rio de Janeiro, and the difficulty was peaceably adjusted.

Soon afterwards the Presidential election recurred, and Mitre was put forward as a candidate for Chief Magistrate. He was, however, defeated by Dr. Nicolas Avellanda. It has been the peculiarity of the Spanish American Republicans, both in Mexico and South America, that they accept political defeat with bad grace and ill-temper. This, indeed, is one of the difficulties in the way of the establishment by these peoples of a thorough republicanism. Of a certainty, if the political party suffering defeat refuses to accept the result—to bide its time, to agitate and reagitate the questions upon which it has staked its fortunes, to return to the charge at the appointed time and carry the field in a legitimate way and by the constitutional methods—there can be no republic at all.

It is in this respect that the English-speaking peoples have been so strongly contrasted with the Latin races. The man who speaks English takes his political defeat as he does a bad breakfast. "To be sure," saith he to himself, "the taste of this unpalatable thing will not remain in my mouth forever. Presently we shall recover from it, and the *others* shall go to the hill country and reflect on their political sins." In the present instance there were strong symptoms of a revolution in favor of the defeated Mitre, but President Sarmiento took strong measures against the insurgents, and after an unimportant revolt of twenty-six days, the country was reduced to quiet. The insignificance of the movement and the easiness of the suppression were construed as a favorable augury of the non-recurrence of such troubles in the future.

Internal improvement and international relations came in the wake of the political transformations above described. Railways began to be constructed. In 1875 three new lines were opened, and a fourth in the following year. At this time the railroads embraced the Central Argentine, the Tucuman, the Andine, the East Argentine, the Great Southern, the Western, the Ensenada, the Northern, the Campana, and the Port Ruiz lines, having an aggregate of one thousand four hundred and twelve miles. In 1876 an important postal treaty was concluded between the Republic and Great Britain, and in the same year an extradition treaty with Belgium. The Argentine Government, however, continued to be distressed with a heavy national debt, entailed by the disturbances and wars of the last quarter of a century.

The administration of Avellanda continued in a peaceable manner until October of 1880, when he was succeeded by General Julio A. Roca, whose term extended, after the Amer-

ican manner, until 1884. Before the expiration of the quadrennium, the disputed boundary between the Republic and Chili was satisfactorily settled. It was agreed that Patagonia should be an integral part of the Republic. The Strait of Magellan was assigned to Chili, but was neutralized to the ships of all nations. According to the limits now fixed for Argentina, the territorial area was estimated at four million square kilometers, being more than half the extent of Brazil, and considerably in excess of the area of Chili. The population

SHELTER FOR TRAVELERS IN THE ANDES.

in 1881 was reckoned as considerably more than three millions, of which nearly one-half were of European descent. Free immigration was granted, and during the decade extending from 1871 to 1881 nearly a half million of foreigners became citizens of the Republic.

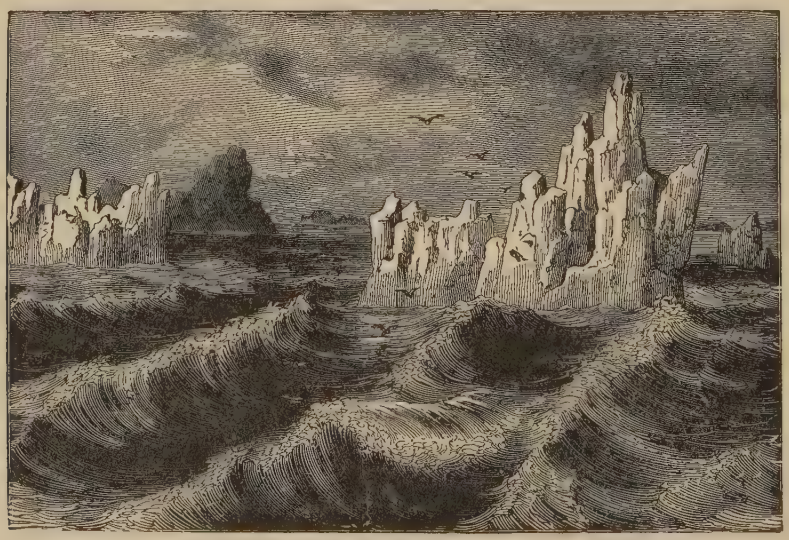
Meanwhile, education and other elements of enlightenment have made commendable progress. The number of the schools has been greatly increased. Two universities have been established, one in Buenos Ayres and the other in Cordova. One National College has been assigned to the provincial capital of each State, making fourteen secondary and superior institutions. Normal schools have also been established in all of the fourteen provinces. It was found at the close of the eighth decade that the ratio of children receiving instruction in the schools to the whole number of the population was as 1 to 16, while at the same time the corresponding ratio in Chili was 1 to 24, and in Brazil only 1 to 75. From this and similar facts the inference may well be drawn of the relatively greater progress and enlightenment of the Argentines as compared with the peoples of the neighboring nations. While from the governmental side, Brazil, by the liberal policy of the late Emperor, and by the recent promise of the Republic, may easily be given the first place among the South American nations, from the side of the people—the palm may be properly assigned to Argentina.

The remaining important State of South America is CHILI. Its geographical position is in every respect remarkable. The territory extends from Cape Horn to 17° N., thus occupying the whole western coast of the continent through more than two thousand miles. The

breadth, however, is limited. The country occupies the narrow and precipitous watershed of the Andes on the west. The situation is remote—almost inaccessible. The coast-line through the southern half is broken and indented with an infinity of bays and inlets; but from the latitude of 40° S., northward to Peru, the shore is smooth, like the remaining Pacific coasts of the two Americas.

The history of Chili goes back to the epoch of discovery and adventure. The country under the natives was first invaded by the Spaniard, Diego Almagro, who was a companion of Pizarro in the conquest of South America. The second invasion was made in 1550 by Pedro Valdivia, who began a war with the mountain tribes, which extended to 1559. Nearly a century was occupied in desultory conflicts, and it was not until 1665 that a treaty was made acknowledging the independence of some of the aboriginal nations, and conceding the remainder of Chili to the Spaniards.

From this time forth until 1723 was a period of peace. The country now rose to the rank of a viceroyalty, and was divided for purposes of civil government into thirteen districts. In 1810 occurred the outbreak of a war of independence. The conflict continued until April of 1818, when the patriots were finally victorious in the great battle of Maypu. The leader of the revolution was Juan José Carrera. The Constitution was formed in 1828, revised in 1831, and adopted as the basis of the present system of government in 1833. Chili has been much less disturbed by revolutions than the other South American States. One serious insurrection occurred in 1851, led by General Urriola. In that year, and again in 1856, Don Manuel Montt was elected President of the Republic. He was succeeded in 1861 by José Joaquin Perez, who also was re-elected in 1866. In that year a treaty of offense and defense was formed with Peru, and Chili became thus involved in a war with Spain. For this alliance she suffered severely. In March of 1866, Admiral Nuñez, of the Spanish Navy, bombarded Valparaiso, and the city suffered greatly. In 1871 an important treaty was formed with the United States. In recent times the history of Chili has been marked with great material and intellectual progress. Mines have been opened and developed, schools established, legal reforms effected, education to a considerable degree secularized, and the capital city magnificently improved. In 1871 the election was gained by the candidate of the Clerical party, Frederigo Errazuriz. The result, though reactionary, was for the time disastrous to the Chilian Liberals; but the latter soon revived from their defeat, and the present promise of the Republic is highly favorable to progress and enlightenment.



CLIFFS OF CAPE HORN.

ATLANTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC
Arctic Circle
North Cape
Orkney Is.
Shetland Is.
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
LONDON
North Sea
DENMARK
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Kolguev I.
Waigats I.
Nova
Stockholm
G. of Bothnia
White Sea
Archangel
PARIS
FRANCE
Hamburg
BERLIN
Baltic Sea
Gulf Finland
PRUSSIA
ST. PETERSBURG
RUSSIA
Riga
Warsaw
Moscow
Perezov
Verkhoturie
Irinsk
Tiumen
Ekaterinburg
Kurgan
Troitskoi
Petrop
Genoa
VIENNA
Trieste
AUSTRIA
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
ROME
R. Danube
Odessa
R. Dniester
R. Volga
Orenburg
Orsk
R. Ural
R. Tobol
Atbasarsk
Akmolinsk
CONSTANTINOPLE
Sea of Marmora
Dardanelles
Bosporus
Sebastopol
Crimea
Sea of Azoff
Black Sea
Circassia
Mt. Caucasus
Astrakhan
CASPIAN SEA
Kirghiz Hordes
R. Emba
Karkaraly
R. Ishim
R. Irtish
Ust Urt
Aral Sea
R. Sirr or Syr
Turkestan
Khiva
Krasnovodsk
Tashkend
Samarcand
Khokan
Alatau
TURKESTAN
Bokhara
Kashgar
Pamir
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GREECE
Archipelago
Candia
Rhodes
Cyprus
Alexandria
CAIRO
SUEZ
Gaza
Jerusalem
Beyrout
Acre
Damascus
Palmyra
Aleppo
Orfah
Diarbekir
Mosul
Tarsus
Adana
Caramania
Armenia
Erzeroum
Tiflis
Kars
Tabreez
Besht
Kasbin
Astrabad
Sari
Mushed
Morve
Balkh
Herat
Meshid
Cabool
Ghuznee
Peshawur
Cashmere
Pamir
Yarkand
Khoten
Lahore
Moolan
Bhawulpore
Delhi
Ajmeer
Jodpore
Hyderabad
Oodeypore
Indore
Surat
Damaun
Bombay
Poonah
Sattara
Goa
Sawunt Warree
Mangalore
Laccadive Arch.
Beypore
Cochin
Trivandrum
C. Comorin
Maldive Islands
Calicut
Malabar Coast
Ghauts
Konkan
Ceylon
Ras Hafoon
Guardafui
Socotra
Gulf of Aden
Aden
Sea of Babel-Mandeb
Perim I.
Mocha
Zeyla
Burbera
ABYSSINIA
Blue Nile
Massuah
Khartoum
Suakin
Jiddah
Mecca
Medina
Yambo
Wedjed
Rabbah
Tina
Mollah
Akaba
Mt. Sinai
Petra
Ruins of Babylon
Syrian Desert
Dead Sea
Tor
Ras Mohammed
RED SEA
EGYPT
NUBIA
Libyan Desert
Nile R.
Derbend
Lake Van
Mt. Lebanon
Palmyra
Hamadan
Kasbin
Zenjan
Sultanieh
Mt. Demavend
TEHERAN
PERSIA
Ispahan
Yezd
Kubbes
Shuster
Mohammerah
Bagdad
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Basra
Grane
Persian Gulf
Lingah
Bushire
Kerman
Gambroon
Bampoor
Candahar
Quetta
KELAT
AFGHANISTAN
BELOOCHISTAN
Kej
Bella
Gunda
Bikaneer
Ajmeer
Sonmeeanee
Karrachee
R. Indus
Muscat
Ormuz
Strait of Ormuz
Gulf of Oman
Ras-al-Had
Muscat I.
G. of Cutch
Cambay
Baroda
Nejd
ARABIA
Lachsa
Derlyeh
Khalbar
Anezeh
Jebel Shammar
Hadramaut
Shaab
Mokalla
Keshin
Ras Fartak
Morbat
Kuria Maria B. & Is.
Sankirah B.
C. Isolette
Muscat I.
Socotra
Gulf of Aden
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN
EQUATOR
MAP XXXI.
ASIA
English Miles
0 100 300 600 1000
60
70
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
Longitude
Fish & Sco, N.Y.

70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170
OCEAN
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
CHINESE EMPIRE
TURKESTAN
MONGOLIA
MANCHOORIA
JAPAN ISLANDS
SEA OF JAPAN
OKHOTSK SEA
BERING SEA
KAMCHATKA
YELLOW SEA
EASTERN SEA
CHINA SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
Luzon
Mindanao
Formosa
Hong Kong
Canton
Amoy
Nankin
PEKING
Shanghai
Yokohama
YEDDO
Osaka
Nagasaki
Siberia
Yakutsk
Irkutsk
Tomsk
Yeniseisk
Okhotsk
Kamchatka
Saghalien I.
Kurile Is.
Aleutian Is.
Behring I.
Copper I.
Commander Is.
Petropaulovski
Japan
Hakodate
Niphon
Sikok
Kiusiu
Formosa
Loo-choo Is.
Bonin Is.
Volcano Is.
Pelew Is.
Caroline Is.
Celebes
Borneo
Sumatra
Java
Singapore
Malacca
Penang
Acheen
Andaman Is.
Nicobar Is.
CEYLON
Trincomalee
BAY OF BENGAL
CALCUTTA
Ava
Burmah
Siam
BANGKOK
Saigon
Tonquin
Hanoi
Hainan
Macao
Manilla
Mindoro
Samar
Leyte
Negros
Panay
Zamboanga
Sooloo Sea
Celebes Sea
Molucca Is.
Banda Sea
Timor
Timor Laut
Arafura Sea
Papua or New Guinea
Gilolo
Ceram
Amboyna
Banda
Aru Is.
Kei Is.
Serwatti Is.
Boutan
Macassar
Flores Sea
Java Sea
Batavia
Bencoolen
Sumatra
Nias
Mantawi Is.
Billiton
Banca
Borneo
Sarawak
Succadana
Pontianak
Banjermassin
Laut
Celebes
Menado
Gilolo
Equator
Str. of Sunda
Java Islands
Australia
Gulf of Carpentaria
Port Essington
Melville I.
Coepang
Timor
Sandalwood
Lombok
Sumbawa
Floris
Ombay
Delly
Sooloo Arch.
Mindanao
Greenwich
90

Book Twenty-Eighth.

ORIENTAL NATIONS.

CHAPTER CLV.—CHINA.

TO this, the concluding Book of the present Volume, has been reserved a brief narrative of the course of events in the two leading Oriental nations and Australia. Such sketches may hardly be dignified with the name of history; but it must be remembered that it is only within the memory of men still living that the great Empires of the East have drifted, like vast continents of the deep, into the visual circle of historical observation. For the present, therefore, and until opportunity has been given for the critical examination of the records and documents of China and Japan, the Western reader—for all Europe and America are in this regard the West—must be content with the mere outline of things to come.

It is a strange reflection on the imperfect knowledge and fragmentary annals of mankind that of the most ancient and populous nation in the world the least is known; and it is a biting satire on the moral condition of the human race that this want of knowledge is based upon the fact that the nation in question has from time immemorial devoted its energies to peace, and has not been sufficiently bloody-minded to attract the interested attention of other peoples. He who takes the sword is famous Alexander; he who handles the hoe is an obscure boor. Of the one, the blatant histories which men have written are full of praises; of the other and his humble home by the garden wall, they say no word at all. Such is the moral standard which has made butchery glorious, and perfidious politics the principal business of mankind.

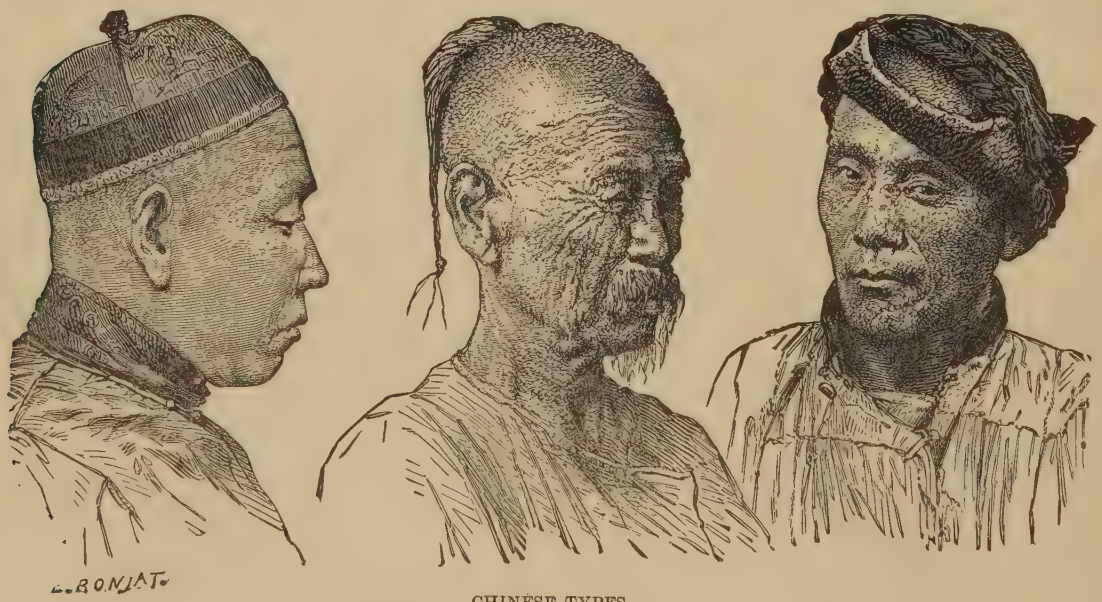
It is the purpose in the present chapter to give a mere outline of Chinese history, especially in the last century. The meagerness of such a sketch will be compensated by the fact that the present forces of civilization are drawing all nations into affiliation, and that the pen of the near future will amplify and perhaps glorify the poor, brief pages devoted in this connection to the annals of China.

The history—seemingly authentic—of this wonderful country goes back to the year 2207 B. C. Even before this period the myths of the far ages have preserved the shadows of celestial and terrestrial rulers back to the time of Fuh-hi, to whom is attributed the founda-

tion of the Chinese Empire, nearly three thousand years before the Christian era. In that remote twilight we discover people working in the fields, writing on tablets, marrying and giving in marriage. The doctor visits his patients; the artisan constructs wagons, ships, and clocks; the goldsmith does cunning work in ornaments, medals, and coins; the philanthropist establishes schools.

It was, however, by Yu the Great that, in 2207, the foundations of temporal authority were securely laid in China. In the reign of his grandson a popular revolution occurred, by which Chung-kang was raised to the throne. The reign of this prince and that of Shan-kang provincial governors rose in revolt. Sometimes the hostile Tartars threatened the destruction of the Empire. It was in the latter part of this period—viz., from 551 to 479 B. C.—that Confucius flourished, and soon afterwards Mencius, the principal expounder of his doctrines.

The next dynasty was that of Tsin, under whose princes the unity of the Empire was restored. By Ching-wang, one of the later rulers of this House, the great Chinese Wall was built for the protection of the country against the incursions of the Tartars. Ching-wang resumed the title of Emperor, which had long been in abeyance, and became the national



CHINESE TYPES.

and Ti-chu, who came after him, are represented as having been well-timed and vigorous. Afterwards we come to the dynasty of Shang, with its twenty-eight rulers, who occupied the throne from 1766 to 1112 B. C. These princes are said to have been wicked and cruel oppressors of the people.

The last member of this great House of Shang perished in a rebellion of the army against his miserable rule. General Wu-wang, who headed the insurrection, became the prominent founder of the dynasty of Chow. For nearly nine centuries he and his descendants held dominion over China. The annals of this period are filled with the story of bloody struggles, internal and foreign. Sometimes the hero of China. In order to destroy the memory of turmoil and disgrace he caused all the books to be gathered up and burned. It is to this circumstance that the fragmentary character of the works of Confucius and Mencius is to be attributed.

The next dynasty was that of Han, whose princes reigned from 206 B. C. to A. D. 220. Of this line of sovereigns, several left behind them a great reputation: Wen-ti, for restoring the ancient literature; Wu-ti, for patronizing the arts and sciences; Siuen-ti, for the conquest of Tartary; Ming-ti, for the introduction of Buddhism; Ho-ti, for his favor to agriculture and the cultivation of the vine.

It was about the close of the Han Dynasty

that the nations of the West began to hear of China and the Chinese. There is a tradition that, about the year A. D. 200, a Roman embassy came to Pekin. Soon after this, the dynasty of Tsin was restored, and the three kingdoms into which China had been divided were again consolidated by the Emperor Wu-ti in the year 260.

In the following century—the fourth—the Tartars, who for many generations had beaten against the northern frontier, succeeded in breaking over the boundary and gaining a permanent foothold within the limits of the Empire. From this time, namely, 386 A. D., to the close of the sixth century, the four feeble dynasties of Sung, Tse, Liang, and Chin ruled the conntry. These times were full of trouble. Civil commotions prevailed, and warring factions in religion and politics gave the Imperial dominions no peace.

In the early part of the seventh century, Christianity is said to have been first proclaimed in China by Olopen, a Nestorian monk. A little later came the great Emperor, Tai-tsung, who was, in his own country, as famous a conqueror and organizer as was Charlemagne with the Franks or Haroun-al-Raschid among the Caliphs. By this Emperor the borders of China were widened out on the west to the confines of Persia. Under his successors, however, the Chinese power declined, and the Tartars again became troublesome on the north.

In the early part of the thirteenth century Genghis Khan made an invasion of China, and reached Pekin with an army of Mongolians. Under Kublai Khan, the first Mongol dynasty was established over the Chinese. The Sung dynasty was overthrown, and the royal family drowned themselves in the river at Canton. It was in the reign of this conquering Kublai that the traveler Marco Polo sojourned for a while at Pekin, and carried thence to Europe his wonder-inspiring story of things he had seen in the East.

CHINESE WALL.

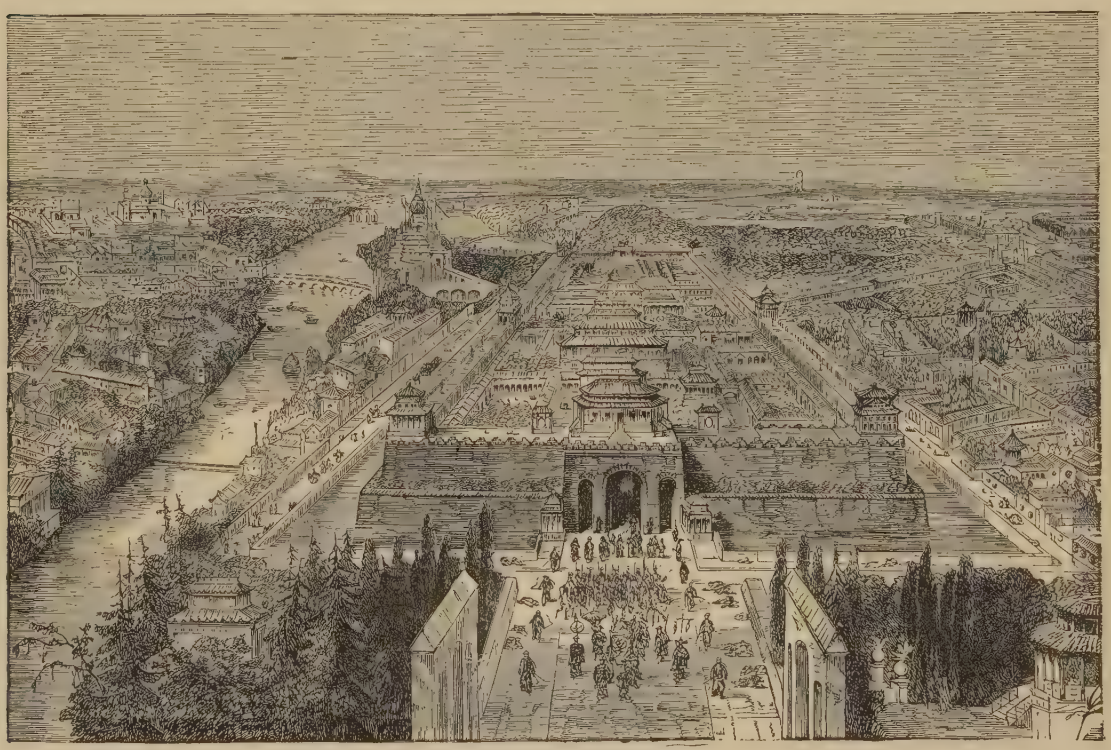
About the middle of the fourteenth century, China was visited with a great famine, and thirteen millions of her people are said to

have perished of starvation. So great was the distress, and so ill the repute of the reigning House, that a revolution broke out. A popular leader named Chu-Yneu-chang appeared on the scene, overthrew the Mongolian dynasty, and founded under his own sway the new House of Ming. Sixteen princes of this line held the throne for a period of two hundred and seventy-six years.

Meanwhile the Mantchu Tartars had become aggressive on the north. At length, in 1615, their Emperor was assassinated by the orders of the Chinese sovereign. From that time forth their vengeance slept no more until, in 1644, under the leadership of Li-tsi-ching, they entered Pekin, destroyed the reigning dynasty, and proclaimed their own prince, Sun-chi, as Emperor of China. From that time until the present the Mantchu Tartar Dynasty has held dominion over the country, and the boundries of the Empire have been greatly widened by war and conquest.

The most conspicuous of the Mantchu princes have been Kang-hi, who came to the throne in 1661; Yung-ching, who reigned from 1722 to 1736; Kien-lung, who held the throne from the latter date to 1796; and by whom the greater part of Central Asia was reduced to Chinese authority; and Kia-king, whose reign, extending to 1820, was as cruel and tyrannical as it was vigorous and bloody. It was in the reign of the first of these sovereigns that the city of Pekin was overthrown by an earthquake, burying four hundred thousand of her people among her ruins.

From the beginning of the present century other nations took a deeper interest in the affairs of China. In 1807 an Anglo-Chinese college was founded at Malacca. In 1820 the Emperor Tan-kuang came to the throne, and soon afterwards that conflict began with Great Britain known as the Opium War. If we glance backward we shall find that, notwithstanding the commercial enterprise of England, she did not succeed in gaining a foothold in China until near the close of the seventeenth century. Even then the relations which the British established with the Celestial Empire were few and precarious. In the year 1793 a formal embassy, under Lord Macartney, was sent to Pekin, and was well received by the Imperial Government.



PEKIN, THE TARTAR CITY.

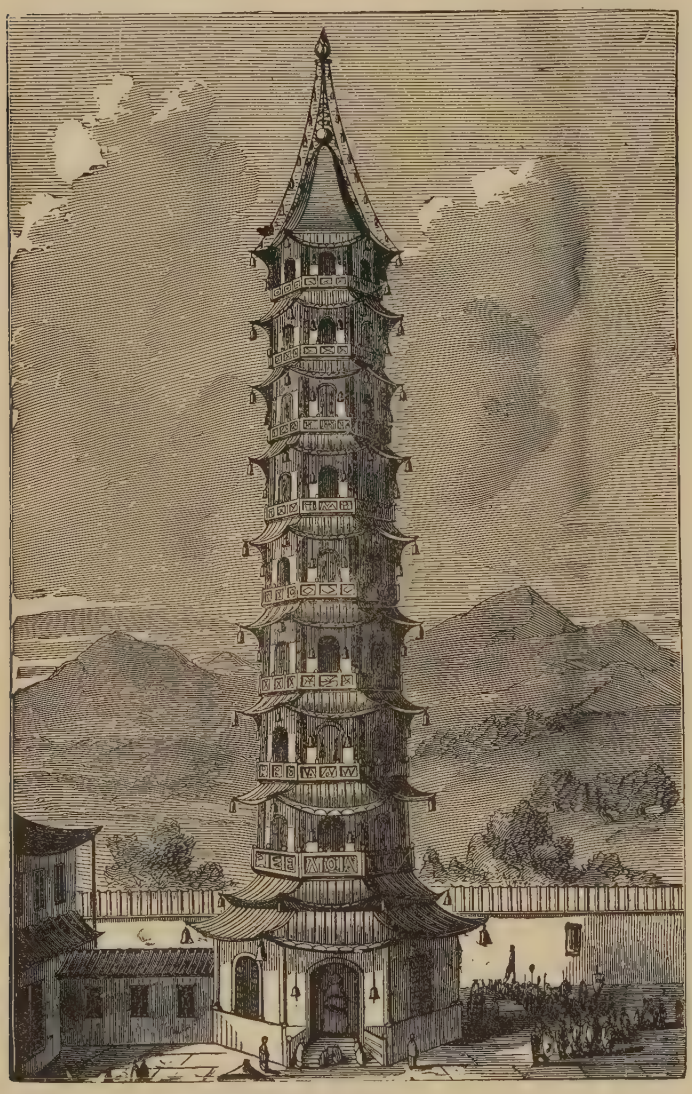
In 1816, however, a second embassy, headed by Lord Amherst, was less fortunate in its reception. The delegation was refused admission to the Emperor's presence; but, notwithstanding this backset, the slight trade which Great Britain had established with the Chinese was allowed to continue. This intercourse was carried on under the auspices of the British East India Company; but in 1834 the charter of that corporation expired, and Lord Napier was sent out by the Government to superintend the Chinese trade. This distinguished officer undertook to open communication with the authorities of Canton; but his efforts were unsuccessful, and two frigates which he brought to the coast were fired on by the Chinese forts at the Bogue. Napier fell back to Macao, where he presently died. For a while the British trade was carried on without the superintendence of any.

In 1837, Captain Elliott, of His Majesty's Navy, renewed the attempt to open communications with Canton. The point at issue, concerning which the profound antagonism of the Chinese was aroused, was the proposed legalizing of the opium-trade. Hitherto that trade, being illicit, had been carried on covertly, but a sufficient quantity of the pernicious drug had been introduced to arouse the fears of the Chinese Government as to the results. In the fall of 1837, Captain Elliott was notified by the Viceroy of Canton that the opium vessels must be driven away and not permitted to return. Had the British Government obeyed this mandate all would have been well; but England, with her habitual policy of making money at whatever disregard of international polity, did not exert herself to protect the Chinese from the continuance of the pernicious trade. The same went on for two years with little restriction.

In 1839 the Imperial Government, now thoroughly angered, sent to Canton a commissioner named Lin, who issued strenuous orders for the complete suppression of the opium business. He compelled the local authorities and merchants, whose palms were itching for gain, to surrender to him all the opium in the port. More than twenty thousand chests, valued at ten millions of dollars, were given up, thrown into a trench, and covered with a compost of lime and sea-water. But, notwithstanding this wholesale destruc

A STREET IN CANTON.

tion, the illicit traffic was continued. The Chinese Government became so much irritated that the British residents of Canton were constrained to withdraw from the city. Even the Portuguese colony at Macao was no longer a safe place for Englishmen. On the 6th of December, 1839, an edict was promulgated forbidding all trade of any kind with British ships and merchants. This led to a declaration of war, and in June of 1840 a British squadron appeared off Macao.



PORCELAIN TOWER, NANKIN.

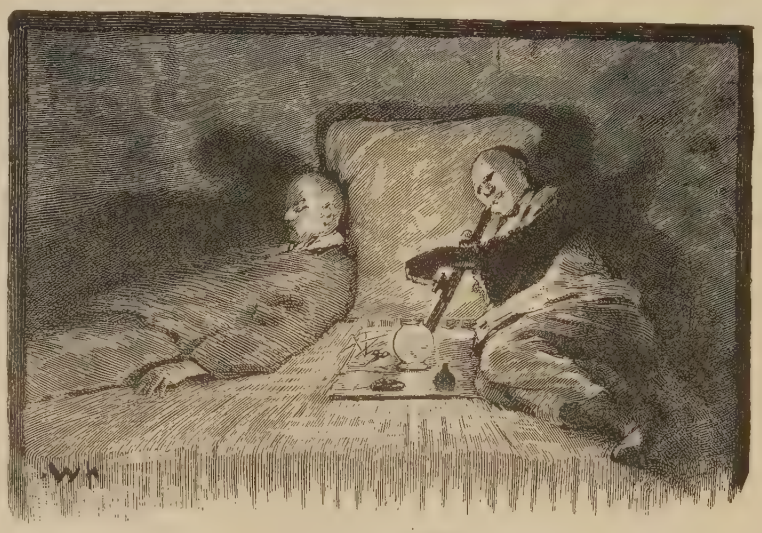
The first actual hostility was at the mouth of the Yangtse, where the Island of Chusan was taken, on the 4th of July. In August negotiations were opened between British and Chinese ambassadors, and the terms of a treaty were agreed upon; but the Emperor refused to ratify the compact, and in the beginning of 1841 hostilities were resumed. Canton was brought under the guns of the British fleet, furiously bombarded, and was obliged to ransom herself by the payment of six million dollars. An avenue of trade was thus opened into the heart of the Empire, and even during the continuance of the war British opium-ships continued to eject their contents on the wharves of Canton.

On the 27th of August, 1841, Amoy was captured by the English fleet, and on the 18th of the following October the city of Ningpo was taken. During the winter nothing of importance occurred; but in May of 1842 Chapoo fell into the hands of the British, and in the next month Woosung and Shanghai were both captured. The British forces then moved against Chinkian and Nankin, the latter being the ancient capital of the country.

By this time the Imperial Government was ready to sue for peace, even at the expense of the ruin of the national character by the incoming plague of opium. In the summer of 1842 a treaty was concluded, the terms of which were sufficiently gratifying to English mercenary pride and sufficiently humiliating to China. It was agreed that there should be a lasting peace between the two Powers; that China should pay a war indemnity of twenty-one millions of dollars; that the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai should be opened to foreign commerce; that Hong Kong should be ceded to Great Britain; that all British prisoners should be released; that the Chinese who had taken service under the British flag should not be punished; that future intercourse between China and Great

Britain should be on terms of equality; that Chusan and Amoy should be occupied until the indemnity was paid. Thus, by the right of the strongest and the law of the cannon, was China compelled to expose her teeming millions to the ravages of the life-destroying drug of Turkey and India, presented by the hands of Christian England. It was a work preparatory to the successful planting of Christian missions! The mockery needs no comment.

In February of 1844, Caleb Cushing came to China as ambassador from the United States. His mission was to negotiate a treaty with the Government, and to secure by friendly conference the same commercial advantages which Great Britain had obtained by force. In this work he was successful, and on the 3d of July, 1844, a favorable treaty was concluded at Wanghia, near Canton. Later in the same year, France also entered into treaty relations with the Chinese; and from this time forth the Imperial Government has been constantly, though with many checks and drawbacks, extending the field of its intercourse with foreign nations.



CHINESE OPIUM-SMOKERS.

It was in the nature of things, however, that the first decades of this new era should be greatly troubled by perplexing questions and reviving animosities. For a number of years after the conclusion of the treaties of 1842–44, foreign Powers were obliged to carry on their intercourse with China not directly with the Imperial Government, but through the Provincial Viceroys of the various States. This indirect method produced many misunderstandings and acts of violence. On the 8th of October, 1856, the Chinese constabulary of Hong Kong boarded a vessel called the *Arrow*, carrying the English flag, but manned by Chinese marines. The flag was torn down and the crew carried away by the authorities. Hereupon the British Consul demanded of the Viceroy the return of the seamen and a disavowal of the act. With the former request the Chinese official complied, but the latter he refused.

Without waiting for instructions from the home Government, the British officer immediately undertook to obtain by force the apology which the Chinese authorities had declined to make. But the Viceroy would not yield. On the contrary, he offered a reward for the heads of the British, and undertook to repel force with force. For several months a local war was conducted in the neighborhood of Hong Kong, and both the British and the Chinese Governments were obliged to take serious cognizance of what was going on.

The Western Powers deemed it advisable to act in concert, and France and England united in the determination to secure, even at the hazard of another war, a direct recognition of equality from the Emperor of China. The United States and Russia took a different view of the question, and gave to the ambassadors whom they sent to China instructions of a conciliatory character. As had been foreseen, Great Britain was now compelled to support her policy by force. A large army was sent out in the spring of 1857 to renew the war with China. But before reaching its destination the squadron was, as we have seen in a former Book, directed to change its course and proceed to India, to aid in the suppression of the Sepoy rebellion.

In the latter part of the year a portion of

the armament reached China, and Lord Elgin laid the ultimation of England before the Imperial Government. To this an unsatisfactory answer was returned, and on the 28th of December the British fleet opened fire on Canton. After a bombardment of one day the city was taken. It was a strange spectacle to see the ancient capital, with its more than a million of inhabitants, surrendering to a force of less than six thousand foreigners.

As soon as Canton was taken, trade was reopened, and the provincial Government reörganized under the auspices of France and England. At this juncture negotiations were reöpened with the Emperor at Pekin, but that sublime dignitary replied that the ambassadors of the foreign Powers should confer with the Viceroy of Canton, and not with himself. An advance of the allies was accordingly begun towards the Chinese capital. When the combined fleet appeared off Pei-ho, the Emperor, in answer to a second demand, replied that certain agents had been appointed to confer on the questions at issue; but it was soon known that the officers so appointed had only limited powers, and for this reason the negotiations were broken off.

In May of 1858 the allied fleet bombarded and stormed the forts at the mouth of the Pei-ho. The expedition then proceeded up the river to Tientsin, where they were met by another set of ambassadors, this time fully empowered to negotiate. Here treaties were made with the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and France. It was agreed that additional ports should be opened to foreign commerce; that the Yangtse River should be neutralized; that most of the restrictions on trade and travel should be removed; that residences of foreign Ministers should be permitted at Pekin, and that war indemnities should be paid to Great Britain and France.

BOMBARDMENT OF CANTON BY THE ENGLISH.

These several treaties were at once ratified by the Imperial Government; but the exchange of ratification was attended with much difficulty and several acts of hostility. For three years matters remained in so unsatisfactory a condition that the English and French squadrons were not withdrawn from the Chinese waters.

At length it became evident that the anti-foreign party was in the ascendant in the Imperial Council, and that no solid peace could be had without a further manifestation of force. In April of 1860, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, ambassadors of England and

France, arrived at Shanghai and laid the ultimata of their respective Governments before the Emperor. An evasive, or at least unsatisfactory, answer was returned. Preparations were immediately made to renew the conflict, and in August a force of five thousand men was sent to retake the forts at Pei-ho and the city of Tientsin. Both places were captured without serious losses.

At this time ambassadors were again sent out by the Emperor, and the terms of a treaty were agreed upon; but the allies came to believe that the Chinese were merely trifling, and renewed the campaign against the capital. Other legates came from the Emperor, but still no satisfactory adjustment was reached. Some of the English agents were seized and treated with cruelty. At length, in September, was fought the battle of Pa-li-kao, and the Chinese were routed with heavy losses. On the 6th of October the allied army reached Pekin. A week later one of the gates of the city was taken by the English; nor, is it doubtful that the high places of the ancient Chinese capital would have been presently desecrated by a foreign soldiery, had not the authorities agreed to accept the treaty which had already been proposed at Tientsin.

It was in the course of this brief occupancy of Pekin by the British that the summer palace of the Emperor was burned by the orders of Lord Elgin. This act, on the part of the British, was much criticised in other lands as a piece of wanton vindictiveness; but Lord Elgin justified himself on the ground that of the twenty-six subjects who, in the course of the war had gone to the Chinese under a flag of truce, only thirteen had returned alive, and that some retaliation was due for such a barbarous infraction of the rules of war.

BATTLE OF PA-LI-KAO.

Soon after the conclusion of these hostilities, the Chinese Emperor died, and the crown was transmitted to his son, who had not yet reached the kingly age. A regency was accordingly established, in 1861, and continued for twelve years. It was during this period that the Honorable Anson Burlingame was sent as an American Ambassador to China. His advent

at Pekin, in 1862, marks the beginning of the establishment of real amity between China and the Western Powers. By some means Burlingame managed to gain the confidence of the Emperor and his Court; and this advantage he used to promote in the highest degree the interests of his own and the country to which he had been sent. In 1865 he returned to the United States with the purpose of resigning his office; but the importance of the work in which he was engaged was recognized by the Government, and he was urged to reassume his task. Returning to Pekin, he remained two years longer, and then, to the astonishment of the whole world, Prince Kung, Regent of the Empire, appointed him *his* Ambassador, not only to the United States, but to the great Powers of Europe.

ONE OF THE GATES OF PEKIN GIVEN UP TO THE ALLIES.

This most important mission Burlingame accepted, in 1867, and immediately departed to assume his duties as a treaty-maker with the principal States of Christendom. With our own Government he was eminently successful, and, in 1868, secured the amplification and acceptance of the treaty concluded ten years previously. China was thus induced to accept the Law of Nations as the rule of her intercourse with foreign States. Burlingame next set out for England on a similar mission, and thence to France, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Prussia. In all of these countries, with the exception of France, he was at once successful. In 1868 he repaired to St. Petersburg, where, just as he was beginning his important work, he fell sick of pneumonia, and died after an illness of only a few days. His success on his great mission had shown him to be one of the *avant-couriers* of civilization.

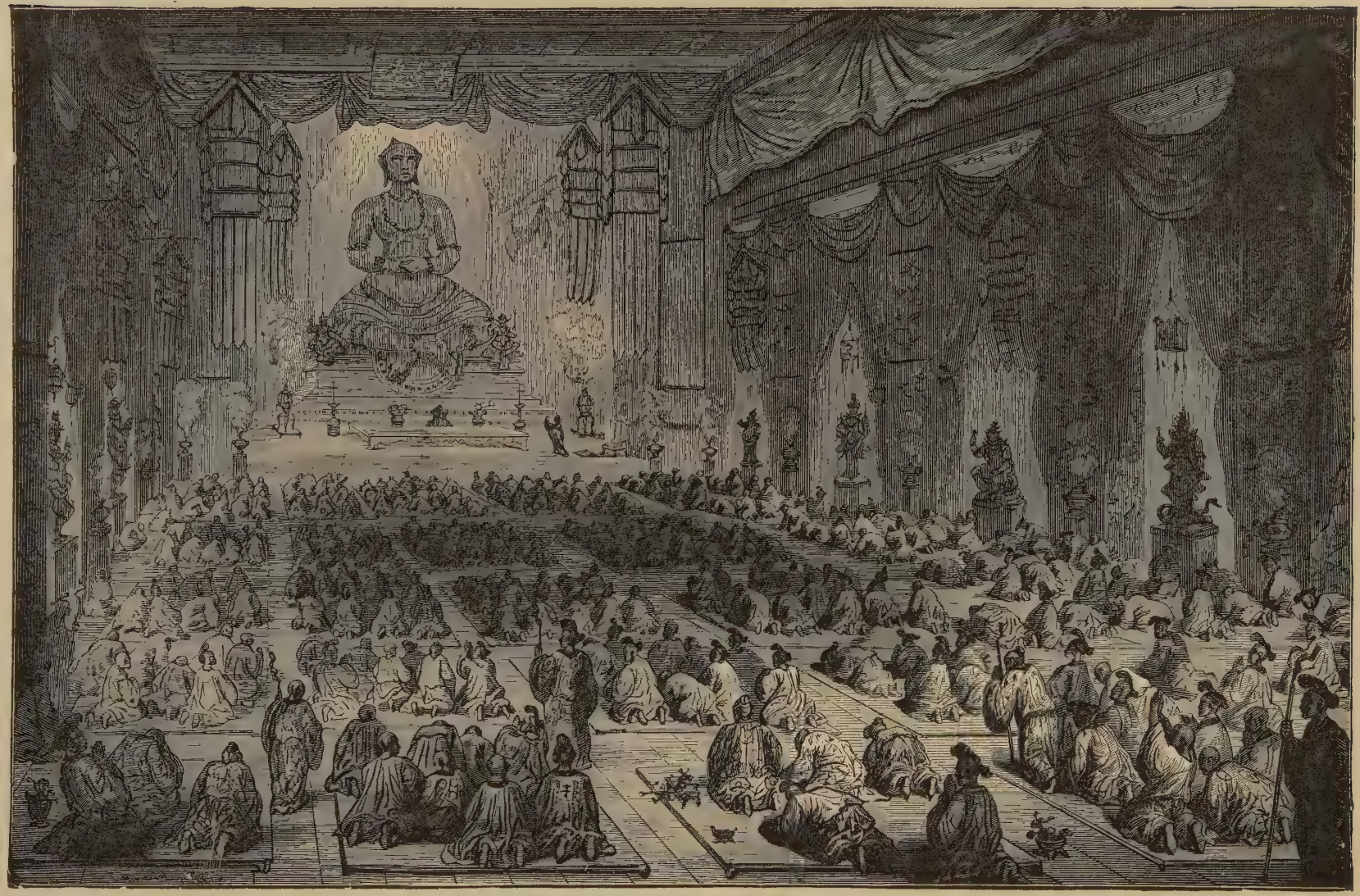
From the date of the Burlingame Treaty, China rapidly advanced to a more reputable rank among the great Powers of the world. One serious blot was fixed on her escutcheon—the Tientsin massacre of June, 1870. For some reason never fully known, but doubtless religious in its origin, the French officials, resident in this city, became the objects of an intense hatred to the people A murderous mob broke out, and the French

Consul, Vice-Consul, interpreter and his wife, a Catholic priest, nine Sisters of Charity, a French merchant and his wife, and three Russians were brutally murdered. All the buildings belonging to the embassy were destroyed, and the atrocity was not ended as long as a trace of the foreigners remained. It appeared, however, that the Chinese authorities were not responsible for the horrible outbreak. The Imperial Government at once took measures to punish the local officials who were implicated in the massacre, and a special embassy was sent to France to express the regrets of the Emperor for the crime committed by his subjects.

VIEW OF PEKIN.

The story of the war of 1858, between the Chinese on the one side and the French and English on the other, has already been recited. Sufficient reference has been made to the terms of the treaty, to the war indemnity extorted by the allies from the Imperial Government, and to the other circumstances with which the conflict was concluded. It might well appear that the humiliation of the Chinese Government was complete. The hated foreigner had trodden the capital, and it seemed that destiny had at length mocked and destroyed the immemorial policy of the Empire. It is likely that mortification at the insult and injury done to his country hastened the death of the Emperor Hin-Fung, who expired in the summer after the close of the war, leaving the Imperial throne to his son, Tung-Che, at that time but five years of age.

No sooner had hostilities ceased with the English and French than the Chinese authorities turned their attention once more to the suppression of the rebellious Tai-Pings, who had for some time been in defiance of Imperial authority. The Government succeeded at this juncture in enlisting the sympathies and services of that remarkable personage, Colonel Charles George Gordon, of the Royal Engineers, destined from the campaign upon which he now entered to be known to the world as Chinese Gordon. Of his subsequent career in the East up to the event of his death at the hands of the Mahdi's assassins in the Soudan,



(814) RELIGIOUS CEREMONY IN CHINESE TEMPLE.

an account has already been given in a former chapter. Gordon soon succeeded in organizing a formidable army, incorporating with his forces the command of the American Colonel Ward, who had already been engaged against the Tai-Pings. An invasion of the rebellious district was now begun, and Gordon's army was constantly victorious. City after city in the Tai-Ping country was taken, but it was not until 1864 that the insurgents were finally brought to submission. Tin Wang, Prince of the rebel province, fell with the capture of Nankin, and the war was at an end.

In the meantime, the province of Yun-Nan, into which Mohammedanism had penetrated and gained there a sort of proscriptive authority over the other religions, also broke into rebellion, and a chief named Suleiman kept the Imperial army at bay. The Chinese Empire, however, had at this time advanced no further than a *Staatenbund*, or assemblage of confederated provinces. It was the policy of the Government to permit the provincial princes to rule their territories as they would. For this reason the war against Suleiman was not pressed with vigor. At length the rebel Prince's son Hassan was sent to great Britain to gain the recognition of the Queen for his father's Government. Hereupon the Imperial authorities were alarmed. The war was actively pressed, and Ta-Le Foo, capital of Yun-Nan, was taken from the insurgents. The latter were soon scattered in all directions and exterminated.

During the first years of the minority of Tung-Che, the child Emperor, the Government was under the Regency of two Dowager Empresses, wives of the late Emperors. Early in 1873, however, it was determined that the youth should be recognized as reigning in his own right, and the Dowager Empresses resigned their authority. With this event another great aggression was made upon the exclusive policy which had hitherto constituted the leading characteristic of the Imperial Government. The foreign ambassadors at the Chinese Court took advantage of the situation, and demanded the right, generally conceded in European countries, of personal audiences with the Emperor. Hitherto it had never been granted that a foreigner should gaze upon the Sacred Countenance. But this privilege was now extorted, and the foreign Ministers were granted the right of audience with the Emperor in person.

Soon afterwards Tung-Che died of small-pox, and the Imperial crown went to the Emperor's cousin, Kwang-Seu, who was not yet four years of age. It was the first time since the accession of the Mantchu-Tartar dynasty, in 1644, that the direct line of descent had been broken. It was regarded as a great misfortune that the crown should be again conferred on a child at a time when every national and international relation seemed to demand a strong and rational government. It happened, however, that this necessity was in part supplied by the ascendency of Li Hung Chang, the successful General of the Tai-Ping war. Holding the office of Prince of the Imperial Council, he became a sort of Mayor of the Palace. The Regency under the Dowager Empresses was reëstablished; but one of these died in 1881, leaving the survivor to the exercise of sole authority.

The Mantchu Princes in different parts of the Empire greatly resented the supremacy of Li Hung Chang; but the latter held his place, and adopted the policy of bringing the Chinese army into a higher state of efficiency than it had ever previously attained. To this end he established military schools and camps of instruction, and employed European officers to drill and instruct the soldiers in the tactics of the West. At the same time the Chinese capital was fortified so as to make it impregnable against assault, and a fleet of gun-boats, built for swift and energetic movements in the Yellow Sea, was constructed. The General went so far as to procure the building in English and German dock-yards of several first-class men-of-war. But while making this provision against present emergencies, he took care to establish navy-yards and arsenals from which hereafter China might launch and equip her own navy.

In the meantime, the friendly relations already existing between China and the United States had been drawn more closely by the establishment of a resident Chinese embassy at Washington. It was largely the result of the personal influence of General Grant and of his administration as President of the United States. It was the policy of that silent and astute man to draw the Oriental na-

tions into amity and commerce with our country. Such was his sincerity that he gained a hold upon the Imperial rulers of the East which no other American had ever possessed. Accordingly, in 1878, the Chinese Government sent out its first permanent embassy to the United States. The establishment was the legitimate fruit also of the great and liberal treaty negotiated twenty years previously by Anson Burlingame. Under the protection of this compact, the commercial relations of the two countries had been vastly extended, and a knowledge of the institutions, manners, and customs prevalent in the Celestial Empire so widely diffused as to break down in some measure the race-prejudice existing against the Mongolians. The enlightened policy of the reigning Emperor had also contributed to establish more friendly intercourse with the United States, and to promote such measures as should make that intercourse lasting.

The idea of sending resident ambassadors to the American Government had been entertained for several years. The Emperor had been assured that the people of China—more particularly her Ministers—would be received with all the courtesy shown to the most favored nation. The officers chosen by the Imperial Government as its representatives in the United States were Chen Lan Pin, Minister Plenipotentiary; Yung Wing, Assistant Envoy, and Yung Tsang Siang, Secretary of Legation.

On the 28th of September, 1878, the embassy was received by the President. The ceremonies of the occasion were among the most novel and interesting ever witnessed in Washington. The speech of Chen Lan Pin was equal in dignity and appropriateness to the best efforts of a European diplomatist. Addressing the President the Chinese Minister said:

"Mr. President: His Majesty, the Emperor of China, in appointing us to reside at Washington as Ministers, instructed us to present your Excellency his salutations, and to express his assurances of friendship for you and the people of the United States. His Majesty hopes that your Administration may be one of signal success, and that it may bring lasting peace and prosperity to the whole country. On a former occasion the Chinese Government had the honor to send an embassy to Washington on a special mission, and the results were most beneficent. His Majesty cherishes the hope that this embassy will not only be the means of establishing on a firm basis the amicable relations of the two countries, but may also be the starting-point of a new diplomatic era which will eventually unite the East and West under an enlightened and progressive civilization."

In the meantime a threatening condition of affairs had arisen with respect to Chinese immigration into the United States. It became known in the Celestial Empire that gold-mines and silver-mines of great richness existed in our Pacific States. The precious metals have long constituted one of the few magnets capable of drawing the Chinese adventurer into foreign parts. We shall hereafter see companies of Celestials trooping from mine to mine in Australia, hunting the golden particles with all the assiduity of their race. At length the Chinese made their way into California, then into Nevada and Oregon. When it came to building the Central Pacific Railway it was found that Chinese laborers were the most available element within reach of the contractors. A considerable part of that great work and of the other immense stretches of railway constructed in the Pacific States was the result of Chinese labor. Living after the Chinese fashion and economizing everything in the Chinese manner, frugal and temperate as they were to the last degree, the Celestials were able to work for a minimum of pay, which to them indeed seemed the most astonishing wages.

This condition soon told upon the American and European laborers, with whom the Chinese were brought into competition. Then began that strife which has not yet ended. The Europeans and Americans raised the cry that they were ruined by Chinese cheap labor. From the first it was impossible to consider the question from a rational point of view. The demagogues seized hold of it, and turned it to their own advantage. Those politicians of the baser sort, who have been the bane of the American Republic, put themselves forward as the alleged champions of American free labor against the pauper labor of the East. They announced that the Chinese should be driven from the country. Statesmen were afraid to touch the question, lest the votes of the Pacific States should be lost to their

PEKIN TRAGEDIANS.

respective parties. No doubt there were many and gross evils attendant upon the large importation of Chinese laborers into our Western ports, but the greater portion of the agitation against the Celestials was pure prejudice and infamy.

It became necessary, however, for the Government of the United States to take the question under serious consideration. It was perceived that the existing treaty stipulations would have to be modified with a view to restricting by law, if not the immigration, at least the importation, of the Chinese into our country. Accordingly, in 1881, Honorable James B. Angell, President of the University of Michigan, was sent as American Envoy Extraordinary to China with the view of securing a change in the existing laws. In this work he was successful in the highest degree. The negotiations were conducted on the line of distinguishing between the importation of Chinese coolies and other degraded classes for the special uses of the American labor market and the legitimate immigration of the Chinese of the upper and professional classes—mandarins, merchants, travelers, scholars, and others of like character. The Imperial Government cheerfully conceded the required restriction upon the further importation of the former classes for a period of years; and in return for this concession the Government of the United States agreed that henceforth no opium should be carried into China by American merchants or in American ships, and that both American merchants and American ships should henceforth regard the laws of China in all their intercourse in the Chinese ports. Thus while Great Britain and several other European States persist in the nefarious trade, pouring upon the Chinese coast an avalanche of East Indian opium, amounting for Bengal alone to forty-five million dollars annually, the American Government has set the example of decency and international honor, from which it is to be hoped she will never abate a jot or tittle.

CHINESE MANDARIN.

As indicated at the beginning of the present Chapter, the outline here presented is but a cursory sketch of events, which, could they be viewed from the stand-point of Chinese historians, publicists, and statesmen, must widen into an infinity of details and a universality of interest. The Chinese people represent at present the conservatism of the human race. From them the radical peoples of the West have something—perhaps much—to learn. The age in which we live is rapidly becoming cosmopolitan. The territory of the earth is known to all its metes and bounds. The races of men have distributed themselves to the utmost limits of the world. The media of communication have become so far-reaching and perfect that the nations of mankind are as one in information, and must presently become one in sympathies and purpose. The regeneration of China is the greatest task imposed upon our epoch. That the gates of the Orient will presently open wide to receive the energies of the progressive and scientific peoples of Europe and America can not be doubted, and that those peoples will in their turn gather out of the East, as did the Greeks and the Crusaders, much to improve and enlighten the existing order, may well be hoped and expected.

CHAPTER CLVI.—JAPAN.

OF the Empire of Japan much that has already been said in a general way with respect to China may be repeated. But the two peoples, the two nations, are as unlike in their genius and tendency as are the Germans and the French, or the Norwegians and the Portuguese. Both the Chinese and the Japanese are Oriental, but the people of the Island Empire look in one direction while the Celestials look in another. We may confidently expect that the national development of the two shall presently present phenomena totally at variance, and perhaps wholly surprising, in the view of the Western races.

SHINTO SHRINE, NEAR YOKOHAMA.

Like China, Japan has only at a present date forced her way into international associations and impressed her purpose upon the consciousness of other peoples. Of a certainty her history—ancient, mediæval, and modern—is of immense proportions; but the annals of this aspiring race have not yet been sifted from the darkness and placed on that plane of certainty on which we find the history of the classical nations of Europe and Western Asia. In the present Chapter we shall aim at nothing more than a sketch of the mythology and ancient story of the Japanese, down to a time within the memory of men still living. When we arrive at the latter date the narrative may be properly expanded into fuller proportions.

Like all other races, the Japanese story-tellers and mythologists have formulated and preserved an account of the origin of things; and this is the form and rhythm of the myth:

"In the beginning the world had no form, but was like an egg. The clear portion—the white—became heaven; and the heavy portion—the yolk—became the earth." Such are the words of the holy Book Shinto, or *Way of the Gods*. The narrative proceeds with the cosmogony of the people—first, the dynasties of the gods, then the dynasties of men. It is

the same old story, with its infinite inflections and incredible marvels. Two gods descended from the skies. Of them a son was born, Amaterashi Omikami, whose body was so bright that he ascended to heaven and became the sun. Then a daughter came, and she was the moon. Other children, in whom the upward tendency was not so strong, remained in the Island of Japan, and became the ancestors of the race.

Anon the myth melts into the tradition;

KATO KIYOMASA.

the tradition, into the poem; the poem, into the history. Thus about the year B. C. 600 we come to the dawn. The Japanese Herodotus is not complimentary in his description of his early countrymen. They were hairy. They ate meat raw. They abode in rude villages, and obeyed the head man of the settlement. But when the great Jimmu Tenno came, all this was ended, for he was a great civilizer and tamer of savage men. He subdued the barbarous tribes and brought order out of chaos. He compelled the hirsute natives to yield to civil institutions. The Japanese affirm, at least those of the higher classes, that they are the offspring of Jimmu Tenno and his people, and not of the hairy savages whom he conquered. There are, indeed, very manifest traces in the present physiognomy of the people of some such amalgamation of two races as is here indicated. The broad, flat face of the one, and the high nose and oval face of the other seem to point unmistakably to two sources of ancestral descent.

Jimmu Tenno established the capital of the country at Kioto. He was a law-maker as well as a conqueror. From him the title of *Mikado* is derived, a word signifying the Honorable Gate. The primitive Japanese Constitution did not preclude women from the throne, and the names of several famous empresses are found in the line of Jimmu. One of these, Jingo Kogo, conquered Corea, and gave to the Empire a son who, after his death, was deified as a god of war. At the middle of the sixth century, a prince of Corea brought over to Japan the idols and books of the Buddhists, and presented them to the Emperor.

Previously to this time the works of Confucius and other writings of the kind had familiarized the Japanese with the literature and religious beliefs of the Chinese. Against these the doctrines and practice of Buddha made rapid headway. During the reign of the Empress Suiko, in 593, full toleration was granted to the new faith. To this epoch belonged the resurvey of Japan—by which the provincial boundaries were properly established—and the invention of a script in which to write the langnage. The latter was the work of the famous priest Kobo, who flourished in the first quarter of the ninth century.

Meanwhile some important political and social customs had sprung up. Among these may be mentioned the common abdication of the emperors who were wont, after a brief reign, to retire from power and become priests. The art of brewing *saké* was invented about the close of the seventh century. The discovery of gold, in the year 749, led to the coinage of money as the agent of exchange. A little later, namely, in 788, Japan was invaded from the west by an army of Mongols; but the latter were defeated and driven away in confusion by the warlike natives.

The following three or four centuries in the history of Japan are occupied with the growth of the great princely families and the consequent decline of the Imperial authority. The names of the principal noble houses are Fujiwara, Taira, Minamoto, and Tachibana; and with the stories of these, of their intrigues and wars, the Japanese annals of the times are filled. Another circumstance also conduced to undermine the Imperial authority. This was the looseness of the social system. Custom had given to the Mikado twelve concubines as well as his lawful wife But any of these might become the mother of the future sovereign. The choice of the same depended wholly upon the will of the Mikado.

The consequence was that the Japanese princes struggled and conspired and fought to gain the throne of their father. Sometimes there were two reigning Emperors. This condition of affairs tended to make the army rather than the civil authority the power to which the claimants turned for the decision of their rights. The municipal guards became almost as important a factor in the history of the times as were the prætorians in the later annals of Imperial Rome.

It was by means of this central confusion and weakness that the local princes of the empire were enabled to build up their provincial thrones at the expense of the General Government. Many of the vassals almost rivaled the Mikado in power and influence. In order to counterbalance this growth of local independence, the Mikado, near the close of the twelfth century, introduced an important change into the civil administration. He appointed a Governor-Generalissimo called the *Shogun*, whose duty it was to exercise a military, and in most matters a civil, jurisdiction over the whole Empire. The first to hold the office of Shogun was the famous hero, Yoritomo, who was appointed in 1195, and who soon made himself the real ruler of the country. The Mikado became a kind of a shadow; the Shogun was the substance.

In the year 1260 the great Tartar Emperor Kublai Khan made a successful invasion of China. From that country ambassadors were sent by the conqueror on three several occasions to Japan. Some of these were insulted, and others put to death. At this Kublai Khan was greatly angered; and in 1274 he sent out a powerful expedition to conquer the offending country. But the Japanese drove back the Tartars with great slaughter.

An interval of seven years elapsed before Kublai Khan renewed the conflict. Then, in 1281, he made a second descent on Japan with an immense fleet and army. But in this instance the elements joined their wrath with Japanese valor to scatter and destroy the Tartar armament. The complete victory of the Shogun's army put an end to invasion, and centuries elapsed without the reäppearance of hostile fleets on the Japanese coasts.

The fourteenth century was mostly occupied with civil wars. There was one Emperor in the north and another in the south, both claiming to be the true Mikado. Down to the year 1573 these factious disturbances continued, insomuch that this period in Japanese history is known as the Epoch of War. It is in this time that three of the greatest names in the annals of Japan are brought to notice. These are Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Iyeyasu. The first of these heroes undertook to consolidate the Empire by reducing the weaker clans and overawing the stronger. In this work he was succeeding to admiration when he was struck down by a traitor. Hideyoshi then followed in his footsteps, took up the cause, and completed Nobunaga's unfinished work.

Both of these great leaders were sworn enemies to Buddhism, and both sought as a counterpoise to this religious power to encourage and strengthen the Jesuit missionaries. Among other great projects, Hideyoshi aspired to be the conqueror of China. He raised an army of a hundred and sixty thousand men, commanded by his great general, Kato Kiyomasa, and in 1592 proceeded by way of Corea to invade the Celestial Empire. At this juncture, however, he died, and his great expedition came to naught. His office was claimed by his son, and also by the warrior Iyeyasu, who overpowered the House of Hideyoshi and established his own. Thus was founded the Shogunate of Tokugawa, whose princes held power in Japan from 1603 until 1867. These two and a half centuries were as conspicuous for peace and quietude in the Empire as former times had been for wars and turmoils.

Iyeyasu made Yedo the capital of Japan,

and may be properly regarded as the most illustrious personage in Japanese history. It was in the long interval of the supremacy of his House that the Empire became not only organic, but venerable in its institutions. Socially considered, the country was feudal. A condition of affairs supervened almost identical with that of Europe in the tenth century. The customs, manners, and sentiments of the Japanese were essentially those of feudalism.

BATTLE OF KUBLAI KHAN WITH THE JAPANESE.
Drawn by F. Lix.

As to the government, the same was dual in character. There were two capitals and two heads to the State. The first was the Mikado, the divine Emperor, the source of all rank and honor, fit to be worshiped. The second was the Shogun, the military and civil Emperor, wielding the sword, maintaining peace by authority. The residence of the first was a temple; of the other, a castle. The one had for his companions priests and nobles; the other, warriors and vassals. One was the sovereign of Japan *de jure;* the other, *de facto.* In theory, however, the Emperor was always the high and mighty source and origin of Imperial authority.

The knowledge which the Western Nations first obtained of Japan and the Japanese came from Marco Polo, the Venetian traveler. Afterwards this knowledge was enlarged and rectified through the medium of Dutch and Portuguese adventurers and traders. In the course of time missionaries found their way into the island, and many Japanese converts were made in divers places. But the proselyting disposition of these ambassadors of Christianity tended constantly to produce unfriendly relations between them and the Buddhists. In 1622 a terrible massacre of the Christians occurred at Nagasaki, and many were sacrificed with horrible tortures. After this it presently transpired that the Christians in various parts of the island were engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow the Imperial Government. When this fact was discovered, the persecutions were renewed, and edicts of expulsion were issued

against all the Portuguese in Japan. The trade which they had enjoyed was taken away and given to the Dutch, whose enmity to the Catholics brought them into sympathy with the Japanese. These events happened in 1637–39.

In the following year the Christians in the Island of Amakusa revolted, and, crossing over to the main-land, captured the castle of Shimabara. This they held for a considerable time against the army of the Shogun, but the latter was at length successful, and the siege was ended by a massacre of more than thirty thou-

JAPANESE WARRIORS IN ANCIENT ARMOR.

sand people. The reduction of the castle was effected by means of cannon, which the Japanese borrowed from the Dutch. The latter, for more than two centuries after these events, held a monopoly of the foreign trade of Japan. Not even the vigorous merchants of England were able to gain a footing in the island.

During the continuance of the Iyeyasu Dynasty, the Mikado, surrounded by his nobles, held his court at Kioto. The Shogun fixed the seat of his Government at Yedo, and there reigned as lieutenant of the Emperor. Here also resided the four classes of territorial nobles. These were, first, the Princes or Lords of provinces; second, the Relatives of the Shogun's family; third, the Landed Noblemen; fourth, the Vassals of those who had been retainers of Iyeyasu. There were two Councils of State, namely, the Senior and the Junior Senators; and of these Councils one of the chief duties was to keep watch and ward over the nobles and princes.

A system of espionage prevailed, so far-reaching and inquisitorial as to make the lives of the officials of the Shogun's Government almost intolerable. Besides this, the law made every head of a Japanese family responsible for the conduct of its members. Every five families were grouped together, and among these there was mutual responsibility for one another's actions. There was much social tyranny. A man of common rank could not change his residence without a certificate of previous good conduct. Every man of the lower classes must be elaborately registered on a tablet in a neighboring temple. The good results of the system were that crimes were infrequent, and that the concealment of the criminal was almost impossible.

On the emergence of Japan into the historical foreground in our own age, the people were found in the thralldom of the past. Society was organized on the aristocratic basis. The people were fixed in orders and systems and strata, out of which it seemed impossible to pass. Previous to the year 1871 there were nine classes of Japanese, and the relations among them were almost as arbitrary and unyielding as those by which the castes of India are held in form. The first of these social classes were the nobles of Kioto; the second, the nobles of Yedo; the third, the lower nobles, or Daimios; the fourth, the priests and professional men; the fifth, the farmers; the sixth, the artisans; the seventh, the merchants; the eighth, the actors and beggars; and the last, the tanners, skinners, and workers in leather. In 1871 the Emperor issued a decree removing the social disabilities of his subjects, and admitting all to citizenship.

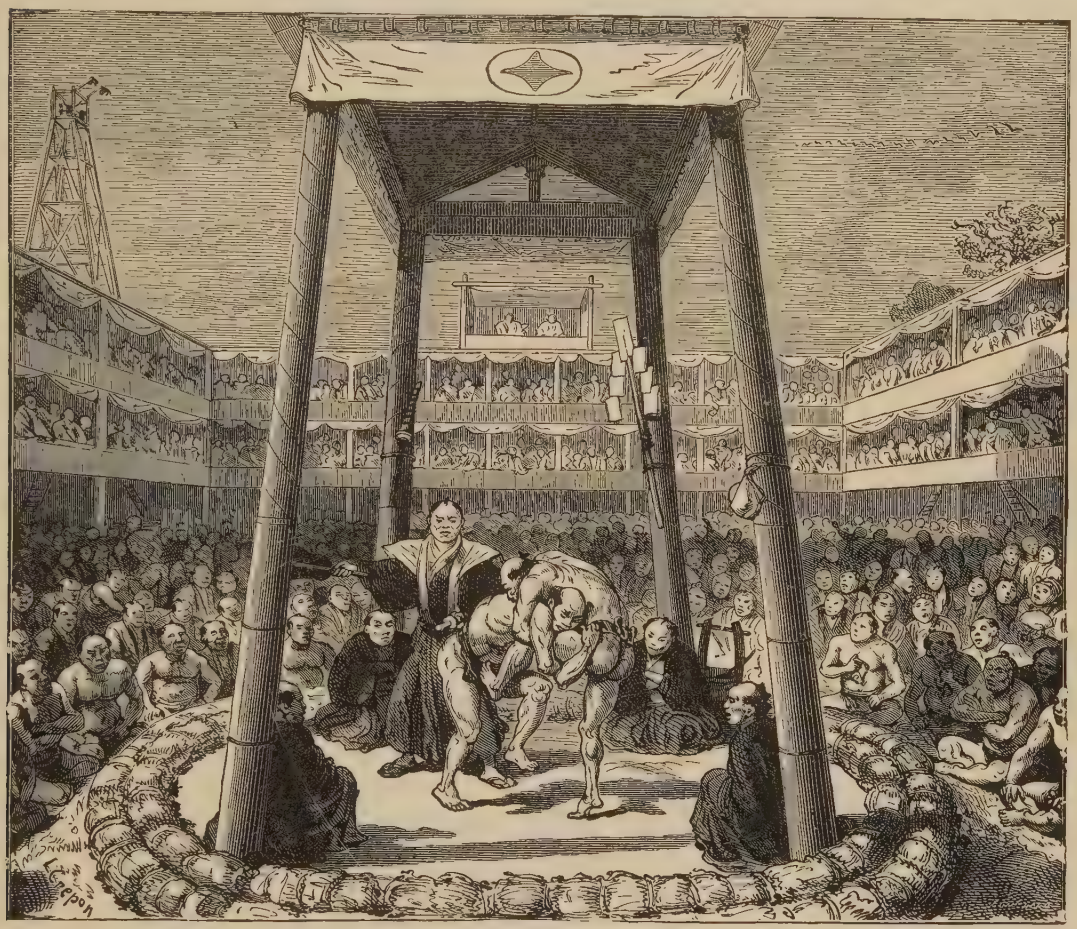
Perhaps no other nation in the whole circle of civilized and semi-civilized States has, in the last quarter of a century, made such wonderful progress as Japan. The opening up of intercourse between that country and the United States by Commodore Perry, in 1854, however forceful and arbitrary, was the beginning of the establishment of cordial relations between the Japanese and the peoples of the West. The harbors of the island were rapidly opened to foreign commerce. England and Russia followed the example of the United States and concluded advantageous treaties. Our own compact was greatly improved in 1857, and again in the following year. Between this time and 1874 full treaties of amity were concluded by Japan with our own country, Great Britain, Russia, Holland, Prussia, Portugal, France, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Greece, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Hawaii, Peru, and China. All of these compacts, though they began in semi-violence, are characterized by the spirit of true enlightenment.

Japan has shown and is showing herself capable of a grand display of statesmanship. A volume could not contain the record of the great social and political regeneration which has taken place in the Imperial dominions. In 1863–68 a civil war occurred in Japan, the general result of which was the overthrow of the Shogunate; the destruction of feudalism; the transfer of the Imperial residence to Yedo, of which the name was changed to Tokio; the emancipation of the people from social thralldom, and the emergence into broad daylight of the Mikado and his Government. It was the triumph of nationality over localism, of civilization over mediæval barbarity, of the present over the past.

A marvelous change now spread over the face of the island. It was discovered that the great peoples of the West were not barbarians; that their institutions and laws were worthy of imitation; that their learning and history

were sufficient to merit the praise even of Orientals. To all of these considerations the Japanese have responded with a glad alacrity; and the thoughtful observer, sunning himself amid the splendors of Fairmount Park, in our centennial summer, could but be astonished at the elegance of the court in which were displayed the products of the genius and industry of Japan. The contents surpassed description. The display of Japanese bronzes attracted universal attention and universal praise. The porcelains were, beyond comparison, the finest of the whole Exposition—finest in quality and in the immense variety of the exhibit. Richness of coloring—vivid hues of scarlet, green, and gold—prevailed everywhere. Lacquered ware of every variety, superb cabinets exquisitely designed, and silken screens embroidered with figures infinite, curious faces, and Japanese costumes, made up a display which astonished the peoples of the West with the profusion of Eastern art.

The current decade has furnished from the annals of Japan one of the most interesting and cheering chapters in the civil history of modern nations. It is a spectacle of a civil Government emerging from the old dogmatic and arbitrary forms, which had been entailed by the rudeness of the Middle Ages, into the regular, liberal, and symmetrical development of a highly organized and well-balanced Constitutional Monarchy. The work has been done under our very eyes, as if once in history we should be permitted *to see* the actual transformation of political society. We refer to the formation and adoption of the New Imperial Constitution of Japan, which was promulgated on the 11th of February, 1889.



JAPANESE WRESTLERS.

This Constitution has not only been adopted as the fundamental law and outline for the

VIEW FROM THE BRIDGE OF NIPHON, TOKIO.

future civil development of the Empire, but it has gone abroad in many translations through the Japanese embassies, at the civilized capitals of the world, to elicit the praise of publicists and statesmen among all peoples. The marvel of the matter is that the great instrument which we are now to consider has not been the result of revolution, turmoil, and bloodshed, but has sprung rather from the enlightenment and progress of the Japanese people and the liberal policy and purpose of the Emperor himself. The Constitution has been planned and conceded by the Imperial Government to the people. It may be called the voluntary contribution of the present Emperor to posterity. What had cost Europe and America centuries of strife has been so silently and peaceably accomplished as scarcely to be known in the process. The event is one of the most extraordinary in the history of the nations, especially when we remember that within the short space of thirty-five years Japan has been pressed forward by the inevitable logic of events, and transformed from a mediæval State into the Sparta of Asia, the England of the Orient.

It can not fail to interest the student of history to glance into the philosophy of the event, and to note the antecedents of the transformation through which Japan has, in a civil sense, so recently and miraculously passed.

Until 1854, when Japan opened her doors to foreign trade and intercourse under the armed eloquence of *Christian* diplomacy, her political institutions and solitary seclusion from the outside world had long proved a clog to the wheels of national progress. At that time we find Japan backed with a history of twenty-five centuries, during which the Imperial throne had been occupied by the same dynasty; but for the past eight centuries the Shogun, or, as he is called abroad, the Tycoon, had, by hereditary right, usurped the sovereign powers of the Empire, and exercised a despotic sway over the three hundred feudal lords who occupied the whole country. This Feudal system, with all its attendant evils arising out of local strife and jealousy, had thus far made a united national movement towards progress an impossibility.

Except limited relations with the Chinese, the Coreans, the Siamese, and the Dutch, the Japanese had had no intercourse with the outside world. Perhaps this determination of non-intercourse had been strengthened by the rash and insolent acts of the Jesuit priests and their native followers, who had alarmed and angered the Shogun by their political intrigues, leading him, in the sixteenth century, to expel and exterminate them by force. This had greatly increased the antipathy against foreigners in general, and against Christianity in particular, so that that faith was prohibited under the severest penalties. Thus, while the outside world was ablaze with the meridian sun of civilization, this hermit nation of the East was fast asleep, with bolted doors and drawn blinds.

Notwithstanding this pitiable state of affairs, the Japanese nation was destined soon to awake with freshened vigor. Behind the dark clouds which hung over the Japanese Islands thirty-five years ago, there lay a new era fraught with germs of great possibilities. These seeds of the future were: First, the educated intellect of the people; second, the national characteristic of unselfishly assimilating the higher and better civilizations with which they came into contact; and third, the logic of events, which pushed aside the shadows and let in the dawn. Let us look briefly at each of these elements tending in common to the creation of the new era.

1. The Japanese people, noted for their polished manners, had had for centuries a civilization of their own. Literature and the fine arts were carried to a high order of perfection. The study of the Chinese classics, which required the mastery of several thousand characters, strengthened the retentive faculties of mind; while the study of mathematics and the subtle philosophy of Confucius and Mencius developed the logical faculties in the highest degree. Thus while Japan was yet far behind Christendom in science and the useful arts, she was fully their equal in the education of *mind;* that is, in the development of the mental faculties. It is safe to say that thirty-five years ago the law of heredity and the process of discipline had bequeathed almost the same aptitude to the Japanese brain as to that of the European. Nothing was wanting in the Japanese mind but a hint from others. Even a quick glance into the civilized world

abroad was sufficient to break the ancient habit, and to excite a passion for going forth into the new avenues of Western civilization.

2. The national characteristic of the Japanese people, quick to cast away old traditions and prejudices at the sight of a new and better thing, was another force that brought about the present form of government. This spirit had already been manifested in the ancient history of Japan, when Buddhism and the teachings of Confucius were introduced without causing any serious international commotion. With this same spirit the Japanese now began the arduous task of assimilating their institutions and civilization with those of the Christian States of Europe and America.

3. The events which brought about the change are numerous; but the most important of them was the establishment of treaty relations with the Western Powers, beginning in 1854. About this time a small band of loyalists, becoming discontented with the Tycoon's method of government, found a particular cause of offense in his action in concluding treaties with the Western Powers without obtaining the Imperial sanction. Consequently, under the banners of a loyal, anti-foreign and anti-Shogun party, they gathered an invincible force. A short and decisive civil war ensued, in which the loyalists came out victorious.

The Shogun tendered his resignation in 1868. The governmental powers were restored to the hands of the Emperor. The Feudal system was abolished by an Imperial edict, thereby breaking down the double barriers between the Crown and its subjects, and uniting the latter in patriotic devotion to their country. Notwithstanding the former resolve of the loyalists, the new Government began its career with amicable relations with the foreign Powers, ratifying the treaties made by the Tycoon. Fourteen years' experience of intercourse with the Western nations had taught the Government and people of Japan to respect them and admire their civilization. The blind hatred of the former days was soon changed into an intelligent respect. Even the Christian religion was now tolerated, and the Government and people united in an eager solicitude to introduce into Japan the sciences, useful arts, and political institutions of Christendom.

Those who took the most prominent part in the civil war were chiefly *young men* of no hereditary rank or title; and after the restoration, personal merit and intellectual worth alone, and not titled imbecility, became the ruling influence of the Empire. The territories which had been occupied by the Feudal Lords were now divided into prefectures, and the prefects, who were directly under the control of the Minister of the Interior, were appointed by the Emperor from among the young men referred to above. A Board of Imperial Council was formed, and in this, as well as in less important posts of government, we see the same elements of youth and regeneration. This work brought in the dawn of the new era from which Japan dates her revival and progress.

On the 6th of April, 1868, the Emperor, under oath, proclaimed that a Deliberative Assembly should be formed, and that all measures of state be henceforth determined according to public opinion; that the old customs and usages, detrimental to progress, should be abolished; that impartiality and justice should be the future criteria of public action; and that intellect and learning should be sought throughout the world in order to establish the foundations of the Empire on rational and enduring principles.

The Emperor faithfully kept his pledges. In 1875 the *Genro-in*, which is a kind of Senate, was established to deliberate upon the laws of the Empire. In 1878 Local Assemblies were organized in every prefecture, consisting of members elected by the people under certain property qualifications. These assemblies meet once every year to consider and give approval to matters relating to local taxation and kindred subjects.

On the 12th of October, 1881, the Emperor issued a proclamation in the following general terms:

"Whereas, we have long had it in view to establish gradually a constitutional government; and whereas, it was with this object in view that we have already established the Genro-in and Local Assemblies; therefore, we hereby declare that we shall, in the year 1890, establish a Diet, in order to carry into full effect the determination we have announced. And we charge our faithful subjects bearing our com-

missions to make, in the meantime, all necessary preparations to that end."

The enterprise went steadily forward. In 1885 a responsible Ministry was formed, and this was followed, in 1888, by the establishment of a Privy Council. These successive steps towards the creation of a constitutional form of government were but the tangible manifestation of an unseen revolution which had taken place in the mind of the Japanese people. This revolution was greatly promoted by the reports of numberless commissions sent abroad by the Government to investigate the existing institutions of Japan; by the sentiment of a thousand students who, receiving education in foreign lands, brought home not only the arts and sciences of the West, but also the liberal ideas of representative government; by the incitements of popular education and the diffusion of higher learning at home; by the establishment of a great university and hundreds of high-schools; by the vast circulation of newspapers and periodicals, four hundred in number, filled with the advocacy of free institutions; by copious translations into Japanese of English, French, and German authors; and finally, by introducing railroads, telegraphs, steamers, banking and postal systems, etc., which, combined with the influx of the most ingenious inventions and articles of trade, proved an effective means of dispelling anti-foreign prejudices from the minds of the common people.

Let us now examine the major provisions and principles of the New Imperial Constitution. It is an instrument consisting of seven Chapters and seventy-six Articles, and is remarkable for its comprehensiveness and the display of statesmanship manifested in its composition.

Chapter First defines the Emperor and his relations to civil society. He is sacred and inviolable. He exercises the rights of sovereignty according to the Constitution, and executes the legislative enactments, with the consent of the Imperial Diet. He sanctions, promulgates, and enforces the laws. He convokes, opens, closes, and prorogues the Imperial Diet, and dissolves the House of Representatives. In times of emergency, when the Diet is not in session, he issues ordinances to take a temporary effect, but to be approved or rejected at the ensuing session of the Diet. He has the supreme command of the army and navy, and determines their organization and peace standing. He declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties. He determines the organization of the different branches of administration, and the salaries of all civil and military officers, and appoints and dismisses the same from service.

Chapter Second defines the rights and duties of subjects. No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried, or punished, unless according to law, and by the judges determined by law.[1] Except in the cases provided in the law, his home shall not be entered or searched without his consent, and the secrecy of letters shall remain inviolable, as also the right of property. The freedom of religious belief is secured, and within the limits of law the citizen shall enjoy the liberty of speech, of writing, of publication, of public meeting and association, and also the right of petition. He is amenable to service in the army and navy, and also to the duty of paying taxes. He may hold civil or military offices equally, according to qualifications determined in law and by ordinances.

Chapter Third relates to the Imperial Diet. The same consists of a House of Peers and a House of Representatives. The former is composed of the members of the Imperial family, of the nobility, and of persons nominated by the Emperor; and the latter, of members elected by the people.[2] The Diet shall be convoked every year; but when urgent necessity arises, the body may be called in extraordinary session. Every general law requires the consent of the Diet, and both Houses must vote upon *projêts* of law submitted to them by the Government; and each House may itself initiate *projêts* of law.

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[1] The student of History can but be impressed with the almost perfect identity of this clause with the opening paragraph of Magna Charta. *Nullus liber homo capiatur*, etc. "No free man shall be seized or distressed or imprisoned, etc.; nor will we," saith King John, "proceed against him except by the judgment of his peers, and in accordance with the law of the land."

[2] In the law of election, among other qualifications for the electors and eligible persons, the payment of direct national taxes of not less than fifteen *yen* per annum is required.

JAPANESE SCHOOL.

Each is also empowered to make representations to the Government as to laws, or upon any other subjects. Except upon demand of the Government, or by resolution of the House, the deliberations of both Houses shall be public. Each House may present addresses to the Emperor, and may receive petitions presented by subjects. No member of either House shall be held responsible, outside of his respective chamber, for any opinion uttered or for any vote given in the House. The members of both Houses shall, during the session, be free from arrest, unless with the consent of the House, and except in cases of flagrant delicts, or of offenses connected with a state of internal commotion or with some foreign trouble. The Ministers of State and the Delegates of the Government may at any time take seats and speak in either House.

Chapter Fourth prescribes the duties and functions of Ministers of State and Privy Councilors. The Ministers of State give advice to the Emperor, and are responsible therefor, and all laws, Imperial ordinances, and rescripts of whatever kind, require the countersignature of a Minister of State. The Privy Council shall, when consulted by the Emperor, deliberate and give advice upon important matters of state.

Chapter Fifth regulates the judicature, which is exercised by the Courts of Law, according to law, in the name of the Emperor. Proper qualifications are necessary for the appointment of judges; and they shall not be deprived of their position unless by criminal sentence or exemplary punishment, the rules for which shall be determined by law. Except in cases prejudicial to peace and order or public morality, trials and judgments of courts shall be conducted publicly.[1] All matters that fall within the competency of a special court shall be especially provided for by law. No suit at law which relates to rights alleged to have been infringed by illegal measures of the executive authorities and coming within the competency of the Court of Administrative Litigation, especially established by law, shall be judicially cognized by the Common Courts of Law.

Chapter Sixth treats of the finance. A new scheme of taxation, or any scheme modifying the existing rates, shall be determined by law, but all administrative fees or other revenues having the nature of compensation for public service are exceptional. New national loans require the consent of the Diet, as does also the annual Budget; and all expenditure overpassing the amount provided in the Budget shall subsequently require the approval of the Diet. Except in the case of a necessary increase, the expenses of the Imperial House shall be defrayed out of the national treasury according to the existing scale already established. Those expenditures which by the Constitution are determined by the Emperor, and such as may have arisen by the effect of law, and such as appertain to the legal obligations of the Government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the Diet without the concurrence of the Government. A sinking fund against expenditures may be required of the Diet by the Government for a determinate number of years, in order to meet special emergencies. When the Diet has not voted on the Budget, or when the Budget has not been formulated for the year, the Government shall follow the Budget of the preceding year. In case of urgent necessity, for the maintenance of public safety, and when the Diet can not be convoked, the Government may take all needed financial responsibilities by means of Imperial ordinances subject to the approval of the ensuing session of the Diet. Every final account of finance, verified and confirmed by the Board of Audit, shall be submitted to the Diet for approval.

Chapter Seventh covers all supplementary provisions. Amendments to the Constitution shall be submitted to the Diet in a *projêt* by Imperial order, and their adoption requires a vote of two-thirds of not less than two-thirds of the whole number of members. No modification of the Imperial House-Law shall be required to be submitted to the deliberation of the Diet; nor can any provision of the Constitution be modified by the Imperial House-Law.

Such is an outline of that remarkable organic structure which the Emperor and Japa-

[1] The reader can but note that causes involving public morality may be heard in judicial session, that is, with closed doors—a provision by which the sluice-gates of scandal and indecency are effectually shut down.

nese statesmen have provided for the future government of the Empire.[1] Taking into consideration the rapid progress which the country has made in the past three decades, it appears that the Constitutional frame just adopted is but the logical fruit of national growth and expansion. From the peculiar aptitude of the Japanese to assimilate their thoughts, manners, and civilization to those of Christendom, we may well be confident that this first-born of civil liberty on Asiatic soil will grow mighty by its regenerating vigor, and permanent by its adaptation to the needs of the people. But this can be fully realized only when the States of Europe and America, acquiescing in the reasonable demands of Japan, shall liberate her from the iron chains of the unjust treaties wherewith they have bound her limbs.

MUNEMITSU MUTSU,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States.

In all events, the Japan of the present day is no longer the Japan of the past. The nation is awake. Activity and progress are displayed on every hand. The frugality and industry of the people have astonished Western economists; and the moralists of Europe and America have been constrained to acknowledge the social virtues—the courtesy, the respectful manners, the dignified demeanor, the sincerity, the modest ambition to know and to be—of the Japanese race. The educational progress of the people has been a matter of wonder; and the readiness with which they accept the new because it is better, and discard the old because it is inferior, has excited the emulation and pricked the conscience of the Western peoples to the extent of revealing to them a moral defect, of the existence of which in themselves they had not been previously aware.

The outgoing to distant lands of scores of the best young men of the country; the privation and social embarrassments which all such cheerfully undergo to the end that they may gather the treasures of foreign learning, the fruits of foreign discipline; the cheerfulness with which the aged parents of such give up their sons to reside for years among strangers, and the pride with which they welcome them home when their education is completed,—all show conclusively that a better epoch has dawned, and that NEW JAPAN has opened wide all her gates to the fructifying sunbeams of a higher civilization.

[1] The foregoing account and analysis of the new Imperial Constitution of Japan have been furnished to the author by the Honorable Aimaro Sato, of Washington City. Mr. Sato is Secretary of the Japanese Legation to the United States, under His Excellency, Munemitsu Mutsu, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Imperial Japanese Majesty. The facts presented, the outlines of the discussion, and the larger part of the composition are the work of Mr. Sato, whose familiarity with the subject can not be doubted. The author has himself examined a copy in English of the new Constitution, and thus verified Mr. Sato's presentation of the subject.

CHAPTER CLVII.—AUSTRALIA.

AUSTRALIA is another of those great countries which has been revealed to the consciousness of mankind within the present century. It is, however, out of all analogy with the Oriental Empires, which we have been considering in the two preceding chapters. The nation, instead of going back in its origins to barbarism, furnishes one of the best examples of a transplanted civilization. Like the United States of America and Canada, Australia has had a phenomenal, rather than an evolutionary, development. It was as though a new nation should be transported in a fleet, and set down in a distant quarter of the globe hitherto unoccupied, except by a weak, timid, and sparse population of savages. History is thus able to put her hand under the bottom and beginning of things, and it is likely that the great Australia of the ages to come will be more perfectly known, from a historical point of view, than any other nation and country of like extent.

We may well follow this line of reflection, and assert that States and nationalities, constituted as Australia has been, have a great advantage in this: That they are the work of right reason and rational adaptation, rather than the rude and approximative experiments of half-barbarism struggling to reach the light. It need not surprise the reader to be informed that the current political, social, and civil order presented in Australia has many features which the oldest and wisest nations of the world are coming to imitate and adopt, simply because they have been the product of right reason applied to the affairs of men. The ripest experiences, political and otherwise, of Great Britain have been employed in giving form and consistency to the institutions of Australia. There has thus been opportunity for doing the work as if *de novo*. No impediment has existed to the free exercise of the highest judgment of the English-speaking race in constructing this new Australian fabric, which is scarcely older than the life of a veteran. Such has been the success of the institutions and methods of the country that we have lived to see the United States of America boggling in the dark and laying hand on the Australian ballot-system as a means of defense against the political corruptions cultivated and perfected by the descendants of the Puritans!

In our own country the coming of Australia into the English-speaking sisterhood of nations has been gladly welcomed. Notwithstanding the remoteness of the country and the unfortunate circumstances under which its society was at first projected, we have felt for the Australians a sympathy similar to that which, in the last quarter of a century, has drawn so strongly together the American and the Canadian peoples. This disposition was encouraged and developed not a little by the part taken by Australia at our Centennial Exhibition, of 1876. The visitor at that great assembly of nations and aggregation of arts and industries had not strolled far adown the magnificent avenues of display until he discovered that Australia had remembered the jubilee of American independence. The flocks on her hill-sides had contributed their magnificent fleeces to surprise the Western nations. The Argonauts of the South Pacific were home again with the richest of treasures! Here stood an obelisk of phantom gold, showing in cubic inches the quantity of *real* gold taken from the mines of New South Wales since 1851. Here were bars of New Zealand tin and blocks of coal; sections of beautiful timber and cocoons of silk; ores of antimony and copper; native wines and heaps of precious stones. Excellent photographs of the principal Australian cities and scenery added much to the interest of the exhibit, and the observer passed on, realizing the fact that the Island Empire of the South Pacific had become one among the powers of the earth.

Is it an Island? or is it a Continent? Here is a coast-line embracing a circuit of eight thousand miles. Here is an area scarcely less than three million square miles in extent.

Here is a territorial capacity—a variety and compass of territorial condition—sufficient for the development of one of the most powerful nationalities on the globe. All the civilizing forces in Europe might here find room for exercise, and a population equal to one-fifth of all the inhabitants of the earth would hardly be uncomfortably compressed within these ample borders.

It belongs to geography, rather than to an outline of general history, to present the physical character and potencies of Australia. Suffice it to say that only the Australian coasts and coast-lands have been thoroughly explored. In the interior vast regions are as yet but partly known. In general the central districts consist of a table-land of moderate elevation, with small mountain ranges rising here and there. In many parts the plain sinks into valleys and swamps, sometimes fertile, but more frequently of a sandy and rather unproductive soil. In some regions desert tracts are found, where only the poorest species of vegetation can exist. Passing towards the coasts, however, the traveler enters more fertile districts, and his eye is greeted with some of the most beautiful scenery in the world.

Those parts of Australia which have been most fully made known to Europe are the eastern and south-eastern portions. This region has been thoroughly explored and surveyed. The eastern coast has mountain ranges of considerable magnitude. The principal mountains of these ranges are known as the Australian Pyrenees and the Grampian Hills, which extend eastward and westward from Melbourne. The highest mountains of the whole continent are along the eastern coast, and are known as the Australian Alps, the loftiest peak of which rises to a height of more than seven thousand feet. North of the range just mentioned, and to the west of Sydney, stretches the range called the Blue Mountains, some of the summits of which are over four thousand feet in height. The Liverpool range is still further to the north; and in this group Mt. Sea View rises six thousand feet above the level of the deep.

Of the rivers of Australia, only a few are navigable. The streams of the country differ much in character from those of Europe. The Australian rivers, even when bank full of water, suddenly sink away and disappear in some quicksand or marsh. Their volume is thus wasted for purposes of navigation; nor is the country much irrigated by their waters. In some cases, however, the opposite is true. The Murray is six hundred miles in length, and is a lasting stream, from its source, in the Australian Alps, to its mouth, in Lake Alexandrina. A few other rivers have the same character, but by far the greater number run dry in summer, and contribute little to the agricultural and commercial benefit of the country.

As it respects the Australian lakes, they are far less extensive and beautiful than those of Europe and North America. The former partake rather of the character of swamps than of true lakes. The most extensive of such bodies of water lie in a group northward from Spencer Gulf. The largest of these is Lake Eyre, and the second in size is Lake Torrens, which extends from north to south about one hundred and forty miles. In a south-easterly direction are several smaller bodies of fresh water, known as Gregory Lakes. Lake Gairdner, lying to the west of Lake Torrens, is of about the same extent as Lake Eyre, but its waters are so brackish as to make it a sea-lagoon rather than a lake.

The climate of Australia may be defined in general terms as hot and dry. These qualities, however, are less marked in Victoria, New South Wales, and the other parts of the continent lying south of the thirtieth parallel, than in the districts adjacent to and northward of the Tropic of Capricorn. In these parts the heat is very oppressive, and it is doubtful whether, in the larger portions of Queensland, North Australia, and West Australia, European civilization will ever flourish.

But in Victoria and New South Wales and the mountainous parts of Queensland, as well as to the west about the Gulf of Spencer, the country is healthful and the European constitution as vigorous as in France and Southern Germany. The variations of temperature and the irregularities in rain-fall are very great. In some places the mercury has been known to fall as much as 30° F. in half an hour; and it is said that, from noon until midnight, a range as great as 99° has been recorded. The

115
120
125
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
Timor
Sandalwood I.
Savou
Rotti
Sahul Bank
C. Londonderry
Cambridge Gulf
Vansittart B.
Admiralty Gulf
C. Voltaire
Montague Sd.
Scotts Reef
Browse I.
Bigge I.
York Sound
Brunswick B.
Camden Har.
Mt. Cockburn
Adele I.
Collier B.
Buccaneer Arch.
Sunday Str.
Glenelg R.
C. Leveque
King Sound
Lacepede Is.
Carnot B.
C. Boileau
Dampier Land
Fitzroy R.
Rowley Shoals
Roebuck B.
Lagrange B.
Desault B.
Tasman Land
Denison Plains
Mt. M
Mt. W
Gregory
Stone Cr.
Joanna Spr.
1873
Warburton
L. Isabella
L. White
Breaker Inlet
C. Thouin
De Grey R.
Oakover R.
Nickol I.
Yule R.
Shaw R.
Ashburton R.
Dampier Archipelago
Barrow I.
Exmouth Gulf
North West C.
Curlew R.
Fortescue R.
Hamersley Range
Mt. Bruce 4000
Mt. Macpherson
Gregory Sep. 1861
Hardey R.
Pt. Cloates
Ashburton R.
De Witt Land
Tropic of Capricorn
L. Christopher
G. Farquhar
G. Cuvier
Mt. Augustus 3480
Gascoyne R.
Gascoyne Mt.
Weld Spr.
Geographe Chanl.
Bernier I.
Dorre I.
Gregory 1858
Macadam Plains
Windich Spr.
Forrest 1874
Alexander Spr.
Ft. Muell
Naturaliste Chl.
Dirk Hartog I.
Hamelin Bay
Hamelin Har.
Mt. Narryer
Mt. Murchison
Steep Pt.
Freycinet Har.
L. Austin
Murchison R.
Mt. Magnet
Gantheaume B.
Port Gregory
Wallaby Is.
Houtmans Abrolhos
Geraldton
Salt Lake
Gregory 1846
Austin 1854
Boundary Dam
Giles 1875
Victoria Desert
Arrowsmith R.
L. Moore
L. Barlee
Beagle Is.
Mt. Lesueur
Cow-cowing L.
L. Brown
Queen Victoria Spr.
L. Lefroy
Nuyts Land
Toodyay
Guildford
York
Mt. Arrowsmith
Dundas Hills
Cliffs from 400
Port P
PERTH
R. Avon
Salt Lakes
Pt. Dover
Rockingham
Freemantle
Murray R.
Pt. Culver
Australind
Williamsburg
Ravensthorpe
Russel Range
Geographe B.
Phillips R.
Pt. Malcolm
C. Naturaliste
Busselton
Blackwood R.
Wurrenup
Esperance B.
Pt. Arid
Augusta
Recherche Arch.
C. Leeuwin
Flinders B.
Albany
Dillon B.
Pallinup R.
Doubtful I. Bay
Pt. d'Entrecasteaux
Port Two Peoples
Pt. Nuyts
King George Sound
INDIAN OCEAN
To Singapore & Canton
MAP XXXII.
AUSTRALIA
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
Railways
Unfinished Railways
Exploration tracks marked thus
Flak & Soe, N.Y.
110
115
120
125
Longitude

135
140
145
150
155
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
NEW GUINEA
TORRES STRAIT
PAPUA OR NEW GUINEA
Banks I.
Murray Is.
Pr. of Wales I.
C. York
Endeavor Str.
Albany I.
Port Somerset
Woodlark
D'Entrecasteaux Is.
St. Aignan
Louisiade Arch.
South East I.
Goulburn Is.
Junction B.
Crocodile Is.
Castlereagh B.
Pt. Dale
C. Wessel
Wessel Is.
English Company Is.
Melville B.
C. Arnhem
Arnhem Bay
Van Diemen Gulf
Batavia R.
Coen R.
Duyfhen Pt.
Pera Hd.
Shelbourne B.
C. Grenville
Temple B.
Weymouth B.
Lloyd B.
C. Direction
Cape York Peninsula
Pra. Charlotte Bay
Hathurst B.
Melville
Howick Is.
Osprey Reef
CORAL SEA
C. Flattery
C. Bedford
Cooktown
C. Tribulation
Bourgainville Reef
Trinity B.
C. Grafton
Willis Is.
Coringa I.
Tregrosse Is.
Lihou Reef
Rockingham B.
Hinchinbrook
Halifax B.
Cardwell
Townsville
Cleveland B.
Bowling Green B.
Upstart B.
Edgecumbe C.
Port Denison
David Reef
Charters Towers
Normanton
Burke & Wills 1860
Gilbert R.
Norman R.
Flinders R.
Leichhardt R.
Nassau R.
R. Mitchell
Kennedy R.
Cumberland Is.
Repulse B.
Horse Shoe Shoal
Northumberland Is.
C. Palmerston
Percy Is.
Broad Sd.
Shoalwater B.
Port Bowen
Swains Reef
Rockhampton
Keppel Bay
Curtis I.
Port Curtis
Gladstone
Bundaberg
Hervey Bay
Sandy C.
Maryboro
Gt. Sandy I.
Wide Bay
Moreton Bay
Moreton I.
BRISBANE
Stradbroke I.
Pt. Danger
Lytton
Richmond R.
Clarence R.
Grafton
Armidale
McLeay R.
Smoky C.
Port Macquarie
Harrington Inlet
C. Hawke
Port Stephen
Newcastle
L. Macquarie
Port Jackson
Botany Bay
Liverpool
To Auckland New Zealand 1130 Miles
To Cape Horn 5800 Miles
Jervis B.
Sussex Haven
Bateman B.
Twofold
C. Howe
Eden
Mt. Kosciusko
7308
Gulf of Carpentaria
Sir Edward Pellew Is.
Wellesley Is.
Mornington I.
Bentinck I.
Daly Waters
Mt. Arthur
Stuart 1860
Gregory 1858
Mt. Wollaston
Sturt Plains
Asburton Range
L. Woods
Nicholson R.
Albert R.
Plains of Promise
Johns Plains
Kekwick Ponds
Gregory R.
Shadforth R.
Leichhardt R.
Flinders R.
Bonney Downs
Mc. Douall Range
Murchison Ba.
Landsborough 1860
Bonney Cr.
Davenport Ra.
Quarts Ranges
Mt. Standish
Crawford Ra.
Central Mt. Stuart
De Little Ranges
Reynold Range
Mt. Dunnell Ra.
Mt. Olga
Finke Creek
Sturt 1845
Burke R.
Wills Cr.
Burke & Wills 1860-61
Hervey Downs
McKinlay Cr.
Middleton Cr.
Muller Cr.
The Daly
Gregory 1855
Gilbert R.
Leichhardt R.
Flinders R.
Nonda Country
R. Mitchell
Cooper Creek
Burke & Wills died here
Mt. Bulloo
Charleville
Cunnamulla
Williams Station
R. Warrego
Paroo R.
Barcoo R.
Thompson R.
Victoria R.
Barcoo
Lake Eyre
Hansen Ranges
Bagot Range
Macumba
Strzelecki Cr.
Tirrawarra Plains
Stuart Range
Quinta Country
Farina Town
L. Gregory
L. Blanche
Grey Range
Fort Bourke
Darling R.
Bogan R.
Macquarie R.
Gwydir R.
Namoi R.
Castlereagh R.
Bingara
Warrego R.
Maranoa R.
Balonne R.
Condamine R.
Dumaresq R.
Mt. Lindesay
Tweed R.
Logan R.
Ipswich
Toowoomba
Gowrie Jc.
Drayton
Leyburn
Stanthorpe
Warwick
Gympie
Maryborough
Gatton
Roma
Mt. King
Muckadilla
Surat
Dogwood Creek
Mt. Abundance
Mt. Abundance
Mt. Margaret
Mt. Margaret
Mt. Eyre
Mt. Bryant
Petersburg
Barra Barra (Koolinga)
Wentworth
Morgan
Port Augusta
Port Pirie
Port Germein
Port Lincoln
Spencer Gulf
Wallaroo
Kapunda
Gawler Ranges
Lake Torrens
L. Gairdner
Barrier or Stanley Range
L. Frome
Island
Quorn
Mt. Eyre
Wilcannia
Menindie
Cawndilla L.
Darling R.
Cobar
Canonbah
Nyngan
Dubbo
Wellington
Orange
Bathurst
Windsor
Hawkesbury R.
Parramatta
Goulburn
Yass
Murrumbidgee R.
Lachlan R.
Murray R.
Moulamein
Wentworth
Swan Hill
Echuca
Albury
Wagga Wagga
Tumut
Gundagai
Tumbarumba
Kiandra
Mt. Kosciusko
7308
Mt. Hotham
6500
Omeo
Dargo
Mt. Wellington
Mt. Baw Baw
Mt. Macedon
Mt. Alexander
Mt. Buninyong
Mt. Cole
Mt. Arapiles
Mt. Gambier
Beachport
Robe T.
Kingston
Encounter Bay
Port Elliot
Kangaroo I.
Port Lincoln
Anxious B.
Investigator Is.
Coffin B.
Eyrie Pen.
Avoid B.
Port Lincoln
C. Catastrophe
C. Spencer
Investigator Str.
Streaky B.
Nuyts Archipelago
C. Nuyts
Fowler B.
Ranges
Lawler Ranges
Quorn
Stuart 1858
Flinders Ranges
Barrier Ranges
Darling R.
Murray R.
Murrumbidgee R.
Lachlan R.
Darling R.
Murray R.
Murrumbidgee R.
Lachlan R.
Murray R.
Murrumbidgee R.
Lachlan R.
Murray R.
Murrumbidgee R.
Lachlan

rains along the south coast are frequently of the tropical character, so violent as to be described as deluges and water-spouts.

If we turn to the animal life of Australia, we do not find a great extent or variety. The carnivorous beasts are not so great or numerous as might be expected from the character of the continent. The most formidable beast of prey is an animal of the dog kind, called the dingo. Like wolves, the dingoes roam about in packs, and attack flocks of sheep and goats. Ruminants and pachyderms are not found native in the country. In one branch of animal life, however, Australia is remarkable. Marsupials abound. Of these the most conspicuous example is the kangaroo. A small variety of the same species is called the wallaby. The opossum also abounds, and a variety of this species, called the flying opossum, or petaurus, is frequently met with. Still another variety of pouched animals, called the dasyurus, is common in certain districts. Another group of animals peculiar to Australia are the *mono-tremata*, of which the two leading examples are the porcupine ant-eater and the ornithorhyncus.

The Australian birds are for the most part identical with those of Europe and Africa. Eagles, falcons, and owls are common. Parrots of brilliant feather and birds of paradise are met with in almost every forest. The Australian reptiles are neither numerous nor formidable. The serpents are by no means comparable in size and venom with those of Asia, Africa, and South America Of the insects, several species have a poisonous bite, and the scorpion, centipede, and even the spider, are to be dreaded by the traveler.

It is, however, in the world of vegetation that Australia most displays her varied fecundity. The continent is said to possess more than eight thousand species of plants; and the strange thing is, that of these varieties of vegetable life, about nine-tenths are not native to any other part of the world. There are said to be more than a hundred varieties of the myrtle peculiar to Australia, and of this genus the trees not infrequently rise to the height of two hundred feet. The species of the acacias are equally numerous and important. Of the cone-bearing family, the leading varieties are the cedar and the casuarina. The palm is infrequent, but the arborescent fern, with its splendid branches ten or twelve feet in length, attracts the delighted attention of the traveler. Nor should failure be made to mention the beautiful giant lily, the remarkable tea-tree, the stench-plant, and the kangaroo-grass, so high as to conceal a horse and rider.

In grains and fruits, Australia is moderately—in some parts abundantly—productive. Perhaps Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia yield as fine crops of wheat as any other countries in the world. The gardens are especially fine, and almonds, figs, apricots, melons, grapes, apples, pears, plums, and quinces are produced in immense quantities, sufficient not only for home consumption, but for foreign markets.

In her mineral wealth, Australia may be ranked among the richest countries of the world. Gold is, or has been, found in such quantities as to be equaled only in the mines of California. The Australian gold is generally found mixed with quartz and pipe-clay, sometimes with sandstone and white and blue earths. It is not yet known how great in extent the Australian gold-fields are. Until recently the richest of the mines have been in the Bathurst District, in the northern part of New South Wales, and in the north-western regions of Victoria. Of late, however, the mining interests have turned to the Gympie diggings, in Queensland. No mines have surpassed in occasional discoveries those of Ballarat, where lumps of gold have been found weighing from twenty-eight to *a hundred and thirty-six pounds.*

The Australian mines differ greatly from those of California in this, that in the latter the precious metal is generally distributed in veins and strata that may sometimes be traced for a great distance, while in the Australian deposits the gold is scattered in separate particles on the surface and through the soil and sand. The aggregate quantity of the precious metal taken from the mines of Australia, and added to the wealth of Great Britain, has been enormous; nor are there good grounds for apprehending that the supply is yet in any danger of exhaustion. After the gold-mines, may be mentioned those of copper at Burra-Burra and in other places, as well as the rich deposits of tin, lead, silver, and precious stones.

The primitive—perhaps indigenous—people of Australia appear to be a race distinct from those inhabiting other quarters of the globe. At least this type of mankind has been found only in the Australian Islands, in New Guinea, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and the Solomon Islands. The color of this strange species of barbarians is black, ranging in hue from what may be called a brown-black to ebony. The hair of the Australian natives is as crisp as that of the negro, but is true hair, not wool. The general physiogomy is more pleasing and human than that of most of the African tribes. The Australian face is fairly well developed. The nose moderately high, and the lips by no means so gross and protuberant as those of the negro.

In intellectual capacity, moreover, the native Australians are fully equal or superior to those of the other aborigines. They readily adapt themselves to the manners and usages of civilized life. Their native customs, however, are rude and barbarous. It appears that they knew not the use of fire until made acquainted with the same by foreigners. They built no huts in their original state, but were satisfied with a rude barricade of bark, set up at an angle and rudely propped, between themselves and the wind and rain. Their food was eaten raw; and since the introduction of cooking the method is to dig a hole in the ground, kindle therein a fire, throw in the slain animal whole, and cover it over with earth until the work is done.

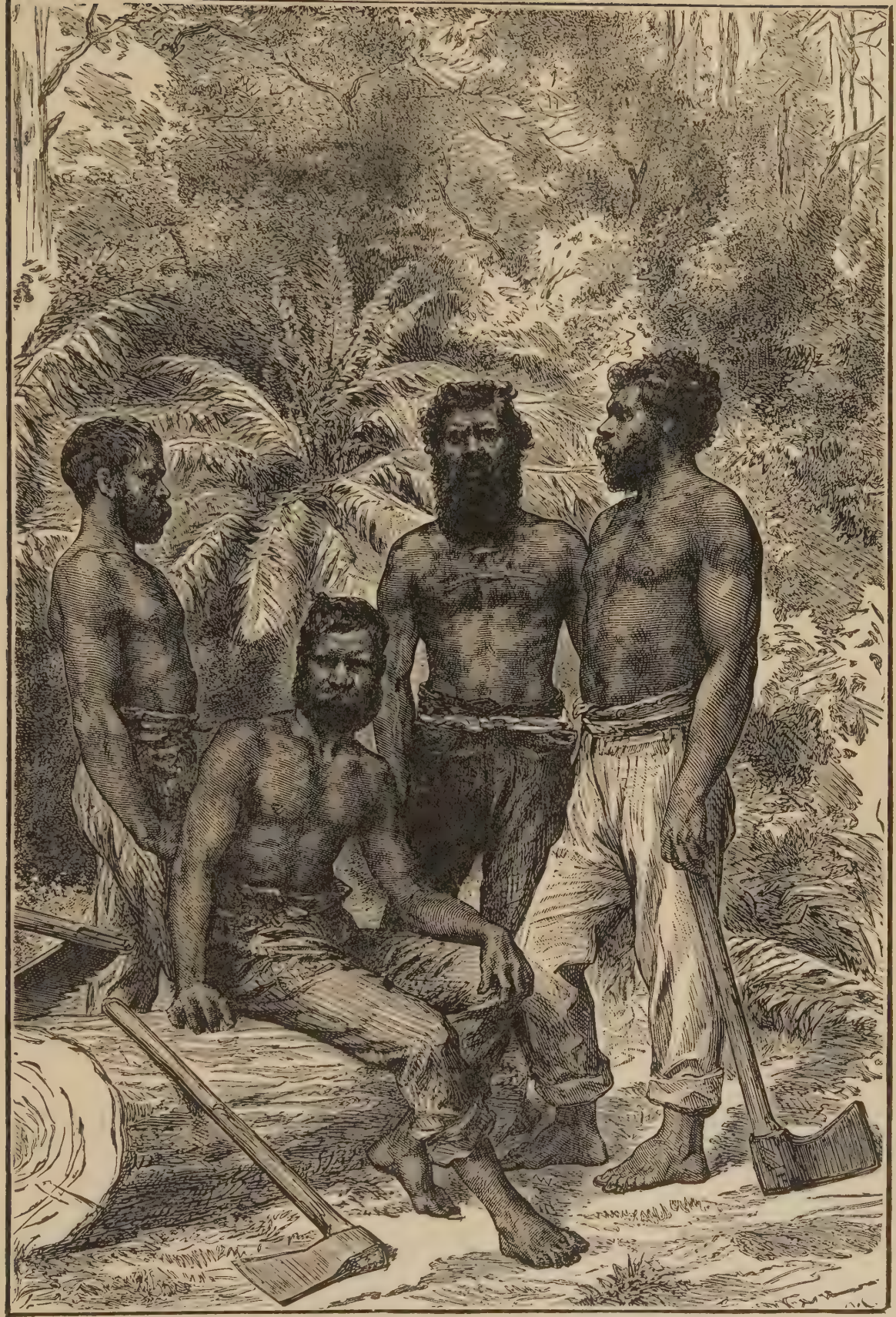
In the remote districts the natives go entirely naked, but in proximity to the European colonies the sense of shame has suggested a rude covering of sheep-skins and blankets. The native weapons are the spear, the club, and the boomerang. The first of these the natives hurl with great precision to a distance of seventy or eighty yards, and the last becomes a dangerous missile in the savage but experienced hands of them that throw it.

As a rule, the disposition of the native Australians is more pacific and less vindictive than that of most other savages. The various tribes have their feuds and wars, and this circumstance, as in the case of the North American Indians, has tended to reduce their numbers. At the present day it is estimated that there are not more than fifty thousand of the aborigines in the whole continent. Like most other barbarians, they are greatly addicted to drink, and the drunken habit has struck a fatal blow at the vitality of the race.

Socially, the native Australians are polygamists. Their marriage ceremony consists merely in the carrying off of the bride by the bridegroom. Perhaps she consents; perhaps she does not; but her resistance is of no avail. A belief in immortality prevails, and this furnishes a basis for the theory that the Europeans who have taken possession of Australia are the reänimated souls of the native blacks. The natives have the common vice of savagery—indolence; and the foreign colonists have great difficulty in inducing them to work. There can be little doubt that the aboriginal Australians are in a process of extinction, and that in the presence of English civilization they will soon fade into nonentity.

It is not the purpose in this connection to give more than a cursory sketch of the civil and political history of Australia. The country first became known to Europe in the early part of the seventeenth century. Before this time vague and indefinite traditions had existed of lands seen and heard of by navigators in the South Pacific. A Portuguese map, bearing the date of 1542, has an outline of a land in this region that may have been seen by him who drew the chart. It is commonly agreed, however, that the actual discovery was made by the Dutch ship *Duyfhen*, in 1606.

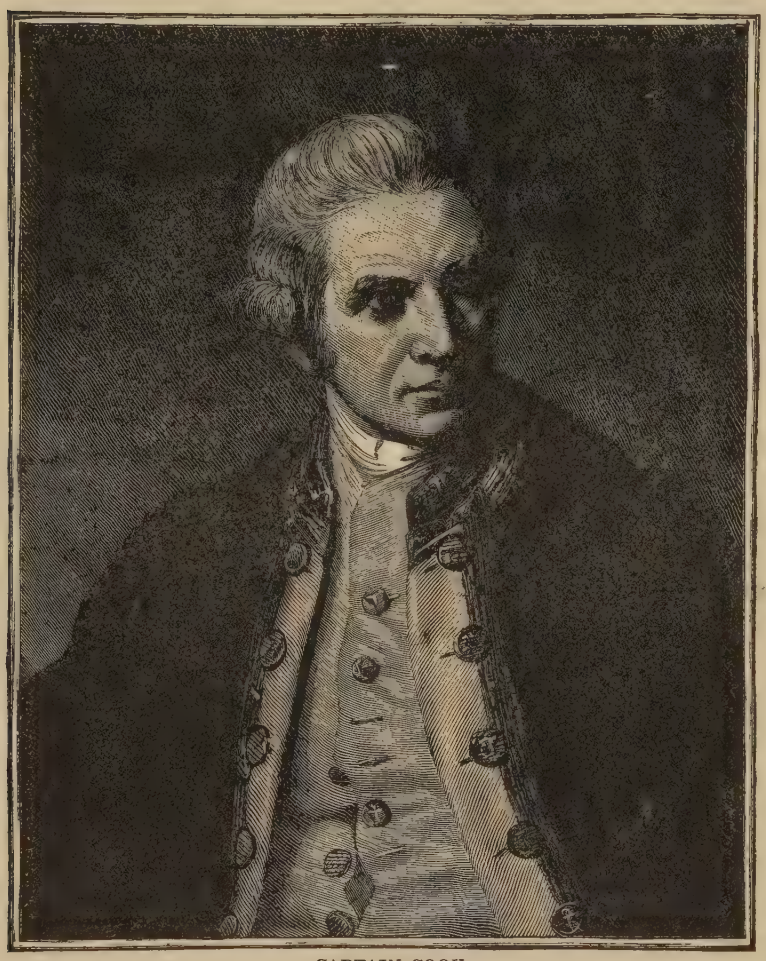
This vessel, on its way from Java, sailed into the Gulf of Carpentaria, where a portion of the crew went ashore, and some were killed by the natives. Ten years later, Captain Dirk Hartog, in the ship *Concord*, traced a portion of the north-western coast of the continent. Then followed an epoch of discovery and exploration under the auspices of the Dutch. In the year 1664 the continent received the name of New Holland. Thirty years later the Swan River was ascended and its banks explored. In 1699, Captain Dampier, in the ship *Roebuck*, traced the north-west coast of the continent, being the first Englishman who had visited Australia. It was not, however, until 1770 that the famous Captain Cook landed in the southern part of the island and gave names to some of the headlands. Soon afterwards Captain Howe hoisted



AUSTRALIAN NATIVES AT ABORIGINAL STATION. (841)

the British Flag at Port Jackson, and took formal possession in the name of George III.

The first settlement in Australia was made at Botany Bay, in New South Wales, in the year 1788. The name of this famous colony was given by Sir Joseph Banks, the *botanist* of the expedition, who was delighted with the splended vegetation of the surrounding region. The colony was a penal establishment, the purpose of the British Government being to



CAPTAIN COOK.

send thither her criminals for the full enjoyment of their own refined society. It was soon discovered, however, that the site of Sydney was better adapted for a settlement than that of Botany Bay; and Captain Arthur Phillip was presently sent out with a squadron carrying eight hundred and fifty convicts as the *avant-couriers* of the new civilization. Perhaps a more unamiable list of citizens was never presented as the advanced cohort of a new State.

Meanwhile, the work of discovery and exploration was carried forward. In 1791, Captain Vancouver made important contributions to the geographical knowledge respecting the southern coast of the continent. In 1803, Tasmania, or Van Diemen's Land, was selected as the site of another penal colony. The spot chosen for the settlement of the first company of convicts was the site of the present city of Hobart. In 1852, Queensland was first colonized, but was not separated from New South Wales until 1859. The Swan River settlement, the first of Western Australia was founded in 1829, and was converted into a penal colony. The country of Victoria, hitherto known as Port Phillip, was first permanently colonized in 1835, but was not divided from New South Wales until July of 1851. South Australia was settled by emmigrants from Great Britain in 1836. Four years afterwards, New Zealand was also separated from New South Wales, and was organized as a distinct colony.

Thus was the major part of the coast-line of the Australian continent made known, and in part devoted to civilization. Since the early part of the present century, almost every year has witnessed some effort on the part of the colonial or home Government to explore the interor of the country. By such means vast regions, hitherto unknown, have been traversed, and their physical features noted for the advantage of the coming Empire. The great question, however, which has occupied the attention of the local authorities of Australia has been that of the transportation of

criminals and their colonization in the country. From the first this system tended to destroy itself. As Australia became civilized, the punitive character of transportation was abated. The place to which the criminal was sent was frequently better than that from which he was taken. Besides, many settlements were established by free colonies of reputable people, and these increased more rapidly than did the penal settlements themselves. In the course of time an inevitable conflict arose between the depraved and vicious elements, which had aggregated in the penal colonies, and the better classes of society. It was as much as the latter, even when backed by the Government, could do to keep the former in subjection, and the difficulty was constantly increased, by the arrival of new criminal cargoes from Great Britain.

At length the free colonists set themselves to prevent the further transportation of convicts. An Anti-transportation League was organized, and the attention of the home Government was suddenly arrested by the outcry of those who were suffering from the abuses of the penal system of the Empire. It was soon discovered that either the system of convict colonization must be abandoned, or the free colonies already planted in Australia be hopelessly given up to the vice and demoralization which grew rank in the penal settlements. The sentiment against the system became overwhelming, and in 1837 an edict was passed forbidding further transportation into New South Wales.

The measure was found to be in the highest degree favorable to the interest of the colony, and an agitation was at once begun for carrying out the same policy in Van Diemen's Land. It was not, however, until 1853 that the abolition of penal colonies was effected in the latter country. From this time forth the stream of emigration set in rapidly, and the social and political condition of the colony was soon transformed by the impact of a healthier population.

We may now properly consider more fully the political development of Australia. At the close of the last century the whole European population amounted to scarcely a half million souls. We have seen how, in 1788, the first penal station for criminals from England was established in New South Wales, oldest of the Australian provinces. This may be regarded as the primitive English-speaking settlement of the Continent. Only eight years had elapsed since Captain Cook explored the eastern coast of the country. For a considerable length of time the penal colony included the whole population of the Port Jackson settlement. But at length a free people gathered around, and presently outnumbered those who had been transported. There thus came to coexist two elements among the Australians, those who were under punishment for their misdeeds, and those who had sought in the South Pacific a freer arena for enterprise and adventure. The dual character of the population at this place, as in other quarters, continued until 1837, when, as we have seen in the history of Great Britain, the system of penal transportation was abolished, and opportunity given for the expansion of the Australian colonists into nationality.

Considering the character of the primitive population, especially that of New South Wales, the oldest colony, it was but natural, indeed necessary, that the early Government should be a military tyranny. For this purpose officers of the army and navy were selected with special reference to their will, persistency, and courage. The primitive military Governors were Captain Arthur Phillip, Captain Hunter, General Macquarie, and others of like character. At first the principal object of the home Government of Great Britain was simply to disgorge her criminal population upon the unoccupied shores of a distant island, from which the convicts might not return. To this there was presently added the motive of improving the country. To this end was the convict labor directed by the Governors. Roads and bridges were constructed, and thoroughfares carried into the interior of the country. In the beginning of the third decade the population had reached thirty thousand, of whom about three-fourths had been at different times sent out to penal servitude.

In the meantime, a sense of the industrial importance of Australia began to rise in the consciousness of England and the world. Near the beginning of the century fine-wooled sheep had been introduced by John McArthur; it was discovered that the flocks multiplied and

thrived beyond precedent, and the idea of a great wool industry began to be entertained.

By this time the population had begun to regenerate itself. The phenomena were almost exactly identical with those movements by which the primitive American society of California recovered itself from barbarism and crime. It is a thing of which human nature is capable. Of a certainty, a colony of criminals will have no disposition to continue such when left to its own motions. Moreover, a new generation was growing up, and new colonists were constantly arriving, who were anxious that the taint of penal servitude should be taken away. During the Administrations of Sir Thomas Brisbane and Sir Ralph Darling the sentiment in favor of autonomy and the restoration of political and social virtue in the colonies gained ground rapidly, and at length a representative system of government was adopted. A Legislative Council was chosen, and Australia began to assert her consciousness.

Then came General Sir Richard Bourke, who began his administration in 1831. A new impetus was given to immigration, and the maritime parts of New South Wales became well populated. Additional districts of country were taken into the territory of the colony, and explorations were sent out into the interior. Parties of adventurers penetrated the country both north and south. The explorer Mitchell, in 1834 and 1836, traversed what was then called Gipps's Land, now included in Victoria. In 1838, Sir George Gipps succeeded to the office of Governor. Melbourne had risen from a group of squalid huts on the Yarra-Yarra, till, in 1840, it was a city of six thousand inhabitants. Other towns also sprang into importance. Commerce became free and regular. Adelaide, in South Australia, began to rival Melbourne in growth and importance. Deputy governorships were established, and the colonies expanded much after the manner with which the people of America have long been familiar from the history of our primitive settlements on the Atlantic sea-board. Western Australia was least favorably situated and slowest of development; though even here the impulse of immigration was felt, and towns were planted on the coast.

The rise of Australia furnishes another example of the correlations of civilization with its environment. Australia is almost wholly devoid of harbors. On the south and south-east are several bays and inlets of importance. On the west there are one or two considerable havens for ships. In the extreme north-west from the 125th to the 135th meridian from Greenwich, the coast is indented with several important bays. But for the rest the whole shore-line of the continent is as smooth as the coast of California. Though the British colonists had an ethnic and traditional disposition to commerce, the country in which they now found themselves was, on the whole, unfavorable to the development of a great merchant marine. At the same time the products of the country were of a kind to draw the attention of the people from the coast. Production and exportation therefore became the prevailing moods of industry. Wool-growing sprang into the favorite pursuit. Land, as a fact, became an object, first of investment, then of speculation. The rapidly rising interests of the country favored risks of investment and trade. The result was that a crisis was at length reached which extended from 1841 to 1843, during which the bubbles of inflation and speculation were pricked in the usual manner. It was some time before the colonies recovered from the effects of the commercial disasters which were precipitated upon the country. But the population increased, the annual product of wool rose to over forty million pounds, and the development of rich copper-mines in South Australia, all combined to bring about a revival of trade and the restoration of confidence. By the year 1851 the population of New South Wales had increased to one hundred and ninety thousand, that of Victoria was estimated at seventy-seven thousand, and that of South Australia about the same aggregate.

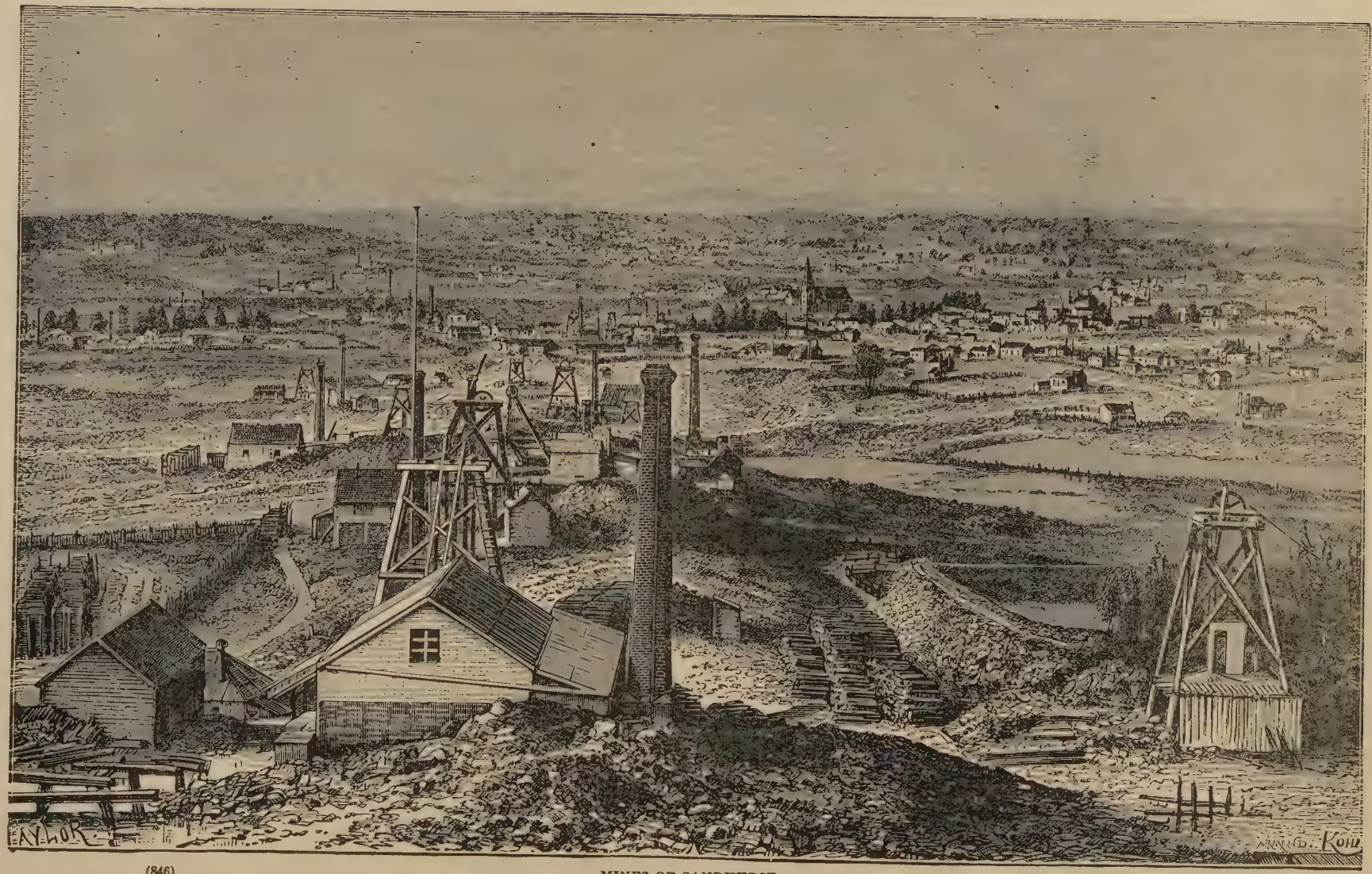
It was in February of the year just mentioned that the discovery of Australian gold was made. Before this time Count Stizelecki had announced the existence of gold in the country, and Sir Roderick Murchison had declared from an examination of Australian quartz that the same was probably associated with gold deposits. The actual discovery was made at Summerhill Creek, about twenty

miles north of Bathurst, in the district called the Macquarie Plains, New South Wales. The discoverer was Mr. E. Hargraves, a miner who had recently arrived from California. It was not until April or May that the news was disseminated, and then occurred a repetition of the tremendous excitement which had agitated the world two years previously with respect to the discoveries in California. The first rush for the mines was from the surrounding country, and then from the more distant colonies of Australia. Thousands left their employment and homes to gather gold, and the passion presently drew into its vortex nearly the whole population. The news was soon carried to Europe, and from distant continents the tide of adventure turned to the South Pacific.

Meanwhile, the discoveries extended to other parts of the country. In August of the same year gold was found on Anderson's Creek, near Melbourne. Soon afterwards the magnificent gold-fields of Ballarat, eighty miles west of the last named discovery, were opened, and finally the mines of Sandhurst, on the north, were found. Still exploration and discovery continued until almost every colony and settlement had found the precious metal. The copper-mines were for the time abandoned. The growing flocks were left to themselves. The rising industrial and commercial enterprises of the country were thrown aside as worthless. European adventurers and diggers began to arrive, and in a short time China contributed her quota of Celestials to the rout. Neither distance nor expense could deter the eager host that poured into the far-off Eldorado.

Within a year after the discovery, two hundred and fifty thousand people had rushed to Australia. The population of Victoria was at once doubled. The sudden abandonment of agriculture and the constant arrival of immigrants drew upon existing resources until the country was drained to the very verge of famine. But for the arrival of supplies from

AUSTRALIAN GOLD RUSH, 1851.



(846) MINES OF SANDHURST.

Europe multiplied thousands must have perished from starvation. Within two years after the discovery, Australian imports were multiplied tenfold; for commerce, as well as adventure of other kinds, had felt the draft, and her ships drifted in the direction of gold.

The social and industrial phenomena were almost identical with what had been witnessed only a short time previously in California. The excitement brought at length its own cure. After the first fever had run its course, the industrial equipoise was restored. Men recovered their senses, and, in course of time, it dawned upon the excited imaginations of the people that the raising of sheep was a more certain, a more healthful, and, withal, a happier method of gaining riches than even the golden, but ofttimes delusive, promise of the diggings. Nevertheless, the yield of the precious metal was enormous, and, as we have said above, the obelisk set up at our Centennial Exposition to illustrate by cubic measure to the eye the mass of gold taken from the Australian mines up to 1876 could but astonish the observer by its immensity.

By the events here described the whole industrial development of Australia was modified. The tremendous influx of population gave a new form and feature to society. The political development of the colonies now went rapidly forward. In July of 1851, while the gold-fever was at its crisis, Victoria was erected into a separate province. Governor Latrobe first held authority in the new State, and was succeeded in turn by Sir Charles Hotham and Sir Henry Barkly. The new province drew to itself a great increment of population and wealth, and if the territory had not been comparatively restricted, there can be little doubt that Victoria would have henceforth led all the Australian colonies.

CRADLING AND PANNING—AUSTRALIAN MINES.

The great disparity in territorial extent was at length removed in a measure by the cutting off from New South Wales, on the north, of the great Province of Queensland. This occurred in 1859. At that time the territory contained only about twenty-five thousand inhabitants. Sir George Bowen was first Governor, holding his office for six years, during which time the population of the province

rose to about a hundred thousand. South Australia had been erected into a crown colony as early as 1835, and on the 28th of December in the following year the province was proclaimed under a gum-tree.

The heroic epoch in the primitive history of nations is that which embraces the period of exploration. The American reader will readily recall the poetical vicissitudes by which the character of our own continent was revealed to the primitive fathers. After civilization flowed westward through the passes of the Alleghanies, we had another era of adventure. The Ohio and Mississippi Valleys were traversed by mighty hunters, and at length the ambitions of men speaking English looked to the Far West.

Much like this was the progress—but more rapid by far—of geographical discovery and exploration in Australia. Here the brave man who foreran the pioneer settlements had the greatest of difficulties to surmount. The completed story of the adventures and hazards by which the interior regions of Australia became known to Europeans would fill a volume with subject-matter as full of daring exploit and heroism as any in the world. Already before the discovery of gold the work of exploration had begun. Indeed, it may be said never to have ceased from the days of Dirk Hartog and William Dampier. For more than a century, however, the adventurers confined their expeditions to the shore. The maritime instincts of the Dutch and English captains were unfavorable to inland expeditions. Even in New South Wales, founded in 1788, nothing but a strip of country about fifty miles in breadth, between the Blue Mountains and the sea, was known until fully a quarter of a century after the establishment of colonies at Port Jackson and Botany Bay.

The first years of our century witnessed several brave but unsuccessful endeavors to pass the Blue Mountains. The precipitous ravines, sometimes fifteen hundred feet in depth, intersecting the ranges, turned back the traveler to the coast. Not until 1813 did a company of colonists effect a passage of the summit and reach the valley of Fish River beyond. Three years afterwards Lieutenant Oxley carried a company of explorers down the Lachlan River, in a north-westerly direction, for a distance of three hundred miles. He afterwards descended the Macquarie to the debouchure of that stream into the lagoons which swallow it up. Then for a season the attention of the people was drawn to the maritime explorations and voyages along the coasts of West Australia.

About the same time, namely, in 1821, a colony was planted on McIville Island in the North. Soon afterwards the inland region about the head-waters of the Lachlan and the Murray was explored. In 1827, Mr. Cunningham, the botanist, traversed the regions on both slopes of the Liverpool Mountains, exploring the tributaries of the River Brisbane. By the close of the third decade the eastern coast was fairly well known, and the western limit of the settlements had been considerably extended.

At this time the attention of the adventurous was occupied with the question as to what became of the rivers flowing north-westerly and south-westerly into the interior of the continent. In 1828, Captain Charles Sturt was sent out by Governor Darling to follow the Macquarie River to its destination. Beating about the marshes in which that river seemed to lose itself, the explorer found the primary streams of a new river, which he called the Darling. Three years afterwards the same party traced the Murrumbidgee through the greater part of its extent. In 1835, Sir Thomas Mitchell, accompanied by Cunningham, reached the Bogan River, where the botanist was killed by the natives.

Meanwhile, adventures inland had been undertaken from the coast of South Australia. From this region the explorers looked almost due northward, and their ambitious vision stretched as far as the utmost limits of the continent. It was along this line of endeavor that the interior of Australia was destined to be revealed. The first explorers in the direction indicated were Dr. Leichardt and Mr. Eyre. The latter first traversed the whole coast from Spencer Gulf to King George's Sound. Then from the gulf he made his way northward to Lake Torrens. Meanwhile, Sturt continued active, and succeeded, in 1845, in extending his explorations from the head-waters of the Darling a great distance towards the interior of the continent. Now it

was that the desert character of the inland regions began to be known. Sturt's party was obliged to face burning winds, hot enough to scorch the nostrils of a camel, and to bring at midday a temperature of 131° F.

By this time the northern coast of Australia had been traced through its whole extent. The continent as far south as the bottom of Gulf Carpentaria was known. In the fifth decade, West Australia, far away from the more populous eastern coast, had been to a considerable extent explored, and its character determined. The Arrowsmith, the Murchison, the Gascoyne, the Ashburton, and many minor streams falling into the Western Ocean, were traced by explorers hardly inferior in courage and adventure to those who had led expeditions in other parts of the continent.

Then came the discovery of gold and the diversion of all energies to the mines. In the early years of the sixth decade, while the gold-fever was at its height, little geographical knowledge was added to the common sum. But soon afterwards a new epoch of discovery was opened. In 1858, Mr. Stuart led a company into the region of the South Australian Lakes, and there discovered the true character of these waters. It was demonstrated that Eyre had made serious mistakes in his sketches and maps from the illusions of the prevalent mirage.

By this time the civil authorities had become keenly alive to the importance of a better knowledge of the interior. The Assembly of South Australia offered a reward of fifty thousand dollars to the first man who would traverse the continent from north to south. Incited by the hope of gaining the prize, and perhaps still more by his ambitions, Stuart resolved to tempt his destiny by the effort. In March of 1860 he accordingly set out from Lake Torrens, and reached the McDonnell range under the Tropic of Capricorn. He was here in the true heart of the continent, and Mt. Stuart will forever preserve the name of the explorer. He was, however, obliged to turn back on reaching the 18th degree of north latitude, but not until he had gained the watershed from which the streams descended northward into the Gulf of Carpentaria. In 1861, Stuart returned to the contest, and gained another degree to the north, but could not reach the coast.

In Victoria, meanwhile, a public subscription was raised for the projection of a still more famous expedition into the interior and the north. The company was organized under the leadership of Robert O'Hara Burke and William John Wills. The former was an officer of the police, and the latter an astronomer from the observatory of Melbourne. Their two principal assistants were Gray and King. The expedition departed from Melbourne on the 20th of August, 1860, having for its destination the Gulf of Carpentaria. The course was first into the interior, and northward to the Barcoo or Cooper River, where a station was established, and where the larger part of the company was left with the supplies and equipments. Burke and Wills, however, accompanied by King and Gray, mounted on camels, and struck out for the North-west, through a distance of three hundred miles of almost impassable country. The route lay through a desolate region covered with the prickly spinifex, more terrible to man and beast than the worst thickets of thorny cactus. Reaching the 140th meridian, the travelers turned due north, and succeeded in gaining the Flinders River, which falls into the Gulf of Carpentaria. The party did not actually reach the coast, only remaining long enough to note, by the rising of the tide in the river, that they were in proximity with the sea. They then turned back to regain their company on the Barcoo.

It was the 23d of February, 1861, when the return journey was undertaken. Three of the party perished *en route*. Gray died on the 15th of April. On the 21st, Burke, Wills, and King reached the Barcoo, and found, to their horror, that the men had abandoned the place, taking the supplies with them! This had been done, perhaps, within one day of the arrival of the explorers; but whither the major company had gone could not be ascertained. Burke, Wills, and King wandered about in half despair until the end of June, subsisting on the seeds of plants and occasional gifts from friendly natives found here and there. At last both Burke and Wills starved to death. King was rescued in September by a relief party sent out for the purpose. In comparison with the incidents, hardships, and dreadful end of the expedition, the adventurous journey

DEPARTURE OF THE BURKE AND WILLS EXPEDITION FROM MELBOURNE

of our own Lewis and Clarke across the continent seems insignificant.

The bodies of Burke and Wills were at length recovered, and the great monument in Melbourne now attests their last resting-place. The continent had been opened. Mr. Stuart took up the work, following the line of Burke's expedition to the head-waters of the Adelaide of the North, and thence to the gulf. The Indian Ocean spread before him, and the character of the country through its central division was henceforth revealed to mankind.

By this time expeditions began to be thrown forward into the still unexplored regions of the West. In 1873, Colonel Warburton and Mr. Gosse led an expedition into the unknown country westward of the central telegraph line which had now been stretched from Adelaide and Melbourne to Port Darwin, on the northern coast. From the latter point a submarine cable was carried to India, and from India connection had already been established with Great Britain—and if with Great Britain, the world. Thus, by degrees, through the courage, the adventure, the ambition and aspirations, as well as the inventive genius of men and heroes, the great continent of the South Pacific has been bound in as a member of the family of nations and opened more fully to the civilizing energies of the most enlightened races.

We have now reached a point in the narrative from which a general survey may well be made of the Australian States. First of these in order of historical development is NEW SOUTH WALES. The province is bounded on the north by Queensland; on the west, by South Australia; on the south, by Victoria; and on the east, by the Pacific. It is included between the 28th and 38th parallels of south latitude and the 141st and 154th meridians east from Greenwich. The area is approximately three hundred and ten thousand square miles, being about one-tenth of the whole continent. The country, besides its great mineral wealth, has a fertile soil, a fair rainfall, and other conditions favorable to agricultural production. The industrial life of the State has expanded until it includes almost every kind of activity peculiar to the productions and trade of the temperate zones. The winters are mild, and stock remains unhoused the year around.

Of the fauna and flora of the country sufficient has already been said in the general sketch of the continent. The early history of the province includes nearly all the primitive annals of Australia; for it was here that European civilization was first planted and developed. From a military government at the beginning, the colony, as we have seen, at length secured a representative government; and no sooner had a Legislative Council—constituted in part by appointment and in part by election—been organized, than the revolt against the system of penal servitude became universal, until the same was finally exterminated in 1853.

Of VICTORIA, and of the manner in which the same was detached from New South Wales, an account has been given above. The province lies between the parallels of 34° and 39° S., and extends from the 141st to the 150th meridian east. The greatest width is two hundred and fifty miles, and the greatest extent, from east to west, about four hundred and eighty miles. The total area is 87,884 square miles. The coast-line is about eight hundred miles in extent, and has several fine harbors, the greatest being the Bay of Fort Phillip, the harbor of Melbourne.

Victoria has much the same range of climatic conditions with New South Wales, but the sky is clearer, the atmosphere more salubrious. Precipitation occurs in about one hundred and thirty days of the year. The winters are mild, and the summers warm and dry. Only once or twice since the country came into possession of Europeans has snow been seen at Melbourne. The minerals of the country are extensive and rich. The gold-mines from 1851 to 1886 yielded a total of over a billion of dollars. The soil is fertile, and is well adapted to agriculture and grazing. It is here that the finest sheep in Australia are found. The flocks aggregate more than eleven millions of animals. The cattle are estimated at one and a fourth millions, and the horses at more than three hundred thousand.

The civil government of Victoria is almost independent. Parliament consists of two houses. The Legislative Council is composed of forty-two members, chosen by election from the fourteen electoral provinces, or counties. Qualifications for voting are that the elector must

MUSTERING SHEEP—AUSTRALIAN RANCH.

be twenty-one years of age, must hold a property to the value of fifty dollars, or pay taxes on a property having an annual value of one hundred and twenty-five dollars. But graduates of the universities and colleges, and all members of the learned professions, are in virtue of the fact entitled to the suffrage. The term of office in the Upper House is six years, and the members receive no pay for their services. The Assembly is composed of eighty-six members, apportioned to fifty-five electoral districts. The term of service is three years, and the compensation in this House is fifteen hundred dollars a year. The qualifications of the voter in the case of members of the Assembly are simply that he shall be twenty-one years of age, and shall comply with the law in establishing his electoral right. All voting is done by ballot. The Governor is appointed by the Queen. Over all the acts of Parliament he has the right of veto, with the exception of certain classes of measures, which must be referred to the sovereign of the Empire.

In the practical conduct of affairs the Government of Victoria presents the usual political phenomena peculiar to the English-speaking peoples. A single instance may serve to show the identity of the methods employed with those of the home Government of Great Britain and the Government of the United States. In 1863 an effort was made by the Democratic party to establish the system of protection for the native industries of the country. This party was in the ascendant in the Lower House, and by that body a bill incorporating the protective measures was adopted. But the bill was rejected by the Upper House. Hereupon the Assembly took up the defeated schedule and attached it to the Appropriation Bill for the year. This was equivalent to saying, No tariff, no appropriation for the expenses of the Government.

But the Council stood firm, and the Appropriation Bill was allowed to fail. The annual resources of the Government were thus cut off, and the business of the colony had to be transacted without funds. The struggle continued for three years. Sir Charles Darling, the Governor, was held to be in sympathy with the Democratic party, and was recalled. At this, the Lower House voted an appropriation to Lady Darling of a hundred thousand dollars. The home Government, in 1868, provided for Sir Charles another place in the public service, and the Assembly gave expression to their final sentiment by sending after him, under the head of arrears of salary, an appropriation of twenty thousand dollars. The incident is sufficiently significant as showing the universality of the temper of British colonists the world over, and at the same time as illustrating the fact that a colonial dependency is not likely to favor the doctrine and practice of Free Trade.

The great province of QUEENSLAND has an approximate area of six hundred and seventy thousand square miles. It extends from the 11th to the 29th parallel of south latitude, and from the 138th to the 154th meridian east from Greenwich. The population, according to the latest census, somewhat exceeds three hundred thousand souls. The sea-line of Queensland is more than two thousand five hundred miles in extent. There is a plentiful distribution of small islands along the coast, and several good bays and inlets. We have here reached the forest country of Australia. Here, also, are found many rich mines of gold, silver, copper, tin, and coal. In the coast regions the rainfall reaches as high as one hundred and thirty inches; but in the inland district the precipitation is only one-fourth as great. The most inauspicious feature of the climate is the monsoon, or hot wind, out of the Australian desert.

The gold product of Queensland is immense, but has declined considerably of late years. In 1875 more than seven million dollars of the precious metal were exported, against about four millions in 1882. Until recently agriculture has, in the presence of such enormous profits, been in a backward state. Nevertheless the soil is not unfavorable to such products as spring from the earth. The growth of sugar-cane has of late years excited much attention among both the European and Chinese elements of the population. Many circumstances have operated against the wool industries in this part of the country, and though the flocks are extensive and profitable, they have not reached the tremendous development of those in other parts of the country.

The civil government has the same general form as that of New South Wales and

Victoria. The Governor is appointed by the Crown, and the Parliament is composed of two elective branches, the Legislative Council and the Assembly. While in many respects Queensland is behind her sister provinces on the south, in the matter of education she has led the way among all the Australian communities. Public instruction is free, secular, and compulsory. Under this general plan a thorough system of education has arisen, under the patronage and direction of the State; while at the same time many private and denominational schools have contributed somewhat to the general advancement of the people.

LORD MELBOURNE

South Australia, since the inclusion therewith of the territory on the north, formerly known as Alexandra Land, has an area of over nine hundred and three thousand square miles. The country lies between the parallels of 11° and 38° S., and extends from 129° to 141° east from Greenwich. The coast line is broken by the two large gulfs of Spencer and St. Vincent. The former spreads into the open sea, but the latter is fairly well inclosed at the mouth by Kangaroo Island. The climate, though the country is approximate to a limitless expanse of water, is dry. The clouds from the Indian Ocean have already been wrung out before reaching this part of the continent. For a short distance from the coast there is a bare sufficiency of rain, but the precipitation at Adelaide falls as low as sixteen inches per annum.

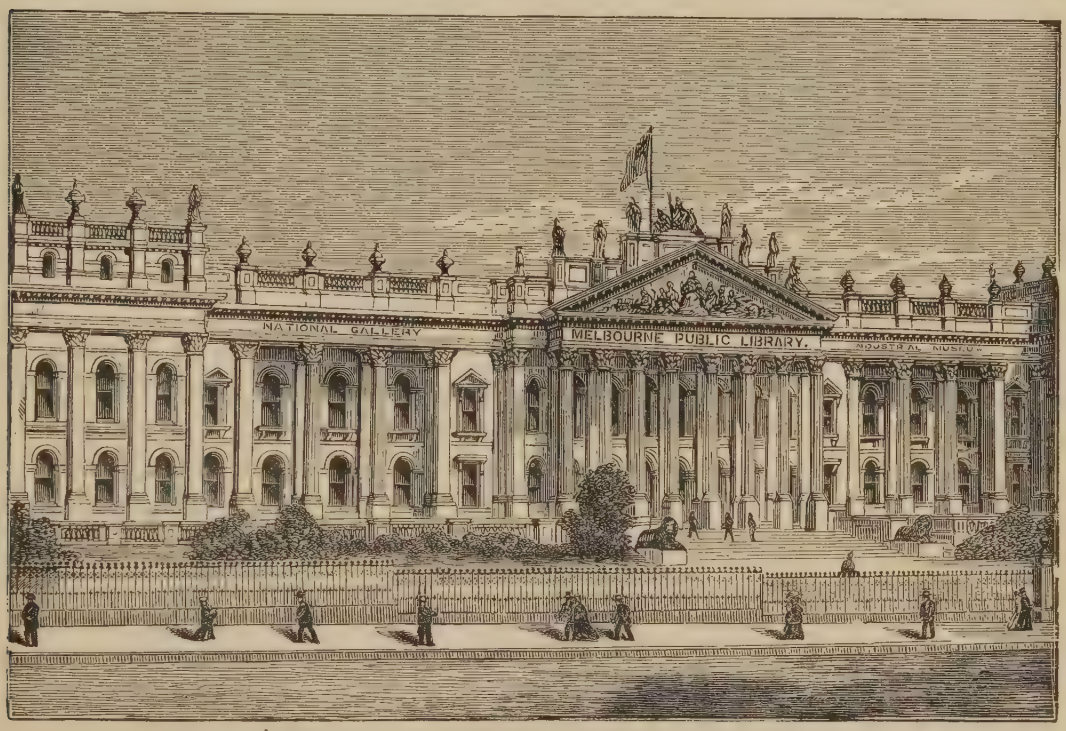
South Australia was one of the first districts of the continent to develop a mining industry; but the product of the precious metals in this province was never of great magnitude. On the other hand, agriculture here took the lead, and to the present day the products of South Australia are primarily agricultural. The civil government of South Australia is modeled after the same plan which we have already described for the other colonies. The Legislative Council consists of twenty-four members, and the Assemby of fifty-two members, representiug respectively a body of electors with a property qualification, and a second body without such restriction. After the beginning of civil government in 1835, affairs went badly for a season, and in 1841 the charter of the colony was suspended. At length, however, with the revival of prosperity, more particularly with the opening of the copper-mines, public credit and confidence were restored, and during the fifth decade there was a steady addition to the population.

With the outbreak of the gold-fever, however, great numbers left South Australia and drifted into the mining region of the eastern provinces. For a season it appeared that the country around the bay of St. Vincent would be depopulated. But the necessity of feeding the miners soon drew upon the agricultural regions, and the products of South Australia were in great demand. There was thus a reflex draft to the west which presently restored the equilibrium of population and tended powerfully to develop the natural industries of South Australia.

The remainder of the provinces of the continent are still in a transitional condition. The great expansion of the civilizing forces has been in the eastern and south-eastern

portions of the country. The exploration and colonization of the remaining region has been attended with great difficulties, which have not yet been surmounted. Perhaps some of the widely extended desert regions of the interior may never be reclaimed, but the maritime districts offer, along the whole extent of eight thousand miles of sea-board, an inviting prospect for adventure and enterprise—the founding of colonies, the planting of institutions, and the development of States.

We may here note the progress of Australia as illustrated in her principal cities. The



PUBLIC LIBRARY, NATIONAL GALLERY, AND MUSEUM.

greatest of these is Melbourne, capital of Victoria, situated at the head of Bay Fort Phillip. The history of this metropolis of the South Pacific is covered in its entirety by the lives of men still living. It was founded in 1835 by Captain Fawkner, of the ship *Enterprise*, who sailed into the Yarra, went ashore, and planted a village in the coast forest. The place was first called Williamstown, in honor of William IV., but soon afterwards received the name of Melbourne, from Lord Melbourne, Prime Minister of England. It is one of the most flourishing emporiums of the outlying British Empire. The old city lay about three miles inland, on the banks of the Yarra, but the suburbs have now extended on both banks of the river to the sea, and cover the coast for a distance of ten miles. Wide streets, laid out at right angles and well-paved, attest the public spirit of the municipal government. For the city proper the census of 1881 showed a population of sixty-five thousand eight hundred. About the central municipality are grouped fifteen suburban towns and villages, whose population in the total many times exceeds that of the city proper. At the present day the aggregate is doubtless nearly four hundred thousand souls. The situation is picturesque and the city beautiful. The public buildings are of a high order. The Parliament Houses, faced on the four fronts with freestone, have an imposing appearance. The Treasury, the Post-office, the Custom-house, and the Government offices are only second in importance. The City Court is one of the finest structures in Australia, having a cupola after the style of our Capitol at Washington. The Public Library and Museum, in Swanston Street, is an edifice of the first order. Within are gathered not only the library proper, but collections of paintings,

COLLINS STREET, MELBOURNE.

statutes, and casts. The University of Melbourne, while not imposing for its buildings, has beautiful grounds and excellent adaptations. In 1881 the faculty consisted of ten professors and twelve lecturers, and the attendance of students reached four hundred. Full instruction is given in the arts, in law, in medicine, and in civil engineering. The Exhibition building of Melbourne is also worthy of note. The nave is five hundred feet in length and a hundred and sixty feet in breadth, while the two annexes have each a depth of four hundred and sixty feet. The Mint, erected in 1872, is a handsome and imposing structure. The Governor's residence, on a height beyond the Yarra, is worthy, in an architectural sense, of the uses to which it devoted.

THE UNIVERSITY, MELBOURNE.

Second only to Melbourne in population and importance, and oldest of the Australian cities, is Sydney, capital of New South Wales. According to the census of 1886, the population exceeded three hundred and thirty-two thousand. The city lies on the southern shore of the great harbor of Port Jackson, best in Australia. It is about four miles from the entrance, and is distant from Melbourne four hundred and fifty miles. The plan of the city is less regular than that of the Victoria capital, and has somewhat the appearance of an old English town. But the public edifices may well be mentioned with praise. The Exchange, the Government-house, the University, the Post-office, and the Town Hall are all imposing and elegant structures. Such also are the Parliament buildings, and the Treasury, the Railway Station, and the theaters, the Anglican and the Roman Catholic Cathedrals. The city can also boast of Hyde Park, of an extent of forty acres; the Domain, of a hundred and thirty-eight acres; and the Botanical Garden, of thirty-eight acres. More recently the great parks, named Prince Alfred, Belmore, and Moore, have been laid out, with an area of five hundred acres.

Besides the University, which is modeled after those of England, Sydney has St. Paul's American College and St. John's College, under the patronage of the Roman Catholics, as well as institutions directed by the Presbyterians and the Wesleyans. A Normal School, a Nautical School, a Free Museum, a Public Library, and an Astronomical Observatory bear witness to the intellectual progress of the people. Sydney was founded in 1788, and was named for Viscount Sydney, the first

Colonial Secretary. It was incorporated in 1842, and was selected in 1875 as the seat of the Australian Industrial Exposition.

The third city in importance is Adelaide, capital of South Australia. It is situated on the Torrens, seven miles from Port Adelaide, between which and the city is a railway. The river divides North Adelaide from South, which is the larger of the two towns. We have here another example of the regularity of plan, the broad streets crossing each other at right angles, and regular distribution of parts, which may be noted in Melbourne. The Government buildings, including the Official Residence, Post-office, and the Railway Station, are the most important public edifices. Churches belonging to the Roman Catholics and the leading Protestant denominations hold a prominent place among the structures of the city. There is a Botanical Garden in the midst of what are called the Park Lands, which cover nearly two thousand acres. The city was founded in 1836, and was named in honor of Queen Adelaide, wife of William IV. The act of incorporation was passed in 1842, from which date the city had a steady growth, reaching, according to the census of 1881, a population of more than thirty-eight thousand.

Fourth in importance may be mentioned the city of Brisbane, capital of Queensland. It is situated on both banks of the river of the same name, twenty-five miles from its entrance into Moreton Bay. The place was founded, in 1825, as a penal colony. Such it continued to be for seventeen years, when the criminal establishment was abolished, and the town became a free settlement. After another span of seventeen years, Brisbane was made the capital of Queensland. By 1886 the population had increased to thirty-two thousand souls. To the present, however, the city has not been able to compete to any considerable extent with Melbourne and Sydney, or even with Adelaide.

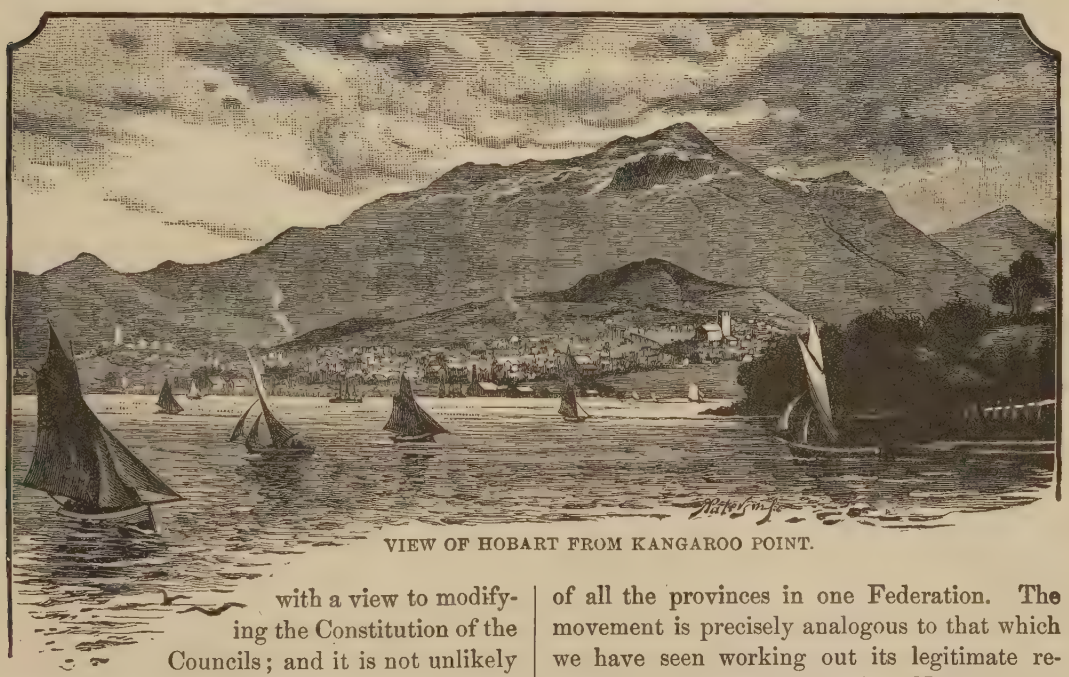
We thus see displayed, even from our great distance of observation, the States and cities of the Australian continent. As to Tasmania, or Van Diemen's Land, the same was constituted a penal colony as early as 1803. The spot chosen for the first settlement of convicts was the site of the present city of Hobart, which, long since recovered from the effects of its inauspicious origin, has reached a population of more than twenty-five thousand souls. The abolition of the penal system was not accomplished in Tasmania until 1853; but with that event the stream of immigration set in rapidly, and the social and political condition of the colony was soon transformed by the impact of a healthier population.

BRISBANE FROM BOWEN TERRACE.

All of the Australian provinces have a common type of government. Each is under its own Constitution and local laws. The political institutions of the continent are modeled after those of the home Government of Great Britain. But the difference in situation has introduced many modifications in the statutes and governmental system of the country. In general all the colonies, with the exception of West Australia, enjoy a responsible government; that is, one answerable to the people. Nor is it to be supposed that West Australia will long be excluded from the benefits of this administration. The different parts—execu-

tive, legislative, judicial—of the Australian governments are the types, so to speak, of the corresponding form under the British Constitution. The Queen is represented by the Governor-General of the province; the House of Lords, by the Legislative Council; the House of Commons, by the Legislative Assembly. The members of the Council are either nominated or elected; but the members of the Assembly are all elected by the people.

It has happened many times in the history of the colonial governments that serious deadlocks, such as that of 1863, in Victoria, have occurred in legislation, owing to disagreements between the Upper and Lower Houses of the Parliaments. This has led to an agitation with a view to modifying the Constitution of the Councils; and it is not unlikely that the near future will witness such a change as will make the members of the Upper Houses more directly responsive to the popular will.



VIEW OF HOBART FROM KANGAROO POINT.

The general statutes of the British Empire are in force in Australia, unless the same have been superseded by positive local enactments. On the other hand, all the local laws have to be submitted to the Queen for her sanction before they can come into force. Mutual dependence is thus established between the home and the local Government. Most of the salutary reforms which were agitated in Great Britain during the decade, 1830–40, have become fundamental in the Constitutions of Australia. As might have been anticipated, the newer country espoused, without fear, those liberal principles which found but a timid voice in the older. In general, the theory of manhood suffrage has been adopted throughout Australia. The people vote by ballot. The members of the Assembly are paid for their services. The sessions of Parliament are triennial. In short, in all of its features the Australian system of government is as popular in its methods and democratic in its principles as may be, consistently with the great Constitution of the monarchy, from which the local governments derive their existence.

A still larger question of Australian politics has of late years arisen respecting the union of all the provinces in one Federation. The movement is precisely analogous to that which we have seen working out its legitimate results in the States of Canada. Nor is it improbable that at no distant day such a general governmental union of the Australian countries may be effected. It is easy to see that many civil and political advantages would accrue from the establishment of a central government for the whole continent; nor is such an agitation an occasion for alarm either to the home Government of the Empire, or to the local governments of the several colonies.

As it respects the nationality of the people of Australia, the great majority are from the British Islands. Every year, however, raises the percentage of those who are native born.

Contrary to what might have been expected in the premises, the next in number among the foreign populations are the Chinese, of whom there are no fewer than seventy thousand in Queensland. The Orientals have for the most part been drawn to the country by the magnetism of the Australian gold-mines. So numerous have the Chinese become in certain districts that the Assembly of Queensland has in the last few years adopted some stringent laws for the restriction of this kind of immigration. Next in strength among the foreign elements of Australia are the Germans. The principal settlements of people of this blood are in Queensland and South Australia. After these three principal foreign populations, the Australian census shows a mixture of nearly all the nationalities of the world, European, American, Asiatic.

Notwithstanding the draft which Australia has thus made, and is making, upon other States and kingdoms—notwithstanding the fecundity of her soil, the richness of her mines, the salubrity of her climate—the fact still remains that the country is the most thinly populated of all the outlying possessions of Great Britain. The continent has not as yet one person to every square mile of territory. The paucity of the Australian population may well appear when it is remembered that the average in the United Kingdom is two hundred and eighty to the square mile, and a little over thirty in the whole of the British dominions. Of all the provinces of Australia, Victoria is most populous, having an average of nearly ten to the square mile. The most thinly settled region is West Australia, where there is as yet only one inhabitant for every thirty-three square miles of territory. The birth-rate in all the colonies, is high, and the immigration in 1881 over twenty-four thousand.

In industrial energies and internal improvements the Australians are displaying a commendable zeal. Three great lines of steamships—namely, the Peninsular and Oriental Company, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and the British India Steam Navigation Company—carry the mails between Australia and Great Britain. During the year 1880 more than eight thousand vessels arrived in the Australian ports. The following table exhibits the net tonnage of the steamers and sailing-vessels owned by the various Australian colonies in 1880–81:

NAME OF COLONY.	Sailing-Vessels.		Steamers.		Total.	
	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.
New South Wales	493	54,565	277	32,768	770	87,333
New Zealand	445	54,266	129	15,785	574	70,051
Queensland	59	3,161	35	1,896	94	5,057
South Australia	207	24,567	73	6,798	280	31,365
Tasmania	181	14,263	20	3,280	201	17,543
Victoria	251	43,469	84	15,161	335	58,630
West Australia	109	6,643	12	569	121	7,212
Total	1,745	200,934	630	76,257	2,375	277,191
Fiji	9	906	1	19	10	925

The industrial development of Australia may be further illustrated with a few additional facts gathered from the census of 1881–82. At that time the total aggregate of gold taken from the mines of Victoria had reached the enormous sum of a thousand and ten billions of dollars. The aggregate from New South Wales was a hundred and seventy-two billions, and that from Queensland fifty-six billions, which, together with the yield from Tasmania, made a grand total of a thousand two hundred and fifty-five billions of dollars. The Australian exports had, up to this time, risen to a total of two hundred and eleven millions, and the imports to two hundred and twenty-six millions. The total population was two million two hundred and fifty-nine thousand—an aggregate which has been steadily augmented during the current decade. According to the same census, the total product of wool was two hundred and forty-eight million pounds, and the total number of sheep over sixty-one million. Of these more than one-half, namely, thirty-three millions, belonged to Queensland. In this province immense tracts of country had been converted into sheep-ranches, and the ranges, as well as the flocks which they contained, were regarded as the finest in the world. Merino and other fine breeds of sheep had been imported into the continent at an early date, and had been multiplied, with great rapidity, under the genial climate.

From other points of view the industrial development of the country has been equally successful. In 1882 there were in actual operation forty-one hundred and eighty-four miles of railway, while eleven hundred and forty-six miles additional were in process of construc-

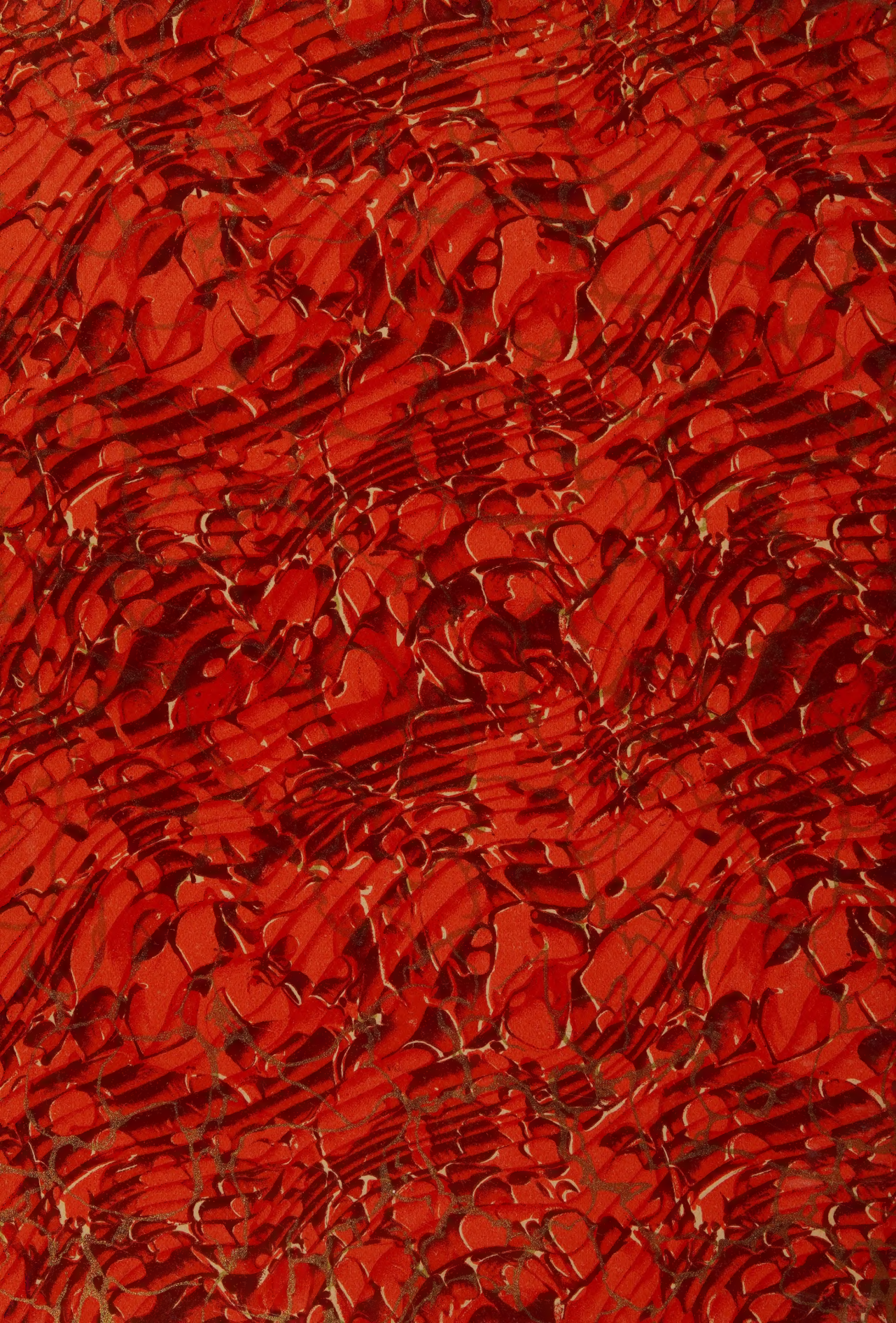
tion. Other lines of importance, like that from Sydney to Adelaide, were projected, many of which have since been completed. One ambitious scheme proposed the building of a transcontinental railway from Adelaide, along the telegraph route, through the vast interior, to the northern coast, a distance of eighteen hundred miles. Of telegraphs there were, according to the reports of 1882, nearly forty thousand miles in operation. In all material respects the civilization of Australia has approximated that of Europe and North America.

Perhaps the greatest single incident of the social evolution in Australia within this (the ninth) decade has been the struggle between the ruling citizenship of the colonies and the Asiatic population. We have already noted the heavy influx of Chinese into the country. On their first coming they had few relations with the Europeans. They entered the mines and kept apart. But at length they sought and obtained employment at the hands of producers. In recent times the production of sugar-cane has become an important factor in the industry of Queensland. For this work the Chinese were found to be well adapted. The Polynesian Islands had also sent over their contribution of Kanakas from Hawaii.

This foreign labor was cheap in the last degree, and was eagerly sought by the sugar-planters. The wages usually paid to Chinese and Kanakas was thirty dollars a year, including food, clothing, and shelter, while the white laborers demanded, and had been accustomed to receive, two hundred and sixty dollars a year, with boarding and lodging. The planters declared that the success of the sugar plantations depended upon the employment of the cheap foreign labor, and with this view of the case, the home Government of Great Britain sympathized. The European and native colonists, however, were strongly opposed to the introduction and employment of the Chinese and Kanakas. The governmental authorities took the matter in hand, and, in 1884, adopted stringent regulations against the importation of cheap labor into Australia.

The contest was similar in all respects to that which we have witnessed in California. For four years the struggle continued against the importation of foreign laborers. A poll-tax of fifty dollars was put on every Chinese immigrant. It was also enacted that only one such immigrant should be brought as a passenger for every one hundred tons of the ship's burden in which he came. Even these measures did not prove sufficient, and in 1888 a colonial act was passed for the total exclusion of Asiatic laborers. The people of Australia demanded that a treaty similar to that which Angell had procured for the United States should be negotiated by the Home Government for Australia. But this the British Ministry refused to do. A threat was put forth by Parliament that the restrictive legislation of the Australian colonies should be abrogated. Hereupon Lord Carrington, Governor of New South Wales, sent home a communication prepared by his Premier, Sir Henry Parkes, in which it was declared that the Australian authorities were acting under the force of a public opinion which could not be withstood. Parliament was advised that the restrictive measures were in self-defense, and that they could not be relaxed without ruin to the whole social and industrial system. As usual in such cases, the British Government yielded, and the Australian colonies were permitted to conduct their affairs in their own manner.

It is evident, on the whole, that the potency of the great South Pacific continent has not yet been fully revealed to the world. True, the vast interior is a desert, but there remain fully one million four hundred thousand square miles of arable and grazing lands which invite the enterprise of immigrants, provoking all the energies of those who come. As we have seen, the development of this New World and its amazing resources has only begun. What may be the political and social future of this great ocean-bound land, to what rank Australia shall presently rise among the great powers of the world, it were useless to predict. But if the energy of the race, the natural gifts of the country, the freedom and progress of Australian institutions, may be taken as a criterion, the day is not far distant when the land which only half a century ago was stigmatized as the home of criminals—the debouchure of all the streams of vice and filth—purified at length by her own internal energies, and raised by the native vigor of her people, shall assume no second rank among the enlightened nations of the world.



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